

VOLUME 106 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 2001

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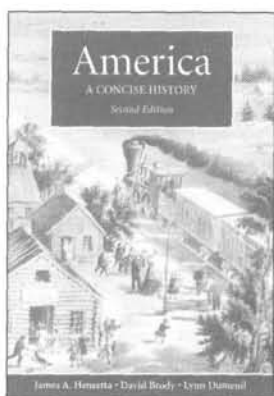
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The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

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---

# Contents

VOLUME 106 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 2001

---

In This Issue

xiv

## Articles

The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini: *Male*, Signs, and the Everyday World of Pre-modern Medicine

BY GUIDO RUGGIERO

1141

Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust

BY CAROLYN STEEDMAN

1159

Gendering Production in Wartime South Africa

BY NANCY L. CLARK

1181

## *AHR Forum: Creating National Identities in a Revolutionary Era*

Introduction

1214

The Unbearable Lightness of Being French: Law, Republicanism and National Identity at the End of the Old Regime

BY DAVID A. BELL

1215

The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution

BY DROR WAHRMAN

1236

"Look on This Picture . . . And on This!" Nationalism, Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the United States, 1787–1820

BY ANDREW W. ROBERTSON

1263

To What Can Late Eighteenth-Century French, British, and American Anxieties Be Compared? Comment on Three Papers

BY BENEDICT ANDERSON

1281

## Review Essay

## On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America

BY HILDA SABATO

1290

## Reviews of Books

## METHODS/THEORY

JOHN W. O'MALLEY. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era.*  
By Nicholas Terpstra 1316

MARGARET J. OSLER, editor. *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution.*  
By Nicholas H. Clulec 1317

MARK SALBER PHILLIPS. *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820.*  
By Robert Anchor 1318

EDWARD L. AYERS and ANNE S. RUBIN. *Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War.*  
By Stephen V. Ash 1319

EMMA PÉREZ. *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History.*  
By Richard Griswold del Castillo 1319

BARBIE ZELIZER. *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*; ANDREA LISS. *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust.*  
By Dagmar Barnouw 1320

DIPESH CHAKRABARTY. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.*  
By R. Bin Wong 1322

KEITH JENKINS. *Why History? Ethics and Postmodernity.*  
By Alex Callinicos 1323

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JANE CAPLAN, editor. *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History.*  
By Sander L. Gilman 1324

IRVINE LOUDON. *The Tragedy of Childbed Fever.*  
By Christopher Hamlin 1325

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR. *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830-1915.*  
By Paul T. Phillips 1325

HAROLD R. WINTON and DAVID R. METS, editors. *The Challenge of Change: Military Institutions and New Realities, 1918-1941.*  
By Tim Travers 1326

JOSEPH M. HENNING. *Outposts of Civilization: Race, Religion, and the Formative Years of American-Japanese Relations.*  
By James L. Huffman 1327

AARON FORSBERG. *Americans and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival, 1950-1960.*  
By Roger Buckley 1328

JUDITH S. JEFFERY. *Ambiguous Commitments and Uncertain Policies: The Truman Doctrine in Greece, 1947-1952.*  
By Gerasimos Augustinos 1329

JOHN SUBRITZKY. *Confronting Sukarno: British, American, Australian and New Zealand Diplomacy in the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation, 1961-5.*  
By Joseph M. Siracusa 1330

J. R. MCNEILL. *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World.*  
By Martin V. Melosi 1331

## ASIA

JOSEPHINE CHIU-DUKE. *To Rebuild the Empire: Lu Chih's Confucian Pragmatist Approach to the Mid-T'ang Predicament.*  
By Hoyt Cleveland Tillman 1332

VICTORIA CASS. *Dangerous Women: Warriors, Grannies, and Geishas of the Ming.*  
By Paul S. Ropp 1332

WEN-HSIN YEH. *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond.*  
By Harriet Evans 1333

XIAOBO LÜ. *Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involvement of the Chinese Communist Party.*  
By Gregor Benton 1335

QIANG ZHAI. *China and the Vietnam Wars 1950-1975.*  
By Steven Hugh Lee 1336

EDWARD J. SHULTZ. *Generals and Scholars: Military Rule in Medieval Korea.*  
By Martina Deuchler 1337

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI. *Trade Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300.*  
By M. N. Pearson 1338

SUSAN BILLINGTON HARPER. *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India.*  
By Jeffrey Cox 1339

ALAN WARREN. *Waziristan, the Faqir of Ipi, and the Indian Army: The North West Frontier Revolt of 1936-37.*  
By Ian Talbot 1340

NAUREEN TALHA. *Economic Factors in the Making of Pakistan (1921-1947).*  
By Ian J. Kerr 1341

## OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

JEAN E. ROSENFELD. *The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand.*  
By Bronwyn Elsmore 1341

## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ALEXANDER KEYSSAR. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States.*  
By Ann D. Gordon 1342

- MARK LAWRENCE KORNBLUH. *Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics.*  
By John J. Coleman 1343
- NANCY F. COTT. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.*  
By Norma Basch 1344
- NORMA BASCH. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.*  
By Steven Mintz 1345
- KARIN WULF. *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia.*  
By Lisa Wilson 1346
- DAVID HACKETT FISCHER and JAMES C. KELLY. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement.*  
By Alan Gallay 1347
- DWIGHT B. BILLINGS and KATHLEEN M. BLEE. *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia.*  
By Ralph Mann 1347
- SCOTT L. MALCOMSON. *One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race.*  
By Desmond King 1348
- PETER M. DOLL. *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795.*  
By Frank Lambert 1349
- MATTHEW H. CROCKER. *The Magic of the Many: Josiah Quincy and the Rise of Mass Politics in Boston 1800-1830.*  
By Lex Renda 1350
- MAURICE G. BAXTER. *Henry Clay the Lawyer.*  
By Kimberly C. Shankman 1351
- CHARLES CAPPER and CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT, editors. *Transient and Permanent: The Transcendentalist Movement and Its Context.*  
By Bruce A. Ronda 1351
- NICHOLAS E. TAWA. *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans 1800-1861.*  
By Victor Greene 1352
- ERIC PURCHASE. *Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains.*  
By Mark Stoll 1353
- BRIAN ROBERTS. *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture;* SUSAN LEE JOHNSON. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush.*  
By Anne Hyde 1354
- GLENN C. ALTSCHULER and STUART M. BLUMIN. *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Tyler Anbinder 1355
- KIMBERLEY K. SMITH. *The Dominion of Voice: Riot, Reason, and Romance in Antebellum Politics.*  
By Roger Lane 1356
- LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860.*  
By Wallace Hettle 1357
- CRAIG STEVEN WILDER. *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn.*  
By David Roediger 1358
- WALTER JOHNSON. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market.*  
By Bertram Wyatt-Brown 1359
- JANE RHODES. *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Frankie Hutton 1360
- LAURA F. EDWARDS. *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era.*  
By Nina Silber 1360
- BARRY SCHWARTZ. *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory.*  
By Reid Mitchell 1361
- MARK E. NEELY, JR. *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism.*  
By Michael B. Ballard 1362
- JOHN C. WILLIS. *Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War.*  
By Jack E. Davis 1362
- STEPHEN KANTROWITZ. *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy.*  
By Gail Williams O'Brien 1363
- JOHN DAVID SMITH. *Black Judas: William Hannibal Thomas and The American Negro*  
By William L. Van Deburg 1364
- CHRISTOPHER ROBERT REED. *"All the World is Here!" The Black Presence at White City.*  
By Jacqueline M. Moore 1365
- JOY S. KASSON. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History.*  
By Paul Reddin 1366
- BRIAN C. HOSMER. *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatans, 1870-1920.*  
By Mark Spence 1367
- MARY H. BLEWETT. *Constant Turmoil: The Politics of Industrial Life in Nineteenth-Century New England.*  
By Bruce Laurie 1368
- SARAH DEUTSCH. *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940.*  
By Kathleen Waters Sander 1368
- ROBERT KANIGEL. *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency.*  
By Amy Sue Bix 1369
- REGINA LEE BLASZCZYK. *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning.*  
By Jennifer Scanlon 1370
- DONALD T. CRITCHLOW. *Studebaker: The Life and Death of an American Corporation.*  
By Patrick J. Furlong 1371
- NANCY MARTHA WEST. *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia.*  
By Lili Corbus Bezner 1372
- JOSEPH E. TAYLOR III. *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis.*  
By Frieda Knobloch 1373
- DAVID VAUGHT. *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920.*  
By Steven Stoll 1374
- YONG CHEN. *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community.*  
By James S. Moy 1375
- CATHERINE MULHOLLAND. *William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles.*  
By Abraham Hoffman 1375



- CRAIG PHELAN. *Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor.*  
By Julie Greene 1376
- HOWARD KIMELDORF. *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement.*  
By Janet Irons 1377
- HOWELL JOHN HARRIS. *Bloodless Victories: The Rise and Fall of the Open Shop in the Philadelphia Metal Trades, 1890-1940.*  
By Jack Metzgar 1377
- MARC DOLLINGER. *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America;* HADASSA KOSAK. *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905.*  
By Riv-Ellen Prell 1378
- EVELYN A. KIRKLEY. *Rational Mothers and Infidel Gentlemen: Gender and American Atheism, 1865-1915.*  
By Beryl Satter 1379
- NAN ENSTAD. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.*  
By Nancy Gabin 1380
- NANCY C. UNGER. *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer.*  
By Gregory D. Sumner 1381
- ELISABETH S. CLEMENS. *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925.*  
By Brian Balogh 1382
- SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET and GARY MARKS. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States.*  
By Jacqueline Jones 1383
- JAMES R. BARRETT. *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism.*  
By Bruce Nelson 1384
- DAVID A. MOSS. *Socializing Security: Progressive-Era Economists and the Origins of American Social Policy.*  
By Robert Bussel 1385
- PATRICK D. REAGAN. *Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning, 1890-1943.*  
By Robert H. Zieger 1386
- DAVID T. BEITO. *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967.*  
By Christopher Shannon 1387
- AMY SUE BIX. *Inventing Ourselves Out of Jobs? America's Debate Over Technological Unemployment 1929-1981.*  
By George Lipsitz 1388
- ANGELA J. LATHAM. *Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s.*  
By Linda Mizejewski 1389
- JULIE A. WILLETT. *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop.*  
By Peter N. Stearns 1389
- ROBERT M. CRUNDEN. *Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism.*  
By Joan Shelley Rubin 1390
- ERIN A. SMITH. *Hard-Boiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines.*  
By Dana Polan 1391
- GREGG MITMAN. *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film.*  
By James A. Pritchard 1392
- CHRISTINE BOLD. *The WPA Guides: Mapping America.*  
By Rena Fraden 1393
- LANDON R. Y. STORRS. *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era.*  
By Jennifer Scanlon 1394
- LEE J. ALSTON and JOSEPH P. FERRIE. *Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State: Economics, Politics, and Institutions in the South, 1865-1965.*  
By Eric Anderson 1394
- MELISSA WALKER. *All We Knew Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919-1941.*  
By Deborah Fink 1395
- JANET IRONS. *Testing the New Deal: The General Textile Strike of 1934 in the American South.*  
By James Duane Bolin 1396
- G. C. WALDREP III. *Southern Workers and the Search for Community: Spartanburg County, South Carolina.*  
By John Hennen 1397
- BRUCE NELSON. *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality.*  
By Christopher Waldrep 1398
- ANDREW EDMUND KERSTEN. *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941-46.*  
By Glenn Feldman 1399
- DANIEL KRYDER. *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State during World War II.*  
By Richard W. Thomas 1400
- SHIRLEY ANN WILSON MOORE. *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910-1963.*  
By Daniel Kryder 1401
- MARC GALLICCHIO. *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945.*  
By Michael L. Krenn 1402
- MARK A. STOLER. *Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance and U.S. Strategy in World War II.*  
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- MICHAEL S. NEIBERG. *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service.*  
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- JAMES J. LORENCE. *The Suppression of Salt of the Earth.*  
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- JACK METZGAR. *Striking Steel: Solidarity Remembered.*  
By Alan Draper 1408
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By Lynne Curry 1412

- EUGENE MCCARRAHER. *Christian Critics: Religion and the Impasse in Modern American Social Thought.*  
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By Mark Hulsether 1414

- JON H. ROBERTS and JAMES TURNER. *The Sacred and the Secular University.*  
By Joel A. Carpenter 1415

- DAVID STRICKLIN. *A Genealogy of Dissent: Southern Baptist Protest in the Twentieth Century.*  
By John Crowley 1415

- PETE DANIEL. *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s.*  
By John Dittmer 1416

- MICHAEL T. BERTRAND. *Race, Rock, and Elvis.*  
By Karal Ann Marling 1417

- WILLIAM J. BILLINGSLEY. *Communists on Campus: Race, Politics, and the Public University in Sixties North Carolina.*  
By Kenneth J. Heineman 1418

- CHARLES K. ROSS. *Outside the Lines: African Americans and the Integration of the National Football League.*  
By Samuel O. Regalado 1419

- JULES TYGIEL. *Past Time: Baseball as History.*  
By Warren Goldstein 1420

- PADMA RANGASWAMY. *Namasté America: Indian Immigrants in an American Metropolis.*  
By H. S. Bhola 1421

- DAVID ALLYN. *Make Love Not War: The Sexual Revolution; An Unfettered History.*  
By Ruth M. Alexander 1421

- FRANCES FITZGERALD. *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War.*  
By Stephen Vaughn 1422

- LAWRENCE N. POWELL. *Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana.*  
By Leonard Dinnerstein 1423

#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- FRANK SALOMON and STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editors. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas.*  
By Magnus Mörner 1424

- BERNARDO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and ALBA GONZÁLEZ JÁCOME, editors. *Estudios sobre historia y ambiente en América.*  
By Abel Alves 1427

- GISELA VON WOBESER. *Vida eternal y preocupaciones terrenales: Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España 1700-1821.*  
By Kathryn Burns 1428

- THOMAS A. ABERCROMBIE. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among an Andean People.*  
By Mark Thurner 1428

- JULYAN G. PEARD. *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine.*  
By David Sowell 1429

#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- PETER S. WELLS. *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe.*  
By Steven Muhlberger 1430

- ELIZABETH KEY FOWDEN. *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius Between Rome and Iran.*  
By Lynda L. Coon 1431

- ULRICH MEYER. *Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des "Hauses": Zur Ökonomik in der Spätantike und im früheren Mittelalter.*  
By Stephen A. Stertz 1432

- J. W. TUBBS. *The Common Law Mind: Medieval and Early Modern Conceptions.*  
By Paul Brand 1433

- DENIS MENJOT and MANUEL SÁNCHEZ MARTÍNEZ, editors. *La fiscalité des villes au Moyen Âge.*  
By Stephen Bensch 1433

- ROBERT CHAZAN. *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives.*  
By Marc Saperstein 1434

- BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe.*  
By Kenneth Pennington 1435

- RICHARD W. KAEUPER. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe.*  
By Bernard S. Bachrach 1436

- FRANCES A. UNDERHILL. *For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh.*  
By Philippa C. Maddern 1437

- JANE WHITTLE. *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580.*  
By John Langdon 1438

- MARTYN RADY. *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary.*  
By Jean W. Sedlar 1439

#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- CHRISTINE MEEK, editor. *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe.*  
By Merry Wiesner-Hanks 1440

- ANTHONY GRAFTON and NANCY SIRAISI. *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe.*  
By Guido Ruggiero 1441

- WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA. *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550-1640.*  
By Peter Burke 1442

- PHILIP BENEDICT, GUIDO MARNEF, HENK VAN NIEROP, and MARC VENARD, editors. *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585.*  
By Judith Pugh Meyer 1443

- PAUL MICHAEL KIELSTRA. *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48.*  
By Lawrence C. Jennings 1445

- AXEL KÖRNER, editor. *1848—A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848.*  
By Jonathan Sperber 1446
- MADELEINE HURD. *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870–1914.*  
By Jan Palmowski 1447
- KLAUS J. BADE. *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.*  
By Steve Hochstadt 1448
- MICHAEL PHAYER. *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965.*  
By Antony Polonsky 1449
- ISTVÁN DEÁK, JAN T. GROSS, and TONY JUDT, editors. *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath.*  
By Norman M. Naimark 1450
- RETHA M. WARNICKE. *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England.*  
By Charles Carlton 1451
- MICHAEL B. YOUNG. *King James and the History of Homosexuality.*  
By Alan Stewart 1451
- ROSALIND MITCHISON. *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574–1845.*  
By R. A. Cage 1452
- JONATHAN SCOTT. *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context.*  
By Gary S. De Krey 1453
- SUSAN E. WHYMAN. *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720.*  
By Susan D. Amussen 1454
- STEPHEN CONWAY. *The British Isles and the War of American Independence.*  
By Michal J. Rozbicki 1455
- RANDOLPH TRUMBACH. *Sex and the Gender Revolution.*  
By Thomas Laqueur 1456
- DAVID CARLTON. *Churchill and the Soviet Union.*  
By John Ramsden 1457
- JOE MAIOLO. *The Royal Navy and Nazi Germany, 1933–39: A Study in Appeasement and the Origins of the Second World War.*  
By Paul M. Kennedy 1458
- DAVE RENTON. *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Britain in the 1940s; NIGEL COPSEY. Anti-Fascism in Britain.*  
By Mike Cronin 1459
- MICHAEL FARRY. *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo 1921–23.*  
By Charles Townshend 1460
- WILLIAM PHILLIPS and CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS. *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century; FELIPE RUIZ MARTÍN and ANGEL GARCÍA SANZ, editors. Mesta, transhumancia y lana en la España modern.*  
By David R. Ringrose 1461
- CHRISTINE MÉTAYER. *Au tombeau des secrets: Les écrivains publics du Paris populaire; Cimetière des Saints-Innocents XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.*  
By Laura Mason 1463
- PETER N. MILLER. *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century.*  
By Erika Rummel 1464
- ANNE ZINK. *Pays ou circonscriptions: Les collectivités territoriales de la France du sud-ouest sous l'Ancien Régime.*  
By Ted Margadant 1465
- L. M. CULLEN. *The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France.*  
By Kolleen M. Guy 1465
- LISA JANE GRAHAM. *If the King Only Knew: Seditious Speech in the Reign of Louis XV.*  
By Emmet Kennedy 1466
- KENNETH MARGERISON. *Pamphlets and Public Opinion: The Campaign for a Union of Orders in the Early French Revolution.*  
By Emmet Kennedy 1467
- DAVID ANDRESS. *Massacre at the Champ de Mars: Popular Dissent and Political Culture in the French Revolution.*  
By Jack R. Censer 1468
- EWA LAJER-BURCHARTH. *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror.*  
By Anthony Lacy Gully 1469
- SHERYL KROEN. *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830.*  
By Patricia Mainardi 1470
- RAYMOND JONAS. *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times.*  
By James F. McMillan 1470
- SARAH A. CURTIS. *Educating the Faithful: Religion, Schooling, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France.*  
By Phyllis Stock-Morton, 1471
- ANSELM GERHARD. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century.*  
By Susan Vandiver Nicassio 1472
- ELIZABETH EZRA. *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France.*  
By Alice L. Conklin 1473
- SAMUEL HUSTON GOODFELLOW. *Between the Swastika and the Cross of Lorraine: Fascisms in Interwar Alsace.*  
By Roger Griffin 1474
- JEFFREY MEHLMAN. *Émigré New York: French Intellectuals in Wartime Manhattan, 1940–1944.*  
By Kim Munholland 1475
- CRAIG HARLINE and EDDY PUT. *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders.*  
By Philip Benedict 1476
- CRAIG M. KOSLOFSKY. *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700.*  
By Marc R. Forster 1476
- KATHY STUART. *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany.*  
By H. C. Erik Midelfort 1477
- STEVEN OZMENT. *Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early Modern Germany.*  
By Gerald L. Soliday 1478
- ANN GOLDBERG. *Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and German Society 1815–1849.*  
By Doris Kaufmann 1479
- STEVE HOCHSTADT. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989.*  
By Jean H. Quataert 1480
- PASCAL GROSSE. *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850–1918.*  
By Woodruff D. Smith 1481



- GREG EGHIGIAN. *Making Security Social: Disability, Insurance, and the Birth of the Social Entitlement State in Germany.*  
By Edward Ross Dickinson 1482
- KEVIN REPP. *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890-1914.*  
By David Gross 1483
- JEFFREY VERHEY. *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany.*  
By David Welch 1484
- RAFFAEL SCHECK. *Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914-1930.*  
By Benjamin Lapp 1485
- RICHARD R. WETZELL. *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880-1945.*  
By Geoffrey Cocks 1486
- MICHAEL A. MEYER, editor. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times.*  
By Donald L. Niewyk 1487
- GARETH PRITCHARD. *The Making of the GDR 1945-53: From Antifascism to Stalinism.*  
By John Connelly 1488
- ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL. *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert.*  
By Dietrich Herrmann 1489
- JOHN R. HINDE. *Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity.*  
By Thomas Albert Howard 1489
- JAMES HANKINS, editor. *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections.*  
By George McClure 1490
- WILLIAM J. CONNELL and ANDREA ZORZI, editors. *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power.*  
By Benjamin G. Kohl 1492
- GABRIELLA ZARRI. *Recinti: Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna.*  
By Sharon T. Strocchia 1493
- SHEARER WEST, editor. *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century.*  
By Brendan Dooley 1494
- MANEULA MARTINI. *Fedeli alla terra: Scelte economiche e attività pubbliche di una famiglia nobile Bolognese nell'Ottocento.*  
By Rudolph M. Bell 1495
- EMILIO GENTILE. *Fascismo e antifascismo: I partiti italiani fra le due guerre.*  
By A. James Gregor 1496
- STANISLAO PUGLIESE. *Carlo Rosselli: Socialist Heretic and Anti-Fascist Exile.*  
By James Martin 1497
- FILIPPO SABETTI. *The Search for Good Government: Understanding the Paradox of Italian Democracy.*  
By Joseph LaPalombara 1498
- JERZY KLOCZOWSKI. *A History of Polish Christianity.*  
By John-Paul Himka 1499
- NIKOLAS K. GVOSDEV. *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819.*  
By Janet Hartley 1499
- IAN D. THATCHER. *Leon Trotsky and World War One: August 1914-February 1917.*  
By Anna Geifman 1500
- LYNN MALLY. *Revolutionary Acts: Amateur Theater and the Soviet State, 1917-1938.*  
By Richard Stites 1501
- ANTHONY HEYWOOD. *Modernising Lenin's Russia: Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and the Railways.*  
By Teddy J. Uldricks 1502
- EVAN MAWDSLEY and STEPHEN WHITE. *The Soviet Elite From Lenin to Gorbachev: The Central Committee and Its Members, 1917-1991.*  
By Anthony D'Agostino 1503
- MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA
- RUDOLPH P. MATTHEE. *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600-1730.*  
By Ina Baghdiantz McCabe 1504
- NAOMI SHEPHERD. *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine 1917-1948.*  
By Roger Adelson 1504
- IOANNIS D. STEFANIDIS. *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism, and the Making of the Cyprus Problem.*  
By John A. Koumouliades 1505
- SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
- JOE LUNN. *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War.*  
By Andrew F. Clark 1506
- OWEN WHITE. *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960.*  
By Patricia M. E. Lorcin 1507
- LAMIN SANNEH. *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa.*  
By Donald R. Wright 1508

## Film Reviews

- HOUSE DIVIDED: ABRAHAM AND MARY LINCOLN. Directed by David Grubin.  
By Kenneth J. Winkle 1510
- THIRTEEN DAYS. Directed by Roger Donaldson.  
By Nicholas J. Cull 1511
- BEFORE NIGHT FALLS. Directed by Julian Schnabel.  
By Darién J. Davis 1512
- IN THE MOOD FOR LOVE. Directed by Kar-wai Wong.  
By Jacqui Sadashige 1513

## Collected Essays

## METHODS/THEORY

JOHANNES BURKHARDT, editor. *Krieg und Frieden in der historischen Gedächtniskultur: Studien zur friedenspolitischen Bedeutung historischer Argumente und Jubiläen von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart.* 1515

MICHAEL COX, editor. *E. H. Carr: A Critical Appraisal.* 1515

ARIF DIRLIK, VINAY BAHL, and PETER GRAN, editors. *History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies.* 1515

## COMPARATIVE/WORLD

HOWARD TEMPERLY, editor. *After Slavery: Emancipation and Its Discontents.* 1515

ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE and RAYMOND GREW, editors. *The Constuction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison Across Time and Around the World.* 1516

DAVID A. GERBER, editor. *Disabled Veterans in History.* 1516

GREG KENNEDY, editor. *The Merchant Marine in International Affairs 1850–1950.* 1516

IAN NISH and YOICHI KIBATA, editors. *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000.* 1516

SHMUEL N. EISENSTADT, WOLFGANG SCHLUCHTER, and BJÖRN WITTROCK, editors. *Public Spheres and Collective Identities.* 1516

PETER JACKSON *et al.*, editors. *Commercial Cultures: Economies, Practices, Spaces.* 1517

## ASIA

S. P. UDAYAKUMAR, editor. *Handcuffed to History: Narratives, Pathologies, and Violence in South Asia.* 1517

## EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SUSANNE ELM, ÉRIC REBILLARD, and ANTONELLA ROMANO, editors. *Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire/Orthodoxy, Christianity, History.* 1517

KARL HEIDECCKER, editor. *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society.* 1517

ELIZABETH M. TYLER, editor. *Treasure in the Medieval West.* 1518

NIGEL SAUL, editor. *Fourteenth Century England.* 1518

JAMES BOTHWELL, P. J. P. GOLDBERG, and W. MARK ORMROD, editors. *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England.* 1518

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## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

VICTORIA KAHN and LORNA HUTSON, editors. *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe.* 1518

LUIS A. RIBOT GARCÍA and LUIGI DE ROSA, editors. *Pensamiento y política económica en la Época Moderna.* 1519

NANCY BERMEO and PHILIP NORD, editors. *Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe.* 1519

ALICE TEICHOVA, HERBERT MATIS, and JAROSLAV PÁTEK, editors. *Economic Change and the National Question in Twentieth-Century Europe.* 1519

CHRISTINE COLLETTE and STEPHEN BIRD, editors. *Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918–48.* 1519

B. J. C. MCKERCHER and ROCH LEGUALT, editors. *Military Planning and the Origins of the Second World War in Europe.* 1519

REINHOLD BILLSTEIN *et al.*, editors. *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors, and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War.* 1520

HANNA SCHISSLER, editor. *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968.* 1520

S. VICTOR PAPACOSMA, SEAN KAY, and MARK R. RUBIN, editors. *NATO after Fifty Years.* 1520

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH and I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN, editors. *Between the State and Islam.* 1520

Documents and Bibliographies	1521
Other Books Received	1524
Communications	1534

Index	1541
Index of Advertisers	52(a)

## Topical Table of Contents

- Administration  
1386, 1393, 1400, 1433, 1435, 1465, 1482, 1492,  
1498, 1502
- Agriculture  
1374, 1438, 1439, 1495
- Anthropology  
1428
- Architecture  
1410
- Art  
1353, 1390, 1469, 1501
- Biography  
1339, 1351, 1361, 1363, 1364, 1369, 1375, 1381,  
1408, 1414, 1437, 1451, 1469, 1497
- Business/Finance  
1369, 1410, 1420, 1465, 1495
- Career/Professions  
1389, 1433, 1463, 1477, 1486
- Civil Wars  
1319, 1360, 1362, 1363, 1443, 1453, 1460, 1505
- Class  
1346, 1347, 1360, 1368, 1377, 1380, 1383, 1384,  
1388, 1391, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1411, 1439, 1447,  
1454, 1463, 1468, 1482, 1483, 1495, 1503
- Colonial/Postcolonial  
1319, 1322, 1330, 1341, 1349, 1424, 1427, 1429,  
1473, 1481, 1507
- Comparative  
1325, 1326, 1367, 1430, 1433, 1440, 1443, 1446,  
1447, 1480
- Constitutional  
1342
- Crime and Violence  
1436, 1450, 1466, 1468, 1469, 1486
- Cultural  
1324, 1332, 1333, 1352, 1354, 1365, 1366, 1372,  
1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1406, 1417, 1420, 1421,  
1428, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1442, 1454, 1455, 1464,  
1465, 1472, 1473, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1483, 1489,  
1494, 1501
- Demography  
1319, 1424, 1480
- Diasporas  
1508
- Economics  
1322, 1328, 1341, 1367, 1370, 1373, 1385, 1394,  
1396, 1433, 1438, 1448, 1461, 1502, 1504
- Education/Students  
1404, 1415, 1418, 1471
- Empire  
1330, 1332, 1337, 1339, 1340, 1349, 1430, 1455,  
1492, 1499, 1504, 1507
- Environment  
1331, 1353, 1373, 1392, 1427
- Ethnicity  
1341, 1348, 1352, 1354, 1428
- Family  
1344, 1345, 1346, 1395, 1408, 1454, 1478, 1495
- Film  
1320, 1392, 1406, 1407
- Foreign Relations/Diplomatic  
1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1336, 1402, 1405, 1422,  
1445, 1449, 1457, 1458, 1499, 1504
- Frontiers/Borderlands  
1319, 1347, 1366, 1430, 1431
- Gay/Lesbian  
1451, 1456
- Gender  
1332, 1344, 1345, 1354, 1379, 1389, 1421, 1451,  
1456, 1471, 1479
- Genocide  
1320, 1449, 1487
- Health/Disease  
1325, 1429
- Historiography  
1316, 1317, 1318, 1322, 1323, 1333, 1434, 1446,  
1464, 1467, 1489, 1490, 1492, 1494
- Ideology  
1329, 1332, 1335, 1338, 1339, 1348, 1362, 1377,  
1383, 1404, 1405, 1409, 1418, 1446, 1457, 1459,  
1474, 1485, 1488, 1490, 1496, 1497, 1500, 1501,  
1503
- Immigration/Migration  
1347, 1375, 1421, 1448, 1475, 1480, 1494, 1504
- Indigenous Peoples  
1340, 1341, 1367, 1424, 1481
- Institutions  
1325, 1326, 1328, 1335, 1376, 1377, 1419, 1460,  
1476, 1479, 1488, 1499, 1503
- Intellectual  
1316, 1317, 1318, 1323, 1332, 1333, 1351, 1364,  
1405, 1413, 1414, 1432, 1433, 1435, 1440, 1442,  
1464, 1467, 1469, 1472, 1475, 1481, 1483, 1484,  
1486, 1489, 1490, 1494, 1497
- Journalism  
1360, 1500
- Labor  
1368, 1371, 1374, 1376, 1377, 1380, 1383, 1384,  
1393, 1394, 1396, 1397, 1399, 1407, 1408, 1411,  
1448, 1480, 1488
- Language/Linguistics  
1432



- Legal/Legislative
  - 1342, 1345, 1351, 1362, 1405, 1433, 1435, 1450
- Literature
  - 1318, 1351, 1391, 1432, 1436, 1441, 1463, 1466, 1467, 1470, 1472, 1473, 1489, 1490
- Local/Regional
  - 1319, 1340, 1347, 1350, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1358, 1362, 1368, 1375, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1415, 1438, 1460, 1463, 1465, 1474, 1477, 1478
- Maritime
  - 1373, 1458
- Material Culture
  - 1370, 1380, 1437, 1465
- Media/Communications
  - 1372
- Medicine
  - 1325, 1429
- Memory
  - 1320, 1361, 1366, 1372, 1423, 1428, 1450
- Methods
  - 1319
- Military
  - 1326, 1337, 1400, 1403, 1404, 1422, 1431, 1436, 1458, 1506
- Music
  - 1352, 1390, 1417, 1472
- National Histories
  - 1424, 1499, 1502
- Nationalism
  - 1341, 1455, 1471, 1474, 1484, 1505
- Oral History
  - 1506
- Peace
  - 1409
- Peasants
  - 1439
- Philosophy
  - 1316, 1332, 1441, 1442, 1464, 1489
- Political
  - 1335, 1337, 1342, 1343, 1350, 1351, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1361, 1373, 1378, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1386, 1398, 1405, 1409, 1414, 1415, 1418, 1423, 1424, 1445, 1447, 1448, 1452, 1453, 1457, 1459, 1465, 1466, 1468, 1470, 1482, 1485, 1487, 1489, 1492, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1502, 1504, 1505, 1508
- Psychology/Psychiatry
  - 1479
- Public History
  - 1410, 1411
- Race/Racism
  - 1327, 1344, 1348, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1389, 1393, 1394, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1412, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1459, 1473, 1479, 1481, 1487, 1507, 1508
- Radicalism
  - 1384, 1407
- Reform
  - 1325, 1341, 1351, 1363, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1381, 1382, 1385, 1386, 1394, 1400, 1411, 1440, 1476, 1493
- Religion
  - 1316, 1325, 1327, 1339, 1341, 1349, 1351, 1378, 1379, 1413, 1415, 1428, 1431, 1432, 1434, 1435, 1442, 1443, 1449, 1453, 1470, 1471, 1476, 1478, 1487, 1493, 1499
- Revolution/Social Movements
  - 1336, 1340, 1382, 1390, 1416, 1421, 1443, 1446, 1453, 1460, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1470, 1484, 1488
- Rural
  - 1347, 1362, 1374, 1395, 1438, 1452
- Science
  - 1317, 1392, 1441, 1486
- Sexuality
  - 1421, 1451, 1456
- Slavery
  - 1356, 1357, 1359, 1360, 1445, 1508
- Social History
  - 1319, 1332, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1378, 1387, 1416, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1470, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1493
- Social Policy
  - 1344, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1393, 1394, 1396, 1399, 1405, 1410, 1411, 1413, 1452, 1482, 1483
- Sports
  - 1419, 1420
- Technology/Industry
  - 1331, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1377, 1388, 1408, 1422, 1427
- Theory
  - 1319, 1320, 1322, 1323, 1356
- Tourism
  - 1353
- Trade
  - 1338, 1359, 1367, 1445, 1461, 1465, 1504
- Transportation
  - 1371, 1502
- Urban
  - 1338, 1350, 1355, 1358, 1368, 1375, 1377, 1401, 1410, 1411, 1433, 1447
- Wars
  - 1326, 1329, 1336, 1403, 1409, 1434, 1450, 1455, 1458, 1475, 1484, 1500, 1506
- Women
  - 1319, 1325, 1332, 1345, 1346, 1360, 1368, 1380, 1389, 1394, 1395, 1412, 1437, 1440, 1493
- World
  - 1331

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## In This Issue

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This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay. The articles analyze storytelling and early modern European medicine, the practice and writing of history, and the relationship between gender, race, class, and work in World War II South Africa. The *Forum* examines the creation of national identities in France, Britain, and the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. And the review essay treats political citizenship through an assessment of recent studies of the subject by Latin Americanists. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

### Articles

**Guido Ruggiero** presents a multilayered analysis of the 1617 death of a Venetian woman. At one level, the essay is a microhistory of the strange death of Margarita Marcellini designed to read like a detective tale. It is an attempt to write a scholarly and methodologically engaged narrative based on archival sources but broadly accessible to readers. Ruggiero embraces storytelling to argue that the revival of the narrative must not be simply a return to previous methods but rather must make narrative a meaningful part of interdisciplinary innovation and development in historical scholarship. At another level, the article reveals the complex world of early modern medical practice in the specifics of diagnosis, treatment, and understanding of a particular illness. Ruggiero conveys how varied understandings of Marcellini's mysterious death make it a revealing example of what can be learned from the multiple readings of a small historical event. Finally, the article uses microhistory to look at the development of the program of learning called science in the early modern period: the slow, irregular, and intermittent cutting of that program of learning away from the complex everyday ways of understanding the body, illness, and ultimately the cosmos. The readings of Marcellini's strange death demonstrate the complexity that science had to leave behind to become modern. Ruggiero's story thus challenges our understanding of the past both substantively and methodologically.

**Carolyn Steedman** ponders the meaning of archival dust. She takes as her starting point Jacques Derrida's 1994–1996 mediations on the archive. She explains why she decided to use the translation, or perhaps mistranslation, of the phrase *Mal d'archive* from that essay as “Archive Fever” as a rhetorical device to find things in archives that Derrida did not know were there. Steedman explains that “dust” is one of the things that can be found, particularly the malignant dust that carries a real (or at least a medical and material) Archive Fever. But she also contends that “dust” can be thought of as the symbolic label for the obdurate set of beliefs about the material world that historians have inherited from the nineteenth century and with which we all grapple in our writing. Steedman analyzes that kind of dust by examining the beliefs, rhetoric, and structure embedded in the practice and writing of contemporary historical scholarship. Her provocative argument thus engages central issues in historiography and historical theory.

**Nancy L. Clark** explores the complex relationship between race, class, and gender in World War II South Africa. Although many commentators have concluded that the war led European powers to abandon colonialism as unprofitable, she contends that precisely the opposite occurred in South Africa. Nor, Clark maintains, did the war enable workers in South Africa like those in other areas of the continent to exact economic and political rights that would later help them achieve independence. Instead, she chronicles the transformation of the South African labor force during the war and the central part played by white women in meeting wartime labor needs while simultaneously preserving segregationist racial boundaries. Clark argues that this dual use of white women allowed South Africa

to delay an inevitable confrontation between African workers and the government, while at the same time the women also significantly transformed the nature of the work, leading to a rapid incorporation of Africans into more skilled jobs following the war. She concludes that, by the 1970s, African workers who held the jobs initially filled by women during the war were the ones who initiated the same process of demand and negotiation that the rest of the continent experienced in the midst of the war and with the same result. Clark's article reveals the critical role of gender in social and labor history, not only in South Africa but in other places and times as well.

### **AHR Forum**

**David A. Bell** begins the *Forum* on "Creating National Identities in a Revolutionary Era" by arguing that nationalism, as opposed to national sentiment, is not simply a set of ideas but a political program aimed at actively constructing a nation. He argues that such a program emerged in France only at the very end of the Old Regime and the beginning of the French Revolution. It did so because although the "nation" became a fundamental category in French political culture over the course of the eighteenth century, the traditional definitions of the French nation were only seriously challenged and destabilized by the political and cultural crises of the 1770s and 1780s. Nevertheless, he argues, in the years around 1789 even as the revolutionaries were proclaiming the sovereignty of the nation, they were also possessed by the terrible anxiety that the nation did not yet exist, and thus they started to devise plans for its construction. **Dror Wahrman** shifts the *Forum* across the Channel with an analysis of the consequences of the American revolutionary war in England. He argues that it was not defeat and loss that made the war so important to the English as much as the belief that it was a civil war and an unnatural conflict among Britons. The war thus defied all conventional attempts to explain it and provoked pervasive concerns about the unreliability of identity and its categories. Wahrman argues that the crisis of confidence produced by the war ushered in modern understandings of identity as innate and essential and therefore distinctly different from those that had been prevalent throughout the eighteenth century. **Andrew W. Robertson** extends the *Forum* across the Atlantic to the United States. He analyzes the priority Americans gave to national, local, and political identities between 1787 and 1820. He contends that, in the wake of the French Revolution, America's tenuous postcolonial identity fractured and was supplanted by two partisan "nationalisms" constructed around the Federalist and Republican political parties. These antithetical identities were local in practice but international in orientation, and both claimed to embody "Americanism" while denying that identity to their opponents. Robertson maintains, however, that after the War of 1812 a sense of national feeling reappeared, and the definitions of national identity held by Federalists and Republicans once again converged. The result was the creation of time and opportunity for local and national identity to coexist, at least until coexistence became more and more tenuous as the Civil War crisis emerged. **Benedict Anderson** concludes the *Forum* by placing the issues about national identity raised by Bell, Wahrman, and Robertson into a compelling international comparative framework. Using particular comparisons that span time and space since the late eighteenth century, Anderson suggests how the three essays simultaneously illuminate and complicate our understanding of nationalism.

### **Review Essay**

**Hilda Sabato** probes the meaning of citizenship at a time when it has become a crucial term in political and academic debates. She draws on a vast body of recent scholarship analyzing citizenship as a means of assessing recent studies of nation-building in nineteenth-century Latin America. She argues that the definition of political citizen and the formation of an actual citizenry became important dimensions in the political transformations that began in the region after colonial bonds had been severed and most former colonies tried to create representative governments. Such an examination, Sabato asserts, brings to light previously unrecognized issues. She focuses on two of those: suffrage, elections, and electoral practices on one side, and the development of civil society, public opinion, and the public sphere(s) on the other. And she notes how those issues also resonate with the historical analyses of state-building in other places that were transformed by the passage from colonial rule to independent government, the constitution of nation-states, or the formation of politics based on principles of modern representation and popular sovereignty. Sabato thus provides readers with an insightful analytical survey that encourages historical comparisons of political citizenship in regions around the globe.





Woodcut by Jan van der Straet illustrating some forms of treatment for syphilis during the sixteenth century. Originally published in *Nova Reperta* (Antwerp, 1600).

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## The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini: *Male*, Signs, and the Everyday World of Pre-Modern Medicine

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GUIDO RUGGIERO

WHEN MARGARITA MARCELLINI DIED after a long illness in the late spring of 1617, it seemed that no one who knew her in Venice was particularly surprised: not her second husband of four years, Pietro Marcellini, a well-known doctor who had read the signs of her demise in the progressively more serious illnesses, or *male*, that afflicted her; not the servants of the family, including her faithful maid Giulia Boziola, who had watched over her in her slow decline; not Friar Ottavio Rati, who had tried to care for her spiritual needs; not the members of her natal family, especially her sister Grazimana, who had visited regularly her sickbed.

No, they were not surprised at all. Margarita was no longer young and had reached a stage in life where death was no surprise; but, more significantly, her long series of progressively more debilitating *male*, including terrible headaches, violent pains throughout her body, open running sores and high fevers, all of which resisted cure, had promised her demise. Still, they all found her death strange, primarily because the signs that had marked her as ill and anticipated her death were disquieting—so disquieting that they eventually engendered an institutional response. In the fall of that same year, the Holy Office of Venice decided to investigate the cause of her death and in the process created a rich record<sup>1</sup> that reads like an early modern detective story and a postmodern mini-parable on the historical slipperiness of signs.<sup>2</sup>

This article was originally delivered as the inaugural Josephine Berry Weiss Lecture at the Pennsylvania State University. I would also like to thank the students and faculty involved in the seminar "Culture and Civilization: New Approaches for the New Millennium" at Arizona State University for their suggestions on an earlier form of this essay.

<sup>1</sup> Archivio di Stato, Venice, Sant'Ufficio (hereafter, S.U.), Busta 72, case of Domeniga cameriera della Signora Margarita, unfoliated.

<sup>2</sup> Both make it an ideal candidate for a microhistory. For a theoretical overview of this approach, see the essay by Edward Muir, "Observing Trifles," in *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe: Selections from Quaderni Storici*, Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds. (Baltimore, 1991), vii–xxviii. There, Muir identifies the pathbreaking Italian school of microhistory as growing out of a program set by Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni in the late 1970s and developed by a group of scholars associated with Edoardo Grendi and the Italian journal *Quaderni storici*. For a sample of the innovative microhistorical work produced there, see *Microhistory* as well as the two other volumes of translations that we edited: *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective* (Baltimore, 1990) and *History from Crime* (Baltimore, 1994). Also crucial for the development of microhistory, especially in the English-speaking academic community, were the studies of Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1983), and *The Cheese and the Worms*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1980), as well as Ginzburg's volume of theoretical essays, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1989). It should be noted, however, that not all Italian microhistorians shared Ginzburg's



Before looking more closely at that story and the signs surrounding Margarita's death, however, a word is necessary on the Holy Office that recorded both. The Holy Office was Venice's own local branch of that Roman Inquisition that had been reformed in the sixteenth century by the Catholic Church to deal with the new dangerous heresies of the time. Venice, while it was also concerned with heresy, was not prepared to allow an alien bureaucracy the kind of power that this renewed Inquisition claimed within its territories; thus it created a compromise local council that was staffed by both representatives of the church and Venetian notables. In theory, the local notables were to protect Venetian interests, as they and the ecclesiastics on the body pursued heresy. A particular institution, then, the Holy Office, nonetheless much like the regular Inquisition, pursued heresy while functioning with considerable moderation and bureaucratic rigor, given the standards of the time.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century, in fact, both the Venetian Holy Office and the Roman Inquisition seem to have felt that major heresy was fairly well in check in Italy and that they could safely give some of their time to another concern. As they had pursued heresy, aggressively investigating the spiritual beliefs of the general population, they had become aware of a more nebulous problem—a wide range of what were labeled common errors concerning the nature of Christianity, spirituality, and the world that existed deeply embedded in the “everyday culture” of the time.<sup>4</sup> Essentially, many people were discovered to be living a life that they

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vision. Giovanni Levi, representing a more social-science approach, attacked Ginzburg's over-reliance on anthropology, especially the work of Clifford Geertz. For this critique, see Levi's “On Micro-History,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Peter Burke, ed. (University Park, Pa., 1992), 93–113; and for an example of his approach, see Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Chicago, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> The literature on the Venetian Holy Office is large and growing rapidly. For an excellent discussion of its organization and operation, see Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550–1670* (Totowa, N.J., 1983), 3–142. Paul Grendler has also published several important works that draw heavily on documents from the Holy Office and provide a careful analysis of it as an institution, especially *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). Perhaps the institution has been most studied, as one might expect, from the perspective of how it dealt with heresy; for this, John J. Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), provides a significant new understanding and a thorough review of previous scholarship. Finally, for an important overview of its creation, relationship with the Roman Inquisition, and early activities in Venice and its territories, see Andrea Del Col, “Organizzazione, composizione e giurisdizione dei tribunali dell'Inquisizione romana nella Repubblica di Venezia (1500–1550),” in *Critica storica/Bollettino A.S.E.* 25, no. 2 (1988): 244–94.

<sup>4</sup> In this article, I am using the term “everyday” culture to refer to that range of discourses and practices that were widely shared in everyday life in the early modern period. At a general level, this is perhaps largely an artificial distinction to group together those aspects of culture shared across social boundaries and cultural divisions while not denying that there were significant discontinuities as well. Thus, for example, while today an American parade speaks largely to an everyday shared culture understood by virtually everyone, there are almost invariably local references or specific details that to be understood or analyzed need to be put in more specific cultural contexts. See Mary Ryan, “The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order,” in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 131–53; and for an early modern perspective, Robert Darnton, “A Bourgeois Puts His World in Order: The City as a Text,” in Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984). For the closely related German *Alltagsgeschichte* approach, see Alf Lüdtke, *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, William Templer, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1995); and for a French take, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steve Randal, trans. (Berkeley, 1984). For this essay, this approach allows one to acknowledge the strength of the current critique of

believed was Christian, that often their local priests and friars believed was Christian, but that was at best from the perspective of a newer stricter orthodoxy incorrect and at worst a breeding ground for heresy. As a result, both the Holy Office and the broader Inquisition became heavily involved in investigating, documenting, and trying to discipline everyday culture in order to bring its spirituality and understanding of the world into line with the formal teachings of the church.<sup>5</sup> It was in this context that the Holy Office became involved in the strange death of Margarita Marcellini. For it seemed to them a death that was deeply intertwined with the misuse of the spiritual in everyday culture.

In their more general concern with everyday culture and popular errors, they were not alone. "What do you stupid people think? Do you think that a poor old hag might know something [about healing] when she has spent all her days in some shack [*balza*] spinning with the geese and the hens? What do you commoners think that she could know, if she were not a witch? And if she is a witch, do you want to be cured and returned to health by the Devil's work? . . . I say freely that I would rather die than regain my health with the Devil's art . . . Therefore, common people, I tell you for your own good when you are sick go to male doctors, and . . . do not believe in those old ignorant women."<sup>6</sup>

So Cosimo Aldana advised his late sixteenth-century Italian readers in his *Discourse against the Common Herd: In Which Good Reason Calls to Task Many of Their False Opinions*. Clearly, Aldana, along with many other male intellectuals of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, was very unenthusiastic about women healers. And warning that their cures were the work of witchcraft was a

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the overly Manichean distinction between popular and high culture, and especially popular and educated medicine in the early modern period, without sacrificing the ability to recognize areas where culture was not shared. Perhaps the most pertinent critique of the dangers of an overly dualistic vision for Italian medical practice is to be found in David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> See Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1993); for a more traditional approach that draws this same conclusion, see Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice 1550-1650* (Oxford, 1989); for the broader context, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin, 1996); and Giovanni Romeo, *Inquisitore, esorcisti e streghe nell'Italia della controriforma* (Florence, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Cosimo Aldana, *Discorso contro il volgo; In cui con buone ragioni si reprovano molte sue false opinioni* . . . (Florence, 1578), 235-36. For an important study of popular healers largely in the context of southern Italy, see Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*; as well as his earlier *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester, 1992), esp. 102-15, 129-61. In *Healers and Healing*, Gentilcore argues that in Naples, as in most of northern Italy, there were multiple approaches to healing, including medical, ecclesiastical, and popular, and a wide range of practitioners were accepted by the general populace—a finding confirmed by my own studies on Venice. A broader but equally significant examination of the theme can be found in William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), esp. 168-266, plus the excellent bibliography on 431-79. On medical practice and healing, see Gianna Pomata, *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*, Gianna Pomata, trans., with Rosemarie Foy and Anna Tarabozetti-Segre (Baltimore, 1998); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990); Katherine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1985); and *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial England*, Roy S. Porter, ed. (Cambridge, 1985). See also Mary O'Neil, "Sacerdote ovvero strione: Ecclesiastical and Superstitious Remedies in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Understanding Popular Culture*, Steven Kaplan, ed. (Berlin, 1984), 53-83; and O'Neil, "Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Modena," in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Stephen Haliczer, ed. (London, 1987), 88-114, both based on inquisition documents from Modena.

powerful argument against their widely recognized power. Who, at the time, would have wanted to be cured at the expense of putting themselves in the hands of a witch and indirectly the devil? But Aldana's diatribe had a broader target: the cultural world of common people and common wisdom. In fact, as is well known and documented, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century saw an increasingly virulent attack on what is often labeled today popular culture from a host of sources: humanists, university professors, ever more aristocratic elites, and the reformed churches of Europe, both Catholic and Protestant.<sup>7</sup> The central role that gender stereotyping played in that attack has been more noted than studied, however, and the broader implications of that attack on what I would like to call everyday culture, especially the aspects of that culture related most closely to magic and early science, have been largely overlooked. And, of course, when one begins to read in the literature of popular errors, as it is often labeled, one can understand why it has not been extensively studied; much of it is so distorted and negative that it is difficult to see what it has of interest to a modern reader—unless one is interested in the history of insults.

One has to look elsewhere to get a clearer idea of what was being attacked. And although it might seem a highly unreliable source, one of the best places to look is in the records of the renewed Roman Inquisition and of the Holy Office of Venice—both concerned with investigating just that culture. In fact, this essay is drawn from a larger research project that focuses on documenting the way that culture understood illness, the body, and the cosmos, using materials from both the Inquisition and the Holy Office, along with books of common errors like Aldana's and literature as well, to gain a clearer understanding of the cultural world from which early science to some extent developed and which it then largely left behind.<sup>8</sup> For it is my underlying hypothesis that *the program of knowledge* we label science<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Peter Burke broadly sketched the issues involved in his pioneering *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), 207–43; a stronger vision of an aggressive general attack on popular culture was advanced by Robert Muchembled in his 1978 work published in English as *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400–1750*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Baton Rouge, La., 1988). Recently, William Eamon has reviewed the issues involved from the perspective of science and medicine and suggestively shifted the ground of the debate in *Science and the Secrets of Nature*. Although this rejection of popular errors and the winnowing out of secrets deemed incorrect by learned culture presents a problem for those who reject the notion of a popular/elite split in culture, it might be viewed as a form of labeling aimed at eliminating traditionally shared practices from everyday culture. My own view is that we cannot eliminate the culture divisions in early modern society, even if in many cases we can refer to a shared everyday culture; see note 4 above.

<sup>8</sup> As a result, although this essay follows one case closely, it is based primarily on an analysis of documents contained in the Archivio di Stato, Venice, Buste 6–75 (1547–1620) of the Holy Office (Sant'Ufficio), approximately 1,519 partial and complete cases. Among these cases, more than one in five are concerned with practices labeled witchcraft or magic, most commonly love magic or healing magic and often both; unfortunately, statistics become less exact as one becomes more specific, because individual cases were often concerned with several issues. I give this rough estimate primarily to counter the assumption that seems to be widely held that microhistories are based normally on a reading of one archival case; most, in fact, are focused studies based on massive archival research. For a brief discussion of the issues involved, see note 11 below.

<sup>9</sup> At one level, the simplest definition of science is that it is what scientists do in a specific culture and society at a specific moment. But here I am trying to extend that definition by suggesting that we think about science as a “program of knowledge” that is labeled science either within a society and culture or by later students (although clearly the latter should not be equated with the former). This is a rather inelegant way of making clear that I use the term not so much as a noun, describing a finished thing called science, but as a developing, complex, at times contradictory and unclear program of

developed not just from intellectual changes in the high tradition of ideas, not just from new social structures of knowing, but also in crucial and little understood ways by breaking away from everyday ways of knowing and strategies of dealing with the world—breaking away, that is, from everyday culture.<sup>10</sup>

THE STRANGE DEATH OF MARGARITA MARCELLINI serves not just as a nice medical mystery tale, then, but also as a window on the richness of a culture left behind and the complexity of pre-modern medical practice.<sup>11</sup> On September 5, 1617, the friar

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knowledge never quite finished, never quite unified but, nonetheless, with programmatic qualities that it seems with the advantage of a historical vision slowly were made more systematic as that program of knowledge became modern. In this vision, magic and science could coexist in that program of knowledge both in everyday culture and in different but often intimately related ways in the high intellectual tradition of the early modern period. With time, however, that program of knowledge “delegitimated” a range of practices associated with magic at least as belonging within the parameters of science. It is important to realize that a program of knowledge like science (or magic for that matter as it separated off from science) is not simply driven by its own inner logic; in fact, it might be suggested that more often its programmatic imperatives derive from a strange serendipity of social and cultural factors seemingly unrelated. This essay shows a small but I hope suggestive moment in the long slow transition that broke spirit from matter and deeply changed the program of knowledge we call modern science. My thinking on this has been much influenced by my colleagues Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger; see especially Proctor’s *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Although Keith Thomas in his magisterial *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971) examines a similar break in England from a much broader perspective, his vision of the “partnership” between science and magic collapsing in the seventeenth century (p. 644) has been pivotal for my thinking. For his general perspective on this break, see 631–68; for an interesting comparative perspective on magical healing, see esp. 177–211. See also Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1997), 1–19, 73–84, 230–319. While they tend to minimize the significance of non-professional medical practitioners, they do claim and document a circularity of medical knowledge between popular healers and physicians and a common culture where the spiritual and the medical overlapped (see esp. 17–20, 73–84). For Germany, see the innovative work of Mary Lindemann, especially *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore, 1996), 3–21, 144–235, 289–315; for a later period, Matthew Ramsey, *Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770–1830* (Cambridge, 1988). See also, however, Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 223–28, 130–74, and the literature cited there. Clearly, the emphasis placed here on “breaking away” is not meant to deny the well-established significance of the traditional scholarship that has charted the changes in learned knowledge that were central for the development of the modern program of science or the newer scholarship that over the last few decades has rethought these issues from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge and the new cultural history. Rather, such complex processes seem so multidimensional and overdetermined, so intertwined with the deep dynamics of cultural and social change, that any monocausal or perhaps even causal explanation would be overly reductionist; my goal is merely to suggest that we need to shift our vision to consider the complex relationship between everyday culture and science as well.

<sup>11</sup> This essay, then, is conceived of as a narrative history as well as a microhistory. When in 1975 Lawrence Stone called for a revival of narrative in history (“The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History,” *Past and Present* 85 [1975]: 3–24), he could have hardly anticipated that narrative history was about to find a significant new outlet in the emerging area of microhistory—or maybe he could, given the fact that some of the most important new narrative history was about to be published by his colleagues Natalie Zemon Davis and Robert Darnton. While they may not have been conceived of as microhistory, both Davis’s *Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) and Darnton’s *Great Cat Massacre* provided powerful examples of how well narratives could work in a microhistorical context. Along with the work of Carlo Ginzburg, Gene Brucker in *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), and a growing number of others, the melding of microhistory and narrative had arrived and revived a classic form of historical writing in a rather unexpected area. The wedding of microhistory and narrative, however, did not go unchallenged. Best known perhaps is the debate published in these pages between Davis and Robert Finlay in an “AHR



and priest Ottavio Rati was called before the Holy Office of Venice to testify about that death. When asked the standard opening question of the Holy Office—if he knew why he had been called—he replied with alacrity for a man of eighty-two years: “My lords, yes, I know why I have been called . . . I was told [the reason] by the doctor who asked me if I remembered when I visited his house . . . to examine his wife for her illness.”<sup>12</sup> What, one might well ask, was an eighty-year-old friar doing diagnosing the illness of the wife of a doctor? Clearly, part of the answer is related to the fact that we are in a different time and culture, where an illness, *male*, was recognized and treated in ways that are no longer familiar. And equally clearly, the doctor who had summoned Rati to examine his wife believed that the old friar had skills that would allow him to read signs of her illness that he himself was not as adept at reading.

The Holy Office, like Rati, already had a clear idea where their investigation was heading, and thus when they asked him next a question that sounds very similar to the one just posed, they were not asking it with a modern curiosity about diagnostic friars but, rather, because they wanted to establish his diagnosis as part of the evidence for the case they were developing. They asked: “What illness did his wife have? Why were you called in as a religious person?” Rati’s response begins to answer our question as well: “His wife was the victim of evil magic and bewitched [*fatturata et strigata*], and I was called in because I go about exorcizing [*scongiurando*] people.”<sup>13</sup> Magic and witchcraft<sup>14</sup>—one begins to understand why the Holy Office was questioning Rati about the death of a doctor’s wife and why they too were involved in diagnosing the cause of Margarita Marcellini’s death.

But before we hear Rati’s diagnosis, he had used several terms from the everyday culture of the time that require a moment’s discussion. First, he referred to the

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Forum,” *AHR* 93 (June 1988): 553–603. Critics have tended to focus on the way in which narrative forms seem to encourage too imaginative a reconstruction of the past as well as anachronistic readings of emotions and the way decisions were made. They have also tended to call into question the validity of arguments based on single cases. This last critique is more easily dealt with, for while many microhistorical narratives focus on one case, they are usually based on much broader research; see note 8 above. For a more sympathetic discussion of the dangers and possibilities of a narrative approach to microhistory, see Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 19–20; and for a broader discussion of the issues, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987).

<sup>12</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>13</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>14</sup> Until recently, the main debate on early modern witchcraft was about whether witches actually existed or were merely the creation of a learned vision imposed on society by repressive institutions such as the Roman Inquisition, local church courts, and secular authorities. Such studies focused on three areas: the development of a learned consensus about what constituted witchcraft (focusing on a pact with the devil and attendance at the Sabbat); how and when this consensus broke apart ending witch hunts (earlier in Italy, later in Northern Europe); the organization and personnel responsible for the persecution of witches. In recent years, however, there has been a kind of Copernican revolution in witchcraft studies motivated in part by an interest in popular culture, which has sought to discover what everyday people thought about witches and witchcraft and more specifically if there were people who considered themselves witches in their own terms. From this perspective, the issue has become what were witchcraft beliefs and how did they work in particular societies and cultures of the early modern period: such studies focus more on healing magic, punishing magic (a significant form of vendetta and protection of honor for lower-class people with less ability to pursue a vendetta in other ways, as I have argued), and magic that controlled love and affection. Significantly, this approach also tends to see everyday Christian culture as much more deeply integrated into early modern witchcraft. See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 88–174.



doctor's wife as being *fatturata* as well as *strigata*. In modern parlance, these terms are roughly synonymous and would both be translated as "bewitched." At the turn of the seventeenth century, however, there were a host of terms to refer to the various levels of illness associated with having been harmed magically by others: for example, one could be *martellato*—hammered, *guasto*—wrecked, *legato*—tied, *stregato*—bewitched, *indemoniato*—possessed, or *fatturato*.

In the case of *fatturato*, the term was often used in a generic sense to mean magically harmed, leaving open the question of whether it was by witchcraft or magic. Given the fact that there were a host of people who practiced such magic across the social and intellectual spectrum at the time, Rati's specification that he had diagnosed Margarita as first *fatturata*, that is, the victim of magic, and then *strigata*, the victim of a witch, was not the simple redundancy that it might seem. In turn, when Rati said that he went about exorcising (*scongiurando*) people for these illnesses, the translation "exorcising" is both correct and confusing. For clearly, the term was used here as it was often used at the time in a more general sense. *Scongiuri* were used to drive out evil spirits, but they also served to drive out of the body evil magic, illness, and evil in general. The term *male* included all these afflictions.<sup>15</sup> Crucially, as this terminology suggests, at the turn of the seventeenth century when one became sick—*amalato*—the *male* that had to be diagnosed and overcome were much more complex than the physical illness of a modern body;<sup>16</sup> thus, simply, a doctor could call in a friar to examine the *male* of his wife.

The Holy Office, then, saw nothing strange in this and continued questioning him as an expert witness in diagnosing the *male* of those who had been the victims of magic—their original reason for calling him. Thus they asked him how he knew that she had been *fatturata*. "I was certain . . .," he answered, "because I had them look in the bed, and there they found the witchcraft, that is, quills of feathers wrapped up together, beans, grains of millet, some nails, and other things that I don't remember."<sup>17</sup> Today, a bed loaded with such unlikely things would signify little more than a bad night's rest and some questionable housekeeping perhaps, but for Rati and his interrogators these were telling signs, and without even looking at the

<sup>15</sup> *Malie*, coming from the same root as *male*, also had the meaning of an evil condition caused by magic. In the strict sense, *male* was the general term that included *malie* and other afflictions, but the terms were often used in an overlapping manner.

<sup>16</sup> There are some interesting apparent parallels with diagnostic practices and visions of illness in Africa. The classic work remains E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937). Also very important has been the seminal article by Robin Horton, "African Traditional Thought and Western Science," *Africa* 37 (1967): 50–71, 155–87, which sees African approaches to these issues as closing out modern science. A newer wave of work has been more sympathetic to African traditions; for example, Roy S. Porter's synthetic volume, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to Present* (New York, 1997), is more balanced in its treatment of folk healers and the negative impact of colonial medicine in Africa and South Asia. The work of Steven Feierman has added further complexity and nuance to the field; see especially "Explanation and Uncertainty in the Medical World of Ghaambo," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 74 (2000): 317–44; as well as *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990); and the volume that he edited with John Janzen, *The Social Base of Health and Healing in Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992). Without romanticizing folk healing practices and diagnosis, Feierman closely examines how those practices worked and had meaning in a specific time and place; as a result, his work suggests interesting comparisons with early modern European practices and crucially undercuts the all too facile comparisons that are sometimes drawn.

<sup>17</sup> S.U., Busta 72. Such bed magic was fairly common; see, for example, Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 78, 114–15, 168.

patient or in her bed himself, he had begun to discover what was wrong with Margarita.<sup>18</sup>

As in a good mystery, however, there remained doubts about the authenticity of these signs, since the doctor's wife did not recover completely when her bed-magic was burned. Eight days later, however, her bed was searched again, and Rati reported, "There were found . . . some new bewitching things." He then initiated his cure: "I remember that there were found some sores on her legs caused by witchcraft, and I know that I gave her some Holy Oil to apply to those *male*, . . . and she was cured."<sup>19</sup> Given Rati's reading of the signs of illness and the general belief in the healing power of Holy Oil, Rati's cure was completely logical and appropriate. And it succeeded where all the doctor's earlier attempts had failed.

IN FACT, THE USE OF OILS for healing, especially Holy Oil, was widespread at the time, so widespread that it is difficult to sort out when oils were seen as curing because they were holy and when they were seen as curing because of their physical qualities. To a great extent, this apparent confusion represents an anachronistic attempt to separate things that were not separated at the time, at least in everyday culture: in that culture, oils were made holy by the prayers that were said over them by healers, especially those women healers who Aldana railed against, *and* by priests. In turn, oils were revealed to be holy by the cures they worked on those who had been *fatturato* and *strigato*.<sup>20</sup>

A good example of the broader use of oils is provided by the case of Lucia Nicetta heard by the Holy Office in 1590. Lucia, a widow of about seventy, would seem to be virtually a witch waiting to happen, given the stereotypes of witchcraft accusations—poor, on her own, and scraping out a meager existence healing babies. Given the high mortality rates of infants, as I have argued elsewhere, it was probably only a matter of time and enough failed cures before she was accused of having bewitched one of her charges. Adding to her witchly potential was the report that she was able to read the signs of a sick baby and tell when that baby would die. To the Holy Office and many others, the ability to tell the future was in itself a sign that Lucia was no mere healer but rather a witch who knew the future of ill children because she was in league with the forces of evil.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that "signs" also had a technical meaning in the academic world of medicine at the time. As this essay focuses on the *segni* or signs of illness as they were seen in everyday practice, however, there is only limited crossover, since the term is used primarily to label things that needed to be read to deal with something that was not immediately understood. For a discussion of the academic tradition of signs as it related to the diagnosis of cancer, see Luke De Maitre, "Medieval Notions of Cancer: Malignancy and Metaphor," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72 (1998): 609–37, esp. 626–30 and 634–36. In a suggestive, but perhaps not perfect, way, the signs discussed here seem closer to the "clues" that Carlo Ginzburg associated with Giovanni Morelli, Sherlock Holmes, medical diagnosis, and ancient hunters in "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Clues, Myths*, 96–125.

<sup>19</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Holy Oil was used in the same way as common oil and empowered with the same prayers. It may be that there was a conception that true Holy Oil, that is, oil prepared by ecclesiastics for the rituals of the church, was more effective in curing. This seems to have been the case in certain forms of love magic. Suggestively, however, in love magic cases that used Holy Oil, practitioners and victims were frequently concerned about authenticity, while in curing cases the issue was virtually never considered.

Needless to say, Lucia did not share the Holy Office's view of her practice, and presented herself before them in quite a different light. "My lords, yes, I am called to heal the sick, but against my will," she claimed, "and normally I oil them externally with oil that the Lord God has blessed . . . on the legs, feet, hands, back and nothing more." Then she added, "Poor me, I do everything for the love of God . . . I am a good Christian, I go to confession and I take communion."<sup>21</sup> In her eyes, then, Lucia saw herself as a good Christian who healed using oils empowered by God, certainly not a witch. Whether that self-representation was true or not, it was a common one among the numerous women healers of the time; most claimed to cure as Christian healers, and their cures suggest that, if anything, they were important practitioners of a rich and complex medical area of everyday Christian culture, to a great extent dominated and perpetuated by women.<sup>22</sup>

Lucia's use of oils to cure babies just begins to suggest this richness. In response to a question about her techniques, Lucia replied: "I take oil of dill, chamomile, and mastic and other oils, depending on the illness. In addition I take regular oil to which I add some garlic and rue and ambrosia and boil it. This is good for worms and for the tremors [*la brutta*] of children."<sup>23</sup> Lucia's oils, then, were several and devised to be used according to the various illnesses she treated. Suggestively, as she began to describe her cures, their range increased: at first, she had admitted merely external oiling, but quickly her treatments expanded to include the use of oils taken orally to cure. Also noteworthy is the fact that the oils here so briefly described seem to have had the potential to work in a simple physical sense, for example, chamomile, garlic, and rue are still used in "natural" cures.<sup>24</sup>

But crucially, Lucia's pharmacology did not stop at the physical properties of her oils. Rapidly, she slid into areas that were more problematic to her examiners when she began to recount the prayers that she used to empower her oils: "And I say this prayer [as I oil them]: 'In the name of God and the Virgin Mary who put their hands before mine and would do as I do.' Then I say an Our Father and a Hail Mary, [saying] 'In praise and worship of God and the glorious Virgin Mary and of San Liberale that this creature is liberated from this disease.'"<sup>25</sup> Here again, Lucia has taken us into a broader world of medicine where her oils are applied not simply physically but with a prayer that calls for the hands of God and the Virgin Mary to go before her own and empower them. In addition, the most common prayers to God and the Virgin reinforce her call for divine aid, with, in the end, St. Liberale

<sup>21</sup> S.U., Busta 66, case of Lucia Nicetta, July 31, 1590, unfoliated.

<sup>22</sup> See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, esp. chap. 4, 130–74.

<sup>23</sup> S.U., Busta 66, case of Lucia Nicetta, July 31, 1590. *La brutta* was one of the most common forms of illness causing infant death in Venice. Its symptoms were violent tremors and loss of muscular control. For a description of the disease, see Scipione Mercurio, *La comare o raccoglitrice dell'eccellentissimo Signor Scipione Mercurio, filosofo, medico, cittadino romano* (Venice, 1676), 283; for its impact on children in Venice, see Laura Giannetti, "Venezia alla fine del XVI secolo: Le parrocchie di S. Maria Nuova e S. Canciano" (Tesi di Laurea, Università degli Studi di Venezia, 1977–78), 332.

<sup>24</sup> S.U., Busta 66. "These things," she continued, "I learned from Maritana Malanona, who is now dead. She was a midwife in Murano and Venice and a knowledgeable woman who went to study with the doctors [*che andava a far collegio con le medici*]." There was a long if intermittent tradition of medical training for midwives in Venice, and it may have been that Lucia's teacher Maritana had profited from this training; if so, she and her pupil were once again not so much exponents of a popular culture of healing as practitioners of a fascinating mixture of the everyday Christian tradition of healing and a more classical tradition of medical practice.

<sup>25</sup> S.U., Busta 66.

being called upon to help liberate the infirm person from his or her disease, a form of metaphorical empowerment that was very popular in such healing.

In this use of prayers by healers—often quite inventive and elaborate prayers—church authorities saw an area of error in everyday culture that needed to be disciplined. Thus the Holy Office asked Lucia if she used other prayers, but she used their query to follow her own strategy of establishing her status as a good and obedient Christian. “I used to use another prayer,” she admitted, “but my confessor told me it was wrong and he did not want me to say it. But for the first prayers he gave me license [to use them].”<sup>26</sup> And it seems that her self-portrayal as a good and obedient Christian was working, for the Holy Office moved quickly on to their last concern about Lucia’s healing: her reputed ability to read the future for her patients, asking, “Do you know how to tell or predict when a baby is about to die or recover, and do you have any signs of this like the swelling of your hands or other things?”<sup>27</sup> Her reply to their leading question was again virtually perfect: “I am seventy years old, and because I am old when I oil [babies] my hands give me pain. *I do not know how to tell the future*, those are things of our Lord God. *What would I know* about whether a baby will die or not . . . nor is it true that I say that my hands lose their swelling when a child is about to die, rather I am half paralyzed and I complain that my hands hurt.”<sup>28</sup>

Without her actually stating, “I am just a little old woman who knows nothing,” in her claim of ignorance she was playing directly to the prejudices of those who attacked popular errors, such as Aldana and perhaps her male interrogators. And it may be that her claim was true, but at the least she was aware of what she was not supposed to know, that is, how to read signs that would allow her to tell the future. And her response that those things were only for God to know and not for little old women was perfect. Without wishing to retry Lucia three hundred years later, it is interesting to note that she filled in the Holy Office’s question about the signs one might use to tell if a child was going to recover or not by explaining that she *did not* read the unswelling of her hands as a sign that a baby would die. Perhaps it is that we are tempted to look too closely at signs here, but could it be that inadvertently Lucia has revealed to us what the Holy Office let pass, convinced that she was in fact an ignorant old woman, that is, that she read the recovery or death of the children she treated in the signs of her hands? In the end, the Holy Office was won over by Lucia’s self-representation and freed her, requiring only that in the future she abstain from the use of any prayers in her healing. Nicely, in a way, it seems that they were requiring that her oils lose their holy and spiritual nature and become medicinal in the merely physical sense—the Holy Office, if this reading is accurate, here and with their disciplining of many other women who used holy oils to cure, was preparing the ground for modern medicine and science!

BE THAT AS IT MAY, Lucia’s unread signs in her healing hands bring us back to how difficult it was to read the signs of *male* in the pre-modern world and understand

<sup>26</sup> S.U., Busta 66.

<sup>27</sup> S.U., Busta 66.

<sup>28</sup> S.U., Busta 66, emphasis added.

things like the strange death of Margarita Marcellini. Still, one key to understanding her demise is recognizing that her body was incorporated literally in a world that was much broader and, strange to admit, more complex than the one inhabited by modern bodies. Clearly, her husband, Pietro Marcellini, understood this world. Pietro was about fifty years old, a successful doctor, and with the death of his wife already a widower two times over, when he was called before the Holy Office. He began, "My wife was called Margarita, and it is three full months since she died. After she became my wife a little more than four years ago . . . she was always sick . . . As much as possible I tried to cure her with *natural remedies*, but the *male* got worse and continued to consume her. At that time I got the opinion of many other doctors, and they gave her medicines without any positive results."<sup>29</sup> Here, Pietro might appear to be following a familiar path—trying various "natural remedies" to cure his wife and calling in his fellow medical practitioners to get their advice on treatment—but again the familiarity of his approach is misleading. For in emphasizing the failed "natural" cures to the Holy Office, Pietro was establishing a crucial sign that his wife's *male* were induced by witchcraft.

And that meant in turn that, as a good doctor, he was explaining the signs that led him to call in the priest and friar Ottavio Rati. This became clear as Pietro continued: "Finally, however, I began to understand the *male*. My wife was confined to bed with a great open sore on one leg so painful that she could not get up. One day while she was lying there preparing to eat, surrounded by various little pillows, several of them were found to be tied together with so many knots that it was impossible to untie them even in two hours, and in the end it was necessary to cut them."<sup>30</sup> The signs of witchcraft once again were clear in the context of the everyday culture of the early seventeenth century. And although in Pietro's account they were slightly different and he was the one to discover them, still the incurable illness, the things bound—little pillows—and the binding things—knots that were impossible to untie—all were signs that pointed toward a traditional kind of magic used frequently to punish or destroy. The Holy Office had heard similar accounts often from those who had been *fatturato*, and in turn, as a doctor Pietro Marcellini had to be aware of such lore to be able to diagnose *male* and know if he could cure them.

But Pietro had more telling signs yet for the Holy Office: "from these signs, suspecting some evil magic, we looked inside the mattress and those little pillows knotted together, and we found about a half basket of evil things of various kinds, including a small statue made of solder, which from the waist down was virtually totally consumed, and in the little pillows there was a tie of the type used for tying the vines, which had many knots . . . of various types with feathers. And I confirmed that this was evil magic that evening when . . . I applied to . . . her body some holy relics and the pains disappeared."<sup>31</sup> For Pietro, his wife's pains ceased when he correctly read the signs and applied the appropriate cure for her *male*, holy relics. Again, the emphasis on things that tied and bound in the magical materials found in Margarita's bed stands out, as does the statuette that was mutilated in the same

<sup>29</sup> S.U., Busta 72, emphasis added.

<sup>30</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>31</sup> S.U., Busta 72.



area of the body where Margarita was suffering the most. These were telling and familiar signs that she had been hammered by evil magic.<sup>32</sup> Pietro also revealed that, as a doctor, he was capable of reading these signs and that he was ready to use holy relics, at least for his wife in his program of curing.

But, of course, even in his telling of the case, Pietro was only a doctor, and as he moved into the area of magical *male* and the use of relics (which implied a spiritual cure), he was from the perspective of the church out of his league. Thus based on his diagnosis and reading of the signs, he did the correct thing and called in the true professional, Friar Rati. "And this was the reason that made me believe that she was bewitched, so I called several clerics to examine her, particularly the priest and friar Ottavio . . . who burned the evil magic and signed her several times."<sup>33</sup>

THE FRIAR'S MAKING THE SIGN OF THE CROSS OVER MARGARITA was a form of healing that had been associated with the church and holy people since the earliest days of Christianity. It was also closely associated with baptism and early forms of what would eventually become the sacrament of extreme unction. Both were rituals that gave a prominent place to signing and were considered to be so powerful that they literally reformed body and soul and in that reforming had the potential to cure all ills.<sup>34</sup> In early modern Italy, however, signing was a prominent part of the curing techniques found in everyday culture, and although priests and friars used it regularly, women healers with good signing hands were much sought out for such cures.<sup>35</sup>

The case of Benedetta Maranese reveals some of the range of signing cures used by women, as well as how effectively such cures could compete with the cures of doctors even at the upper levels of society. One of the first people to testify about her curing in 1591 was Gaspara, wife of a shop owner in Venice. Although she was called "lady" by the Holy Office, it seems clear that she was not a noble; the label probably represented merely a certain status and wealth. Gaspara told the Holy Office, "My husband became very seriously ill, and he was in the care of the doctors, and he had many medicines, but he did not recover. In . . . church one day, finding myself together with several other women and discussing his sickness, I was asked

<sup>32</sup> See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 100–07, 112–17, 120–25.

<sup>33</sup> S.U., Busta 72, emphasis added.

<sup>34</sup> In fact, even today it is noted in the most authoritative theological texts that the signing aspect of extreme unction is often associated with miraculous cures. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Extreme Unction." *Segnare* (to sign) is the term used most widely to describe this practice. As the signs (*segni*) of illness (*male*) mark one as ill, signing someone marked an attempt to return someone to a purer, re-formed state. The deeper relationship, if any, between these terms in everyday usage remains to be worked out. Unfortunately, the extensive testimony on signing in the records of the Holy Office and in the literature on healing and popular errors that I have read does not comment on any relationship between the terms. Still, it is suggestive that healers, both women and clerics, were diagnosing illness by signs and healing them by signing.

<sup>35</sup> In Venice and the Veneto in this period, it often seemed that women were the true controllers of the spiritual world and the positive powers of Christianity, and for women healers one of the most powerful elements in their spiritual arsenal was signing. See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 135–44, 149–67, 170–72.

if he had been signed . . . When I replied no, a woman said that there was a person called Benedetta . . . who signed and had good hands for signing.”<sup>36</sup>

Gaspara and her husband, failed by male doctors, on the advice of local women turned to a healing woman with good hands. The first time they went to visit Benedetta, Gaspara did not observe her signing, but she reported, “She said to me that my husband would recover . . . and she told me to bring her a shirt of his so that she could sign [over] it. So the next day I brought her one of my husband’s shirts . . . She took it and began . . . making the sign of the cross with her hand over the shirt, saying, ‘In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen,’ adding ‘Sweet God, Sweet Virgin Mary I cannot do this without you, thus I pray that you must liberate this poor person from this infirmity.’”<sup>37</sup> Once the signing was completed, Benedetta assured her that her husband would be cured, and Gaspara confirmed that he had recovered quickly. In fact, she was so pleased with the signing cure that she recommended Benedetta to others unsatisfied with their doctors.

Benedetta was quite proud of her signing cures when called before the Holy Office. She began her testimony, “I am called Benedetta . . . My profession is to sign with Easter candles that are lighted and with holy water. I sign children who have some *male*.” Her interrogators encouraged her to continue, and she explained: “The child that has a *male* . . . , I ask its name. And let’s say its name is Benedetta, I say, ‘Benedetta you have come here because you wish to be signed so that Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary give you your health and San Liberale is able to liberate you from this sickness. Christ, with the Sweet Virgin Mary, first puts forward his holy hand, and then I put forward mine [so that] San Liberale is able to liberate you totally from this *male*.’ Then I make the sign of the cross over that creature starting at the head, and as I sign I say, ‘In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit the *male* that is found on Benedetta is lifted off her completely . . .’ And while I say these words I go on signing the baby and I hold an Easter candle lighted in one hand. Then I have the sick child put out the candle if they are able to do so, if not I do it myself. When they have put out the candle I say, ‘Thus you have put out all your *male* . . . Finally I take some holy water and with that I sign the child again.”<sup>38</sup>

Although the signing cures of healers show a wide and fascinating variation, most share common features with Benedetta’s. Crossing is the central aspect of the ritual. As I have discussed elsewhere, the making of the sign of the cross was a common gesture in the early modern Catholic world.<sup>39</sup> It carried with it a host of meanings, but what was perhaps most controversial in signing to heal was that it was not a personal gesture but a social one—Benedetta signed another person. In a society very visually attuned to the meaning of gestures, every gesture had the potential to express deep meaning, and making the sign of the cross over another had the potential to express the deepest powers of Christianity. No wonder that healers were so eager to appropriate this gesture in their holy cures, and in turn it is small wonder that when the church began to examine more closely how Christianity fit

<sup>36</sup> S.U., Busta 68, case of Benedetta Maranese, January 12, 1591.

<sup>37</sup> S.U., Busta 68.

<sup>38</sup> S.U., Busta 68.

<sup>39</sup> See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, 153–54, 161–62.

into the lives of everyday people, they decided that the signing of others was something that should belong to the church alone.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF BENEDETTA'S SIGNING was as important, then, as the spiritual, and, as already noted, this same mixing of social and spiritual was central in reading the signs of illness. In this social evaluation of illness, gossip played a crucial role and not necessarily a negative one. Neighbors who kept track of disagreements and at a higher level ongoing vendettas were often ideally placed for evaluating if a *male* was the result of some hammering magic or not. In this case, most of the accusations before the Holy Office took a gossip-like form, suggesting that very few people were willing directly to accuse anyone of witchcraft; rather, they reported what others said to them on the issue. It should be noted, however, such people put the accusations of witchcraft in the mouths of others at the same time they were constructing a record of signs that virtually required the Holy Office to conclude witchcraft was the cause of Margarita's death.

Returning to Margarita's fatal illness, the social context of her suffering was stressed in the testimony of one of her servants, Giulia Boziola. Giulia had lived with Margarita for more than twenty-two years and considered herself a close friend of the deceased. When the Holy Office asked her if she knew if Margarita had been bewitched, she answered, "It is difficult to judge securely whether she was bewitched or not, but in my opinion from the signs that were seen, I truly believe that she was bewitched." The Holy Office asked immediately about those signs, and she took them along the now familiar path already outlined by Ottavio Rati and Pietro Marcellini.<sup>40</sup> Giulia, however, added some new signs: "That very day that the witchcraft material was found . . . there came to visit the sick woman, Madonna Grazimana, her sister." Although a visit by a sister might seem an unexceptional event, Giulia's phrase "that very day" may well be another sign. Timing was also crucial in the social dimension of witchcraft, for witches knew when their spells had been disturbed and often reacted immediately.

An interesting case that reveals this aspect of timing in a witch's monitoring and responding to his own spells, even being forced to respond to his own spell, was tried in Modena in the 1590s. There, a certain Gasparo Massacci was accused of having bewitched various people. The husband of one of his victims, Pietro Navis, used some counter-magic involving the beating and boiling of articles of clothing that had touched the skin of his wife to force a response from the witch responsible. In fact, while he boiled stockings and a kerchief of hers, two servants beat one of her blouses. As they were carrying out these tortures of her clothing, a large, strange black cat showed up to observe the proceedings. Everyone was aware that this was her bewitcher, and the cat was chased with clubs, only just managing to

<sup>40</sup> S.U., Busta 72. Her tale and signs are by now familiar: "First she [Margarita] had a sore over her lip. It was very large and not like normal ones that last three or four days. It lasted the whole month of August even though it was treated and medicated carefully." She continued: "When she had recovered from that she got three sores on one leg that lasted three entire months, even though the barber surgeon came every morning and evening to treat her. Then she began to have various pains in the head, in the chest, and the flanks and her whole body was tormented." Again, these symptoms persisted until the extensive witchcraft material was found in Margarita's bed.

avoid one small cat massacre. But tellingly the very next day, the presumed witch, Gasparo, showed up in person to speak with his victim. After some interesting threats and diplomacy, he left, and Pietro's wife was suddenly liberated from her suffering.<sup>41</sup>

Grazimana's visit elicited similar suspicions. "I told her about all those things that we had found," Giulia noted, "and I wanted to show her, but she did not want to see them." Grazimana's lack of curiosity was telling and along with the timing of her visit aroused Giulia's suspicions. "She left immediately, and I looked in the mattress again but did not find anything. But when I decided to remake the bed I found there two beans and some millet, which seemed as if they had just come fresh from the fields." The signs pointed at Grazimana in Giulia's account. But nicely, she put her accusation in the mouth of another, reporting, "The surgeon who had been treating Margarita's sores . . . was surprised that he could not cure her . . . and suggested that some relative who visited her in her house had had her bewitched."<sup>42</sup> Still, one might wonder why Margarita's own sister would want to cause her death. Never fear, for Giulia and others the reason was evident—Margarita had taken a handsome dowry with her to her second husband, and that dowry would remain in his hands until her death. Then it would be returned to her natal family, as required by Venetian law. In the social and economic context of the transfer of women from one family to another through marriage, Margarita was a significant asset to her husband and a discrete loss to her own family.<sup>43</sup> Her sister's suspicious visits took on a whole new meaning in this light, and Giulia thoughtfully informed the Holy Office about several comments made by relatives of Grazimana regarding how Margarita's wealth would return to them at her death. Again, telling signs.

A CASE OF WITCHCRAFT required one last element—Giulia's tale had arrived at the point where a witch was necessary. Pietro Marcellini had already testified that suspicions had pointed at a maid in his service named Menega who had always been close to his wife's family. Giulia's account nicely reinforced Pietro's. She reported that one day she had found Menega with a daughter of Grazimana's, named Lucieta, in their home practicing love magic designed to bind to the latter a lover.<sup>44</sup> The innuendo was clear: if Menega knew binding love magic, she most probably knew the binding and hammering magic that was used against Margarita, as much love magic was based on a similar approach.<sup>45</sup> Giulia reported that she had encountered that same niece of Margarita's at the door of the kitchen upstairs, "and I found . . . that Menega with Lucieta had put out the lights. I asked them where they had been and where they were going, but they did not answer me . . . Lucieta later told my mistress [Margarita] that Menega had been teaching her love magic

<sup>41</sup> Modena, Inquisitione, Busta 9, fasc. 4, pt. e, case of Gasparo Massacci f. q. Gasparo, 1598–1604.

<sup>42</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>43</sup> The dowry system of Venice has been extensively studied by Stanley Chojnacki; see *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore, 2000), a collection of his most important articles on the subject.

<sup>44</sup> S.U., Busta 72. According to Pietro's account, his wife had also been very suspicious of this maid, and eventually they had sent her away, but not in time to save Margarita.

<sup>45</sup> See Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, esp. 88–129.

in the kitchen in order to win her lover Pietro and that Menega had made her enter a circle drawn with coal . . . , and she said to my mistress that she should not tell me as I was too scrupulous about such things. But the next morning she told me the whole story and told me that I was not to tell anyone."<sup>46</sup>

Giulia in turn told Pietro about the love magic, and that added to his suspicions; as he reported to the Holy Office, "my maid told me about some witchcraft done by Menega. Specifically Giulia said that Menega had taught some kind of witchcraft to a niece of Margarita's . . . to make herself loved."<sup>47</sup> Menega's knowledge and use of love magic was the smoking gun. Along with all the signs found in Margarita's bed and the strange incurable nature of her *male*—which responded only to holy objects, holy oils, and signing—for all intents and purposes, it proved that poor Margarita had died a painful death bewitched by her own maid at the behest of her natal family.

The strange death of Margarita was virtually solved for the early seventeenth century, but Pietro had one last sign to drop—common opinion: "It was a common opinion in my house and outside as well," he noted, "that these ills were caused or made to be caused by those who wanted her property, that is, in order to make her die quickly. And my wife never directly told me this . . . but I noticed that she was very wary of her natal family . . . And moreover, her sister is . . . a friend of the said Menega."<sup>48</sup> The case against Menega and Margarita's family seems clear from the perspective of early modern medicine and its signs, and Pietro had laid it out nicely.<sup>49</sup>

There was, however, another side to the strange death of Margarita, another tale of signs to be read and worth briefly recounting here for the sake of our detective story and also to underscore what should be clear by now, that reading the signs of illness was a very complex and difficult business in the pre-modern world. The best account of that other reading comes from a member of her natal family, Lucieta, wife of Giovanni Vendramin, the same Lucieta who had been supposedly involved with Menega in using love magic to win a lover. She denied any involvement in such things, claiming that she was young and optimistic about her chances in love without magic. She also strongly denied that Menega was a witch.<sup>50</sup> But the key to Lucieta's counter-case came when she was asked directly by the Holy Office, "Do you know if the said Madonna Margarita was bewitched by anyone and [if so] by whom?" She replied, "My lords, no. I do not know that she was bewitched. I know very well that they were saying that in her house, but they did not know it."<sup>51</sup> In fact, she had her

<sup>46</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>47</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>48</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

<sup>49</sup> But in laying before the Holy Office the signs that pointed toward witchcraft, Pietro may not have been entirely concerned with seeing a witch punished and justice done to the murderers of his wife; for conveniently if he proved his case against Menega and his wife's natal family, he would have had a good case for claiming that he should not return her dowry. Perhaps this is an unkind and modern reading of yet another set of signs in the strange death of Margarita, but it is certainly another possible reading.

<sup>50</sup> S.U., Busta 72. In this context, she added, "It is very true, however, that Giulia is a disgrace, but I still would not claim that she is a witch, because one must tell the truth." Cleverly showing her moderation in not labeling Giulia a witch, she nonetheless began to undermine her damaging testimony by suggesting that she was a disgrace and thus not reliable.

<sup>51</sup> S.U., Busta 72. She then went on to narrate briefly a failed marriage proposal between herself and a son of Pietro by a previous marriage, intimating that Margarita had broken up the affair, creating



own theory about the strange death of Margarita. "And as far as I am concerned," she added, "I believe that it was that doctor, her husband, who was the cause of her death. He filled her up with the *mal francese* [syphilis]. He did it just like he did to that other woman, that is, his first wife, who died of it also."<sup>52</sup>

Suddenly, the signs so carefully marshaled to prove witchcraft take on another meaning. Suddenly, our detective story has become a postmodern parable on signs and their disconcerting ability to shift in meaning. Re-reading those signs: those open sores that would not go away even with the best cures now read syphilis, those bodily aches and pains that could not be diagnosed or cured now read syphilis. And when finally the local friar was called in to sign poor Margarita and her condition seemed to improve, it was not the signing or the Holy Oil or relics that cured her, but merely that the symptoms of syphilis had gone into remission. When they reappeared, it was not due to some new bewitching materials added to her bed fresh from the fields, it was because the syphilis given her by her husband had reentered its active phase.

The strange death of Margarita seems not so strange at all. But, of course, we think we have solved the death of Margarita, because at the turn of a new millennium syphilis makes the best case for the signs that we accept. Yet have we already forgotten all those strange things in her bed? Have we forgotten the animosities that swirled around Margarita in her social world and the good reasons that her natal family had to use such magic against her? Have we forgotten the telling timing of her sister's visit? Have we forgotten that Menega seems to have practiced similar forms of magic, was very close to Grazimana, and had every opportunity to bewitch her mistress? And have we forgotten the spiritual cures that relieved Margarita's suffering? In sum, we need to forget a host of early modern signs to have our modern diagnosis of the *male* that took Margarita's life.

In the end, we will not know for sure what caused the strange death of Margarita Marcellini, but I hope this small detective story has revealed the parameters of a much more complex world of signs that had to be left behind (a long, slow, and never entirely successful process) before the program of modern medicine and science could be fully realized. Certainly medicine would be professionalized and women and folk healers disempowered, but crucially the world and the body had to be reduced to simple physical propositions before modern medicine and science could be fully practiced. And in turn, a complex everyday world and culture loaded with signs and meanings had to be cut away. In that world, Menega could have been a witch and Margarita her victim.

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animosities within her marital family that led to her death. She reported that Pietro's son in the face of his stepmother's opposition to their marriage had said simply, "She [Margarita] is quite old, and her eyes will soon be closed." Tit for tat, sign for sign, if Margarita's marital family claimed that she had been bewitched by her natal family to regain her dowry, her natal family could claim that her eyes had been closed by her marital family! One is tempted to ruefully remark, "what tangled webs these sorry mortals weave," if it had not already been said.

<sup>52</sup> S.U., Busta 72. On the *mal francese* in the early modern period, see John Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), published, unfortunately, without a bibliography. A wide-ranging and suggestive essay still worth consulting is Anna Foa, "The New and the Old: The Spread of Syphilis (1494–1530)," in Muir and Ruggiero, *Sex and Gender*, 26–45.

Tellingly, however, for some, that world was already beginning to pass away, and curiously institutions like the Holy Office and Inquisition, often antithetical to the modern and to science, were playing a significant, if rather unintentional, role in delegitimizing it, as the final words in Margarita's case suggest. On the back of the folios that make up the case there is written *nihil probatum*, "nothing proven," and the case was dropped.<sup>53</sup> All the signs so carefully presented to the Holy Office were no longer sufficient in their eyes to prove the cause of Margarita's strange death.

<sup>53</sup> S.U., Busta 72.

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## Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust

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CAROLYN STEEDMAN

I breathed in their dust.

Jules Michelet, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 4.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1994, Jacques Derrida presented a paper to a conference in London, delivering the English-language version of what was to become *Mal d'archive: Une impression freudienne* in the North London Freud House, in Maresfield Gardens.<sup>1</sup> In the opening passages of "Archive Fever," Derrida presented his audience with the image of the *arkhe*, as a place where things begin, where power originates, its workings inextricably bound up with the authority of beginnings. In the brief account of the operation of the Greek city-state that he gave on that occasion (and in the various printed versions that followed), he pointed to its official documents, stored in the *arkheion*, the superior magistrate's residence. There, the *archon* himself, the magistrate, exercised the power of procedure and precedent, in his right to interpret them for the operation of a system of law.

In Derrida's description, the *arkhe*—the archive—appears to represent the *now* of whatever kind of power is being exercised, anywhere, in any place or time. It represents a principle that, in Derrida's words, is "in the order of commencement as well as in the order of commandment." The *mal* (the fever, the sickness) of the archive is to do with its very establishment, which is the establishment of state power and authority.<sup>2</sup> And then there is the feverish desire—a kind of sickness unto death—that Derrida indicated *for* the archive: the fever not so much to enter it and use it as to *have* it.

For those historians who heard or read "Archive Fever," it raised the puzzling question of what on earth an archive was doing there in the first place, at the beginning of a long description of another text (someone else's text, not Derrida's), which dealt, as he himself would go on to do at length, with Sigmund Freud and the topic of psychoanalysis.<sup>3</sup> For the main part, "Archive Fever" is a sustained

<sup>1</sup> References in the text are to the English-language version of *Mal d'archive*, first published as Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," *Diacritics* 25 (Summer 1995): 9–63. For the publication history of "Archive Fever," see note 7 below.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Eric Prenowitz, trans. (Chicago, 1996), 9. That the inauguration of national archives is intimately bound up with the development of European nation-states has long been recognized. See Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, Steven Rendell and Elizabeth Claman, trans. (French edn., 1977; English, New York, 1992), 87–89; Carolyn Steedman, "The Space of Memory: In an Archive," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 67.

<sup>3</sup> Derrida's remarks about archives are the prolegomenon to a major return to the topic of

contemplation of Yosef Yerushalmi's *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (1991). A historian of Sephardic Jewry with an interest in the question of memory, Yerushalmi came, by way of his membership in a psychoanalytic study group on anti-Semitism, to a reading of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*. There, he encountered Freud as a historian, or at least (in Freud's own formulation) someone who had produced a "historical novel," or a kind of historical story, in order to understand the period of baroque anti-Semitism through which he was living.

Derrida had long seen in Freudian psychoanalysis the desire to recover moments of inception, beginnings and origins, which—in a deluded way—we think might be the moment of truth. For Derrida, Freud's work is particularly marked by the foundationalism, or fever for origins, that he has spent nearly half a century writing against. In "Archive Fever," desire for the archive is presented as part of the desire to find, or locate, or to possess that moment, as a way of possessing the beginning of things. Yerushalmi's book, concerned as it is with Freud and the traces and marks of Judaism on psychoanalysis and, indeed, with Judaism as its origin, or progenitor, is a vehicle for further examination of this theme.

Yerushalmi's book is a speculative account of the composition of *Moses and Monotheism*, though not half as speculative as the text itself, which is famously based on no historical evidence whatsoever. Yerushalmi, on the other hand, had a fairly complete account of the process of its composition, from correspondence about it, from a hitherto unnoted draft (obtained with astonishing ease from the Freud Archive at the Library of Congress), and from the context within which Freud wrote (retrieved from newspaper files and a more general socio-political history of the rise of Nazism in central Europe). Yerushalmi's overall purpose in the book is to get Freud to admit that psychoanalysis is a Jewish science: the final chapter is in the form of a monologue, addressed directly to the dead author.<sup>4</sup> The "impression" of Derrida's subtitle is the imprint of Judaism and "the Jewish science" on Yerushalmi, and indeed on Derrida himself. But the signs and traces that Freud dealt in, and the particular mark that is circumcision, constitute the kind of archive that Derrida seemed to believe most historians would not be interested in.

The *archon* and his *arkheion* allowed Derrida some commonplace speculation about the future of the archive, as the register, ledger, and letter are replaced by e-mail and the computer file. They also prompted some pertinent discussion of the politics of various kinds of archives. (Anyone who had read Yerushalmi's book might have been reminded of the furor of the 1980s over notorious restrictions of access to the Freud Archive.)<sup>5</sup> Many kinds of repositories were strapped together

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psychoanalysis and the questions he raised about it in 1967 in his essay "Freud and the Scene of Writing," in *Writing and Difference*, Alan Bass, trans. (French edn., 1967; English, London, 1978), 196–231.

<sup>4</sup> Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable* (New Haven, Conn., 1991). For the draft of *Moses and Monotheism*, see Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3, 16–17, and 101–03. For surprise at ease of access to this archive, see Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, *The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory* (1984; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, 1985); and Janet Malcolm, *In the Freud Archives* (1983; rpt. edn., London, 1997), esp. 19–21, 27–35.

<sup>5</sup> Janet Malcolm gives a summary account of this affair in *In the Freud Archives*, and in the postscript, which she wrote for the 1997 edition.



here, in the portmanteau term “the archive,” as Derrida considered their limits and limitations, their denials and secrets. These aspects of the argument, where the *arkhe* appeared to lose much of its connection to the idea of a place where official documents are stored for administrative reference and became a metaphor capacious enough to encompass the whole of modern information technology, its storage, retrieval, and communication, are the ones that have been most taken up and commented on, in the English-speaking world, since 1994.<sup>6</sup>

The setting in which Derrida delivered the very first “Archive Fever” explains to some extent what an archive was doing there, as a prolegomenon to a discussion of psychoanalysis and a return to the questions he first raised about it in the late 1960s. In a substantial family house in Maresfield Gardens, the Freuds’ home in exile, Derrida looks up from the word-processed text from which he reads (he makes much in “Archive Fever” of the “little portable Macintosh on which I have begun to write”) and says: “It is thus, in this *domiciliation*, in this house arrest that archives take place. The dwelling, this place where they dwell permanently, marks this institutional passage from the private to the public . . . It is what is happening, right here, when a house, the Freuds’ last house, becomes a museum: the passage from one institution to another.”<sup>7</sup> The immediacy of that archive—an archive in process, taking place at that moment—forced a beginning to a conference presentation and a book, at the same time as it reiterated arguments that Derrida had been making for thirty years, about the Western obsession with finding beginnings, starting places, and origins.<sup>8</sup> “Archive Fever” thus explores the relationship between memory and writing (in its widest meaning, of recording and making marks) and Freud’s own attempts to find adequate metaphors for representing memory. Derrida sees in Freud’s writing the very desire that is Archive Fever: the desire to recover moments of inception, to find and possess all sorts of beginnings.

The etymology of these opening passages is given to us with the accompanying and paradoxical assertion that a word (“archive,” “arkhe,” “arkheion,” “archon”) cannot be a beginning. Indeed, “Archive Fever” opens with the clearest of statements that words are never a beginning, never an origin: “Let us not begin at the beginning,” Derrida said, “nor even at the archive. But rather at the word ‘archive.’” What “archive” is doing there at all, then, is the work of meditating on starting places, the search for which, because it is impossible, Derrida names as a sickness, a movement toward death. Moreover, he reiterated here, to want to make an archive in the first place is to want to *repeat*, and one of Freud’s clearest lessons was that the compulsion to repeat is the drive toward death.<sup>9</sup> And the puzzling

<sup>6</sup> See “Special Issue: The Archive,” *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998), and “Special Issue: The Archive Part 2,” *History of the Human Sciences* 12, no. 2 (1999).

<sup>7</sup> Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 22, 10. Written (word-processed) in French in May 1994 (every version mentioned below is most precise about the dates of composition) for the conference “Memory: The Question of Archives,” which was held under the auspices of the Société Internationale d’Histoire de la Psychiatrie et de la Psychoanalyse, and the Freud Museum, it was then called “The Concept of the Archive: A Freudian Impression.” The English-language version appeared in the summer of 1995 as noted in n. 1 above. This appeared in book form a year later: Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Prenowitz, trans. (Chicago, 1996). The French edition appeared in 1995: Derrida, *Mal d’archive: Une impression freudienne* (Paris, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> For origins fever, see Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, trans. (French edn., 1967; English, Baltimore, 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Expressed at many points during Freud’s writing career, the clearest statement of the argument is

etymological prolegomenon may be seen as one more example of the textual techniques exercised in Derrida's philosophy. The binary oppositions that underpin Western metaphysics can be made to shift, by inflating a concept so that it joins up with its supposed opposite, thereby demonstrating that—there is no opposition at all. "Archive" is thus inflated to mean—if not quite the Everything—then at least all the ways and means of state power: Power itself, perhaps, rather than those quietly folded and filed documents that provide the mere and incomplete records of some of its inaugural moments.

By far the most common reaction to "Archive Fever" among its English-speaking readers has been the assumption that it has something to do with archives (rather than with psychoanalysis, or deconstruction, or Sigmund Freud; or with political and social misuses of power). Derrida has been addressed through his idea of the *arkeion*, yet commentators have found remarkably little to say about record offices, libraries, and repositories, and have for the main part been brought face to face with the *ordinariness*, the unremarkable nature of archives and the everyday disappointments that historians know they will always encounter there. (Although few have been as honest about what they have found—or not found—as Tom Osborne is in "The Ordinariness of the Archive."<sup>10</sup>) There is a kind of surprise in such reactions, at encountering something far less portentous, difficult, and meaningful than Derrida's use of the concept of "archive" would seem to promise.

In the French book-version of "Archive Fever," there is a loose-leaf notice three pages long, headed "Prière d'insérer" (Please Insert). (In my library copy, it is placed behind the title page and before an explanatory note about the Freud Museum conference.) This notice makes much clearer than can be done in English the social questions it seems Derrida intended to treat in the body of the text. Here (for the French *mal* does not mince its meaning), there are both archives *and* the political disasters of the late twentieth century named as archives of evil:

Les désastres qui marquent cette fin de millénaire, ce sont aussi des *archives du mal*: dissimulées ou détruites, interdites, détournées, "refoulées." Leur traitement est à la fois massif et raffiné au cours de guerres civiles ou internationales, de manipulations privées ou secrètes.<sup>11</sup>

Derrida broods on revisionist histories that have been written out of these archives of evil (a shadow of a suggestion here, then, that it is not archives he has in his sights so much as what gets written out of archives: formal, academic history); but he broods as well on never giving up on the hope of getting proof of the past, even though documentary evidence may be locked away and suppressed. He emphasizes again the institution of the archives as the expression of state power. And he appears to urge a distinction between actual archives (official places for the reception of records, with systems of storage, organization, cataloging) and what

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to be found in "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920), *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, James Strachey, gen. ed., vol. 18 (London, 1950), 3–64.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Osborne, "The Ordinariness of the Archive," *History of the Human Sciences* 12, no. 2 (1999): 51–64.

<sup>11</sup> "The disasters that mark the end of the millennium are also *archives of evil*: hidden or destroyed, forbidden, misappropriated, 'repressed.' Their usage is at once clumsy and refined, during civil or international wars, during private or secret intrigues."

they are all too often reduced to in common understanding: memory, the desire for origins, “la recherche du temps perdu.”<sup>12</sup> “Prière d’insérer” also makes plainer the relationship between psychoanalysis and archival practice that is explored in the main text: psychoanalysis ought to revolutionize archival questions, dealing as it does with the repression *and* reading of records, and because of the importance it places on all forms of inscription. Above all, this brief insertion makes it clear that, in *Mal d’archive*, Derrida will deal not only with a feverish—sick—search for origins, not only with archives of evil but with “le mal radical,” with evil itself. The two intertwined threads of argument to follow in the main body of the text, about psychoanalysis and Yerushalmi’s questioning of Freud’s Jewishness, underpin a history of the twentieth century that is, indeed, a history of horror. To say the very least, if you read in English, without the insert and with the restricted, monovalent, archaic—and, because archaic, faintly comic—“fever” of the English translation, rather than with “mal” (trouble, misfortune, pain, hurt, sickness, wrong, sin, badness, evil), you will read rather differently than a reader of the French version.<sup>13</sup>

But as English-language readers, we are forced to have the fever, and, if we are historians, forced to exasperated expostulation that archives are nothing like this at all. As might be expected of an experience that is an important professional rite of passage, no one historian’s archive is ever like another’s; each account of his or her experience within them will always produce counterexamples, of different kinds of discomfort. The English translation of *Mal d’archive* makes Archive Fever a variant of origins fever; the fever about to be described here is one that might actually be contracted in the dust of an archive. And this actual fever (Archive Fever Proper) will turn out to be just one more item in the litany of complaints that historians have drawn up, in their deeply uncomfortable quest for original sources that Bonnie G. Smith has shown being recorded by scholars ever since the practice of “scientific” history was inaugurated, in the middle years of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> She has described these moans and groans: the “indignities” endured by Eugène Burnouf, for example, when he was searching out English manuscripts in the 1830s; the “sleepless nights . . . hard beds, ‘sad collections of meat and vegetables cooked in water,’” horrible food, people wearing horrible clothes, desperate social encounters with fellow historians who live in the provincial towns where records are kept, their sad and dispirited wives. (As the gender of history and historical practice has changed, and women have set out on their own campaigns to release “‘those many princesses, possibly beautiful,’” which are the languishing records awaiting their rescuer, we must add to this list of social terrors involved in archive work the sad and dispirited husbands of provincial historians.)<sup>15</sup> Anyone else’s archive can always

<sup>12</sup> How hard *not* to do this, at the end of the long efforts of Pierre Nora and his colleagues to establish that French archives themselves are *lieux de mémoire*. See Bertrand Taithe, “Monuments aux morts? Reading Nora’s *Realms of Memory* and Samuel’s *Theatres of Memory*,” *History of the Human Sciences* 12, no. 2 (1999): 123–39.

<sup>13</sup> And with yet more difference if you are a British speaker of English. You only have a fever in the UK after medical pronouncement, probably after being hospitalized. “Running a temperature” is what is used to mean the everyday American “fever.”

<sup>14</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 120–21.

<sup>15</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, “Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival

make the historian expostulate: "Archive Fever, indeed! *I can tell you all about the archive . . .*"

In a parody (but not quite a parody) of empirical doggedness, we might cling to the coattails of one figure of Derrida's, one image, *one literal meaning* of "fever" (which wasn't even a word that was there to start with), and find not only a different kind of sickness but also the magistrate who is actually present in his text, though wrongly named. There is always a pleasure as a reader in finding something that the writer did not know (or purports not to know) was there (and in this particular case, in willfully asserting of a deconstructionist text that there *is* something there, after all); indeed, the practice of history in its modern mode is, in one view, just one long exercise of the deep satisfaction of *finding things*.<sup>16</sup> But a more serious purpose here is to understand why historians and deconstructionists must continue to talk right past each other, to suggest why this mutual incomprehension may be no bad thing—or at least—nothing to worry about, and along the way to know a little more about what it is that historians do in archives, and in writing about what they have found there.

Archive Fever, indeed? *I can tell you all about archive fever.*

ACTUALLY, ARCHIVE FEVER comes on at night, long after the archive has shut for the day. Typically, the fever—more accurately, the precursor fever, the feverlet—starts in the early hours of the morning, in the bed of a cheap hotel, where the historian cannot get to sleep. You cannot get to sleep because you lie so narrowly, in an attempt to avoid contact with anything that isn't shielded by sheets and pillowcase. The first sign, then, is an excessive attention to the bed, an irresistible anxiety about the hundreds who have slept there before you, leaving their dust and debris in the fibers of the blankets, greasing the surface of the heavy, slippery coverlet. The dust of others, and of other times, fills the room, settles on the carpet, marks out the sticky passage from bed to bathroom.

This symptom—worrying about the bed—is a screen anxiety. What keeps you awake, the sizing and starch in the thin sheets dissolving as you turn again and again within their confines, is actually the archive, and the myriads of its dead, who all day long have pressed their concerns upon you. You think: these people have left me the lot: each washboard and doormat purchased; saucepans, soup tureens, mirrors, newspapers, ounces of cinnamon, and dozens of lemons; each ha'penny handed to a poor child, the minute agreement concerning how long a servant must work to get to keep the greatcoat you provide him with at the hiring; clothes pegs, fat hog meat, the exact expenditure on spirits in a year; the price of papering a room, as you turn, in the spring of 1802, from tenant farmer with limewashed walls into gentleman with gentleman's residence. Everything. Not a purchase made, not a thing acquired that is not noted and recorded. You think: I could get to hate these people; and, I can

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Research in the Nineteenth Century," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1166, now in Smith, *Gender of History*, 118.

<sup>16</sup> Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and "The Woman Question"* (New York, 1991), 69–109.



never do these people justice;<sup>17</sup> and, finally: I shall never get it done. For the fever usually comes on at the end of the penultimate day in the record office. Either you must leave after tomorrow (train timetables, journeys planned) or the archive is about to shut for the weekend. And it's expensive being in the archive, as your credit card clocks up the price of the room, the restaurant meals. Leaving is the only way to stop spending. Your anxiety is that you will not finish, that there will be something left unread, unnoted, untranscribed. You are not anxious about the Great Unfinished, knowledge of which is the very condition of your being there in the first place, and of the grubby trade you set out in, years ago. You know perfectly well that despite the infinite heaps of *things* they recorded, the notes and traces that these people left behind, it is in fact, practically nothing at all.<sup>18</sup> There is the great, brown, slow-moving strandless river of Everything, and then there is its tiny flotsam that has ended up in the record office you are working in.<sup>19</sup> Your craft is to conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater, and your competence in that was established long ago. Your anxiety is more precise and more prosaic. It's about PT S2/1/1, which only arrived from the stacks that afternoon, which is enormous, and which you will never get through tomorrow.

And then, just as dawn comes, and the birds start to sing, you plunge like a stone into a narrow sleep, waking two or three hours later to find yourself wringing with sweat, the sheets soaked, any protection they afforded quite gone. The Fever—the precursor fever—has broken. But in severe cases, with Archive Fever Proper, all this is in retrospect the mere signal of the terrible headache that will wake you a couple of days later at two o'clock in the morning, at home, in your own bed, the pain pressing down like a cap that fits to your skull and the back of your eyes, the extreme sensitivity to light and distortion of sound, the limbs that can only be moved by extraordinary effort, and the high temperature. Real Archive Fever lasts between sixteen and twenty-four hours, sometimes longer (with an aftermath of weeks rather than days). You think, in the delirium: it was their dust that I breathed in.

THE FIELD OF OCCUPATIONAL (OR INDUSTRIAL) DISEASE emerged in its modern mode in Britain during the early part of the nineteenth century. The physicians and apothecaries attached to the textile-district infirmaries were of professional necessity interested in the diseases arising from relatively new industrial processes and the factory system. Nevertheless, in acknowledging their seventeenth and eigh-

<sup>17</sup> This care and attention to the long-dead subjects of the historian's research has been labeled as a kind of maternalism, exercised through the pursuit of detail. See Victoria Rosner, "Have You Seen This Child? Carolyn K. Steedman and the Writing of Fantasy Motherhood," *Feminist Studies* 26, no. 1 (2000): 7–32. But it is a care quite ordinarily exercised by male historians, and indeed established by them as a professional practice in the mid-nineteenth century. If the gender of history is male, then mothering is an attribute of the sex. Smith, *Gender of History*, 70–156, and *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> For more on the question of how little there is in archives, see Steedman, "Space of Memory," 65–83.

<sup>19</sup> See Maurice Mandelbaum, *Philosophy, History, and the Sciences: Selected Critical Essays* (Baltimore, 1984), 97–111, not for his criticism of deconstructive readings of history (which will be discussed below) but for page 101 and page 103 and the compelling image of the stream or river in describing what it is historians work on.

teenth-century predecessors, they continued to work within a framework that had long been established, of dangerous and malignant trades, especially hide, skin, and leather processing and the papermaking industries.<sup>20</sup>

The newer medical investigations of the early nineteenth century drew very marked attention to dust and its effect on hand workers as well as factory workers. The largest section of C. Turner Thackrah's investigation of the early 1830s, into "the agents which produce disease and shorten the duration of life" across the trades and professions, was devoted to workers "whose employments produce a dust or vapour decidedly injurious."<sup>21</sup> He concentrated in particular on papermakers, who were "unable to bear the dust which arises from cutting the rags," and dressers of certain types of colored decorative leather, who needed to pare or grind the finished skins.<sup>22</sup> In the *Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine* of 1833, John Forbes defined a new category of industrial disease: "The Diseases of Artisans." Among the many debilities suffered by hand workers, there were those produced by "the mechanical irritation of molecularae, or fine powders," either in a reaction on the skin of the worker (the fellmongerer's and tanner's carbuncle was an example of ancient provenance) or in some form of pulmonary or respiratory ailment.<sup>23</sup> The maladies attendant on the skin-processing and allied trades were much discussed. After woolen manufacturing, leather working was the most important eighteenth-century industry, both in terms of the number of workers employed and its output.<sup>24</sup> In Great Britain, the category of trades considered dangerous from the dusts they produced was widened during the course of the nineteenth century. By its end, bronzing in the printing process, flax and linen milling, cotton and clothing

<sup>20</sup> Jacqueline Karnell Corn, *Response to Occupational Health Hazards: A Historical Perspective* (New York, 1992); Donald Hunter, *The Diseases of Occupations* (London, 1955); A. Meiklejohn, *The Life, Work, and Times of Charles Turner Thackrah, Surgeon and Apothecary of Leeds (1795–1833)* (Edinburgh, 1957). The seventeenth-century authority on occupational disease most frequently referred to in the nineteenth century was Bernardini Ramazzini. His *De morbis artificum* (1703) was first written in English in 1705 and published as *A Treatise of the Diseases of Tradesmen*. See also Wilmer C. Wright, *De morbis artificum Bernardini Ramazzini diatriba: The Latin Text of 1713, Revised* (Chicago, 1940). For eighteenth-century "environmentalist" medicine and its connection to later miasmatic and contagion theories, see James C. Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (New York, 1987), 13–19, and *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Turner Thackrah, *The Effects of Arts, Trades, and Professions, and of Civic States and Habits of Living, on Health and Longevity: With Suggestions for the Removal of Many of the Agents Which Produce Disease, and Shorten the Duration of Life*, 2d edn. (London, 1832), 63–119.

<sup>22</sup> Thackrah, *Effects*, 66, 70.

<sup>23</sup> John Forbes, Alexander Tweedie, and John Conolly, *The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine*, 3 vols. (London, 1833), 1: 149–60, 156. The particular hazards of cotton dust, in the processing of fiber for spinning and weaving, and in the rag trades in general (in papermaking, until wood pulp largely replaced rags, in the flock and shoddy used in upholstery and bedding) continued to be investigated until well into the twentieth century. Byssinosis was not recognized in the United States as an occupational disease of cotton workers until the 1960s. Leonard A. Parry, *The Risks and Dangers of Various Occupations and Their Prevention* (London, 1900), 4–5; George M. Kober and William C. Hanson, *Diseases of Occupation and Vocational Hygiene* (1916; rpt. edn., London, 1918); Great Britain, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Coventry, Records of the Trades Union Congress, MSS 292/144.3/3; 144.312; D107, "Dust—Rag Flock, 1937–1947." See also Christopher C. Sellers, *Hazards of the Job: From Industrial Disease to Environmental Health Science* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); and Barbara Harrison, *Not Only the "Dangerous Trades": Women's Work and Health in Britain, 1880–1914* (London, 1996), 58–59. For the truly modern hazards of work, see Catherine Casey, *Work, Self and Society: After Industrialism* (London, 1995). For byssinosis in the United States, see Corn, *Response to Occupational Health Hazards*, 147–76.

<sup>24</sup> Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700–1820* (London, 1985), 26, 28, 38–39.

manufacture, brass finishing, and ivory and pearl button making were among the dusty occupations subject to regulation.<sup>25</sup>

Early twentieth-century medical attention to industrial disease continued to be framed and categorized by the dust question.<sup>26</sup> Discussing occupations “from the legislative, social, and medical points of view” in 1916, Thomas Oliver urged his readers to remember “that the greatest enemy of a worker in any trade is dust,” and that “dust is something more than merely particles of an organic or inorganic nature. Usually the particles which rise with the air are surrounded by a watery envelope and clinging to this moist covering there may be micro-organisms.”<sup>27</sup> As the defensive action of trade unions moved from questions of working hours and physically injurious labor to incorporate working conditions and health hazards, the question of dust and its inhalation remained a focus, well into the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup>

“The Diseases of Literary Men” sat uneasily under Forbes’s 1833 heading “Diseases of Artisans,” but nevertheless that is where he placed them. Very briefly, for perhaps thirty years or so, between about 1820 and 1850, a range of occupational hazards was understood to be attendant on the activity of scholarship. These originated, said Forbes, “from want of exercise, very frequently from breathing the same atmosphere too long, from the curved position of the body, and from too ardent exercise of the brain.”<sup>29</sup> “Brain fever” might be the result of this mental activity, and it was no mere figure of speech. It described the two forms of meningitis that had been pathologized by the 1830s: inflammation of the membranes of the brain (meningitis proper) and of the substance of the brain (cerebritis).<sup>30</sup> Thackrah also concentrated on the “professional men” who live and work “in a bad atmosphere, maintain one position for most of the day, take little exercise and are frequently under the excitement of ambition.”<sup>31</sup> “Brain fever,” or some form of meningeal disturbance, was a hazard of this way of working:

The brain becomes disturbed. Congestion first occurs and to this succeeds an increased or irregular action of the arteries. A highly excitable state of the nervous system is not infrequently produced. Chronic inflammation of the membranes of the brain, ramollissement of its substance, or other organic change becomes established; and the man dies,

<sup>25</sup> Harrison, *Not Only the “Dangerous Trades,”* 58–59, 76; Sir Thomas Oliver, *Diseases of Occupation from the Legislative, Social, and Medical Points of View*, 3d edn. (London, 1916), 71–84.

<sup>26</sup> Parry, *Risks and Dangers*, 1–42.

<sup>27</sup> Oliver, *Diseases of Occupation*, 59, 71–72.

<sup>28</sup> Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Records of the TUC, MSS 292/144.3/3; 144.312; D107, “Dust—Rag Flock, 1937–1947”; and MSS 292/144/211/6, “Anthrax, 1924–1947.”

<sup>29</sup> Forbes, *Cyclopaedia*, 159. These works of the 1820s and 1830s nowhere mention Samuel Tissot’s *De la santé des gens de lettres* (1766), even though his work was translated into English and his perceptions seem omnipresent in the 1820s and 1830s. Samuel Auguste Tissot, *De la santé des gens de lettres* (1766; rpt. edn., Lausanne, 1768); Tissot, *An Essay on Diseases Incident to Literary and Sedentary Persons: With Proper Rules for Preventing Their Fatal Consequences, and Instructions for Their Care* (London, 1768); Tissot, *A Treatise on the Diseases Incident to Literary and Sedentary Persons: Transcribed from the Last French Edition; With Notes, by a Physician* (Edinburgh, 1771). Tissot did not mention scholarship as an occupation that ran the hazard of dust, or miasma; he made no reference to the headache. He attributed most of the scholar’s ills to sitting down and not taking exercise.

<sup>30</sup> Forbes, *Cyclopaedia*, 281–312, “Brain, Inflammation of.”

<sup>31</sup> Thackrah, *Effects*, 173–92.

becomes epileptic or insane, or falls into that imbecility of mind, which renders him an object of pity to the world, and of deep affliction to his connections.<sup>32</sup>

Medical men like Forbes and Thackrah were able to adduce physiological and psychological causes for the fevers of scholarship (lack of exercise, bad air, and the "passions" induced by excitement and ambition). By the time a bacteriological explanation was available, "the literary man" as a victim of occupational disease had disappeared as a category, and these early commentators did not consider the book, the very stuff of the scholar's life, as a potential cause of his fever. And yet the book and its components (leather binding, various glues and adhesives, paper and its edging, and, decreasingly, parchments and vellums of various types) in fact concentrated in one object many of the industrial hazards and diseases that were mapped out in the course of the century.

The hazards of leather working had been known and recorded in the ancient world. Right through the process, from fellmongering (the initial removal of flesh, fat, and hair from the animal skins) to the paring and finishing of the cured and tanned skins, workers were known to be liable to anthrax. In medical dictionaries and treatises of the eighteenth century, "anthrax" meant "anthracia," "anthracosis" or "carbunculus," and described what came in the late nineteenth century to be defined as the external or cutaneous form of anthrax. Leather workers and medical commentators also knew that the processes of fellmongering, washing, limerubbing, scraping, further washing, chemical curing, stretching, drying, and dressing all gave rise to dust, which was inhaled. Descriptions of leather working in the bookbinding trades also show that the amount of hand-paring, shaving, and scraping involved in the process (and productive of dust) remained remarkably consistent across two centuries.<sup>33</sup> Parchment making (parchment is essentially untanned leather) possibly gave rise to even more dust, as it involved the splitting of sheepskins. (The vellum process used calfskin, which was not usually split.) The many hazards of the paper trades have already been indicated. The nineteenth century saw the proliferation of a vast literature on its airborne hazards, which declined toward the end of the century when woodpulp replaced rags as the main component.<sup>34</sup>

In mentioning "the putrid serum of sheep's blood," which bookbinders and pocketbook makers used as "a cement," Thackrah produced the most striking and

<sup>32</sup> Thackrah, *Effects*, 184–85. For the ill-health of historians, see Smith, *Gender of History*, 120–21.

<sup>33</sup> David Macbride, *Some Account of a New Method of Tanning* (Dublin, 1769); The Dublin Society, *The Art of Tanning and Currying Leather: With an Account of All the Different Processes Made Use of in Europe and Asia for Dying Leather Red and Yellow . . .* (London, 1774); James Revell, *A Complete Guide to the Ornamental Leather Work* (London, 1853); Alexander Watt, *The Art of Leather Manufacturing, Being a Practical Handbook* (London, 1885); H. C. Standage, *The Leather Worker's Manual, Being a Compendium of Practical Recipes and Working Formulae for Curriers, Bootmakers, Leather Dressers . . .* (London, 1900); Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, *Report of the Committee on Leather for Bookbinding: With Four Appendices* (London, 1911); Constant Ponder, *A Report to the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers on the Incidence of Anthrax amongst Those Engaged in Hide, Skin and Leather Industries* (London, 1911). For the treatment of skins in parchment making, and the consistency of the process over time, see Ronald Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London, 1972), 46–85; Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment* (Leeds, 1975); and Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (London, 1978).

<sup>34</sup> Donald Hunter, *Diseases of Occupations*, 546, suggests that the change took place in the 1890s; but see Carolyn Steedman, "What a Rag Rug Means," *Journal of Material Culture* 3 (November 1998): 259–81, esp. 273–74 and references.



potent image of the book as a locus of a whole range of industrial diseases.<sup>35</sup> That stinking glue was probably also one among several of the actual transmitters of the Archive Fever that is discussed here. The bacillus of anthrax was the first specific microorganism discovered, when in 1850 Pierre Rayner and Casimir Davaine observed the *petits batonnets* in the blood of sheep who had died from the disease. When Louis Pasteur published his work on lactic acid fermentation, Davaine recognized that the little infusoria were not blood crystals but living organisms.<sup>36</sup> Robert Koch cultivated the bacillus, infected sheep from his cultivation, and described its life cycle in 1876.<sup>37</sup> Considerable investigative energy of the 1880s went into showing that the disease in animals and human beings was identical, that the bacillus anthracis was responsible for the disease in all hosts, that the skins, hairs, and wool of the animal dying of what was still, in the 1870s, sometimes called "cattle plague" or "splenetic fever" retained the infecting organism, which found access to the body of the worker in various ways.<sup>38</sup> Internal and external anthrax were clearly demarcated, provided with disease classifications, and with miserable prognoses: "the worker may be perfectly well when he goes to business; he may in a short time become giddy, restless and exhausted; he feels very ill, goes home, becomes feverish . . . [I]n bad cases, in from twenty four hours to four days the patient dies unconscious."<sup>39</sup> As a delegate of the National Society of Woolcombers pointed out to the British Trades Union Congress in 1929, "It is a disease that does not hang on very long. You get it one day and you may be dead the next."<sup>40</sup>

In Britain, anthrax was first scheduled as a notifiable disease in 1892.<sup>41</sup> The number of cases rose in the following decades despite regulation, with workers, trade unionists, and medical commentators all ascribing the increase to the upsurge in imports of foreign hides and wools.<sup>42</sup> The disease remained a profound danger to workers in the woolen and allied trades, and in all forms of leather and skin working, until after World War II.<sup>43</sup> By the 1920s, it was common knowledge among workers in wool, hides, and hair that it was the anthrax spore that constituted the greatest danger. If an animal dies of anthrax and is immediately destroyed without opening the carcass or removing the skin, there is probably no risk. However, once

<sup>35</sup> Thackrah, *Effects*, 45.

<sup>36</sup> Jean Théorides, "Un grand médecin et biologiste: Casimir-Joseph Davaine (1812–1882)," *Analecta medico-historica* 4 (1968): 72–123, 124–25.

<sup>37</sup> W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter, *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, 2 vols. (London, 1993), 1: 113–14; Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge, 1993), 582–84.

<sup>38</sup> Parry, *Risks and Dangers*, 147–54.

<sup>39</sup> Parry, *Risks and Dangers*, 149; also see Donald Hunter, *Diseases of Occupations*, 627–39.

<sup>40</sup> Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Records of the TUC, M292/144/211/6, "Anthrax, 1924–1947." This is a note from the Trades Union Congress, *Report*, 1929, pp. 116–18.

<sup>41</sup> That is, a contagious disease that must by law be reported to public health officials, and in some cases to the police. Harrison, *Not Only the "Dangerous Trades,"* 76.

<sup>42</sup> Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Records of the TUC, MSS 292/144/211/6, "Anthrax, 1924–1947."

<sup>43</sup> The Factory Department of the Home Office issued an illustrated "Precautionary Card for Workers" in 1930, telling them what symptoms of anthrax to look out for: "Take this card with you and show it to the Doctor." Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Records of the TUC, MSS 292/144/211/6, "Anthrax, 1924–1947." Ministry of Labour, *Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Anthrax* (London, 1959).



the bacillus comes into contact with air, it forms resistant spores.<sup>44</sup> Any wool, fleece, or skin touched by infected blood will contain these spores; fleeces and hides when dried are the source of dust, which, containing the spores, may come into contact with skin abrasions or may be inhaled.<sup>45</sup> It was also common knowledge that the spores were "very difficult to kill."<sup>46</sup> Leather working provided the optimum conditions for the development of spores, for none of the leather "cures" available to preserve hides destroyed "the Anthrax Infection," while the temperature that might eliminate the spores was utterly destructive of the hides.<sup>47</sup> The anthrax spore could come through the whole leather-making process unscathed, although "the question as to whether finished leather can retain and convey the infection" had to remain unsettled, for "whilst cases have occurred in men who have only handled leather, and it has been proved that the spore can pass uninjured through all the chemical solutions used in tanning, the possibility of the leather itself having become contaminated by contact with other goods can hardly ever be excluded."<sup>48</sup>

In the same period as the indestructibility and fatality of the anthrax spore was established, archivists and book restorers started to define a type of leather deterioration, particularly in "modern" leathers, those of the post-1880 era, which is when the bookbinding and finishing trades began to use imported, vegetable-cured leather in great quantities.<sup>49</sup> "Powdering," "red decay," and "red rot," which are as well known among historians as they are among archivists, continue to be described in the literature of book conservation.<sup>50</sup> A crumbling of leather into an orangey-red powder, it is said to be found particularly in East Indian leather, prepared with tannin of bark, wood, or fruits, which became increasingly common at the end of the nineteenth century. A second type of red decay known to conservationists, a hardening and embrittling (rather than powdering) of bindings, occurs most often in leathers prepared before about 1830. This also gives rise to dust in handling.<sup>51</sup> It seems, then, from the considerable literature on this topic, that the causes of both kinds of leather rot must be found in the type of tanning agent or agents used (and these have been numerous), making the finished skin more or less vulnerable to atmospheric conditions.<sup>52</sup>

So when the young Jules Michelet spent his very first days in the archives, in those "catacombs of manuscripts" that made up the Archives Nationales in Paris in the 1820s, and later wrote of restoring its "papers and parchments" to the light of day

<sup>44</sup> Donald Hunter, *Diseases of Occupations*, 627–39.

<sup>45</sup> See Philip Brachman, "Inhalation Anthrax," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 353 (1980): 83–93, for a history of attention to internal anthrax, by this date "primarily only of historical interest."

<sup>46</sup> Kober and Hanson, *Diseases*, 159.

<sup>47</sup> Ponder, *Report to the Worshipful Company*, 17, 44, 65.

<sup>48</sup> Ponder, *Report to the Worshipful Company*, 65–66.

<sup>49</sup> Society for the Encouragement of Arts, *Report of the Committee*, 1911, 12; H. J. Plenderleith, *The Preservation of Leather Bookbindings* (1946; rpt. edn., London, 1967).

<sup>50</sup> K. J. Adcock, *Leather: From the Raw Material to the Finished Product* (London, 1924), 107; Matt Roberts and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 214; European Commission, Environment Leather Project, *Deterioration of Vegetable Tanned Leather*, Protection and Conservation of the European Cultural Heritage, Research Report No. 6 (Copenhagen, 1997); Bernard C. Middleton, *The Restoration of Leather Bindings*, 3d edn. (London, 1998), 36.

<sup>51</sup> Roberts and Etherington, *Bookbinding*, 214.

<sup>52</sup> Roberts and Etherington, *Bookbinding*, 214.

by breathing in their dust,<sup>53</sup> this was not the figure of speech that he intended but, rather, a literal description of a physiological process. In a quite extraordinary (and much scrutinized) passage, it is the historian's act of inhalation that gives life: "these papers and parchments, so long deserted, desired no better than to be restored to the light of day . . . [A]s I breathed in their dust, I saw them rise up."<sup>54</sup> It remains completely uncertain—it *must* remain uncertain, that is its point—who or what rises up in this moment. It cannot be determined whether it is the manuscripts or the dead or both who come to life, and take shape and form. But we can be clearer than Michelet could be about exactly what it was that he breathed in: the dust of the workers who made the papers and parchments, the dust of the animals who provided the skins for their leather bindings, the by-product of all the filthy trades that have, by circuitous routes, deposited their end-products in the archives. And we are forced to consider whether it was not life that he breathed into "the souls who had suffered so long ago and who were smothered now in the past," but death that he took into himself with each lungful of the past.

Roland Barthes believed that a different process of incorporation was at work, that Michelet actually *ate* history, and that it was eating it that made him ill. The first section of *Michelet par lui-même* (1953) was called "Michelet Mangeur d'Histoire." Barthes described Michelet's terrible headaches ("la maladie de Michelet, c'est la migraine"), the way in which everything gave him migraine, how his body became his own creation, a kind of steady-state system, a symbiosis between the historian and History, which was ingested in the manner of the Host. This ingested History was also Death: "Michelet took in History as nourishment, but, in return, he abandoned his life to it: not only his work and his health but even his death."<sup>55</sup> It is the suggestion here that this process did actually take place, not just by analogy with "le thème christologique"—indeed, Christian theme—that Barthes pursues here (he made much as well, of Michelet's frequent reference to drinking the black blood of the dead) but also in the biological realm, as physiological process.

We must seriously consider, as Jules Michelet was not able to, the archive as a harbinger of the anthrax infection. We must take note of the significant number of cases of anthrax meningitis reported between 1920 and 1950, when it became clear for the first time that the bacillus anthracis could cause, or result in, meningitis (though, indeed, the incidence of the meninginal variant was infrequent).<sup>56</sup> In its

<sup>53</sup> "Et à mesure que je soufflais sur leur poussière, je les voyais se soulever." Jules Michelet, "Preface de l'Histoire de France" [1869], and "Examen en des Remainments du texte de 1833 par Robert Casanova," *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1974), 613–14, 727.

<sup>54</sup> Among the commentators: Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History* (1940; rpt. edn., Garden City, N.Y., 1953), 8; Roland Barthes, *Michelet par lui-même* (1954; rpt. edn., Paris, 1968), 89–92; Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973), 149–62; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (New York, 1991); Steedman, "Space of Memory."

<sup>55</sup> Barthes, *Michelet par lui-même*, 19. See Andy Stafford, "Barthes and Michelet: Biography and History," *Nottingham French Studies* 36, no. 1 (1997): 14–23. As Stafford urges, see Chantal Thomas on Michelet *par lui-même* as "quelque chose comme le coeur secret de son [Barthes's] oeuvre." Chantal Thomas, "Barthes et Michelet: Homologie de travail, parallèle d'affection," *La règle du jeu* 15 (January 1995): 73–84.

<sup>56</sup> Donald Hunter, *Diseases of Occupations*, 638; Robert H. Shanahan, Joseph R. Griffin, and Alfred

modern classification, meningitis bears strict comparison with the brain fever described nearly two centuries ago, as attendant on the sedentary, airless, and fevered scholarly life, spent in close proximity to leather-bound books and documents.

We may thus begin to provide the etiology of Archive Fever Proper, and, on a parochial and personal note, suggest that in England, at least, the Public Record Office is by far the most likely site for contraction of it. Many PRO classmarks consist of dust and dirt and decaying matter put into bundles in the 1780s and then into boxes 150 years later. In the County Record Offices, where, although the stacks may be hundreds of yards long, there are in fact far fewer records stored, documents have nearly always been dusted and cleaned at some time since their acquisition. But that is not strictly the point, for the red rot comes off on your hands from the spine of the ledger; the dust still rises as you open the bundle. Moreover, atmospheric conditions in the Public Record Office, being at the optimum for the preservation of paper and parchment, are rather cold for human beings. You sit all day long, reading in the particular manner of historians, to save time and money, and in the sure knowledge that out of the thousand lines of handwriting you decipher, you will perhaps use one or two. You scarcely move, partly to conserve body heat but mainly because *you want to finish* and not to have to come back, because the PRO is so far away, so difficult to get to. That is the immediate ambition that excites you: to leave, although there exist of course the wider passions, of *finding it* (whatever it is you are searching for), and writing the article or book, writing history. All of this must be taken into account, as productive of Archive Fever. But so must the thousands of historians be considered, who, like Michelet, have breathed in lungfuls of dust and woken that night or the next with the unmistakable headache, "the heavy and often stupefying pain."<sup>57</sup> We should certainly remember that in 1947 (the last time the topic was seriously considered in the medical literature) the incidence of meningeal involvement in anthrax infection was considered to be only 5 percent.<sup>58</sup> But taking all of this into account, that's what my money is on; we're talking epidemiology here, not metaphor: meningitis due to or as a complication of anthrax; Real Archive Fever, or Archive Fever Proper, a new entry for the medical dictionaries.

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P. von Anersburg, "Anthrax Meningitis: Report of a Case of Internal Anthrax with Recovery," *American Journal of Chemical Pathology* 17 (1947): 719–22; H. Gross and H. Plate, "Milzbrandbacillen-Meningitis" [Meningitis due to anthrax bacilli], *Klinische Wochenschrift* 19 (October 5, 1940): 1036–37; Michel Deniker, Jean Patel, and Bernard Jamain, "Meningite au Cours du Charbon" [Meningitis as a complication of anthrax], *La presse médicale* 46 (April 13, 1938): 575–76; R. Bruynoghe and M. Ronse, "Une infection méningée par un bacilli anthracis" [Meningeal infection due to anthracoid bacillus], *Comptes rendus des séances de la Société de Biologie* 125 (1937): 395–97; Hamant, Drouet, P. Chalmot, and J. Simonin, "Hyperacute Meningitis in Anthrax," *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société Médicale des Hôpitaux de Paris* 49 (January 23, 1933): 14–15; G. R. McCowen and H. B. Parker, "Anthrax Meningitis," *Journal of the Royal Navy Medical Service* 18 (October 1932): 278–80; W. K. Dunscombe, "Meningitis Due to B. anthracis," *British Medical Journal* (January 30, 1932): 190; A. Aguiar, "Meningitis Caused by Anthrax in Boy of 11," *Bulletin de la Société de Pédiatrie de Paris* 26 (May 1928): 285–91.

<sup>57</sup> Forbes, *Cyclopaedia*, 1: 282–83.

<sup>58</sup> Shanahan, Griffin, and von Anersburg, "Anthrax Meningitis," 721.

ACCORDING TO BENEDICT ANDERSON, Michelet went into the archive in order to enact a particular kind of national imagining. The dead and forgotten people he exhumed “were by no means a random assemblage of forgotten, anonymous dead. They were those whose sacrifices, throughout History, made possible the rupture of 1789 and the self-conscious appearance of the French nation.”<sup>59</sup> Anderson is brilliant—and brilliantly funny—on the way in which, after Michelet, “the silence of the dead was no obstacle to the exhumation of their deepest desires,” and the way in which historians found themselves able to speak on behalf of the dead and to interpret the words and the acts they themselves had not understood—“qu’ils n’ont pas compris.”<sup>60</sup> It was not exactly Michelet the historian, nor indeed the Historian, who performed this act of interpretation (although it was indeed, precisely, on a particular day, a date, a lived time, that the young lycéen entered the portals of the Archives Nationales and breathed in the dust of the dead). It was in fact a magistrate, also called History, who did the work of resurrection:

Yes, everyone who dies leaves behind a little something, his memory, and demands that we care for it. For those who have no friends, the magistrate must provide that care. For the law, or justice, is more certain than all our tender forgetfulness, our tears so swiftly dried. This magistracy is History. And the dead are, to use the language of Roman law, those *miserabiles personae* with whom the magistrate must preoccupy himself. Never in my career have I lost sight of that duty of the historian.<sup>61</sup>

Is this a reason for the *archon* and the *arkhe* being there in Derrida’s text? Not with a reference to the legal system of the Greek city-state at all but somehow, by some means, to Michelet’s awesome yet touching image of 1872–1874, of History (or the Historian, or both) charged with the care and protection of the forgotten poor and the forgotten dead? A biography of Derrida, his educational history, an account of the fate of Michelet’s writing—and history writing in general—under the Vichy regime’s educational “reforms,” all might give us a sighting of his reading of Michelet, and a possible answer to the question of how Michelet’s Magistrate got into “Archive Fever.” But we would then have to dismiss this search, our own tiny, pathetic example of the Western nostalgia—fever—for origins, points of beginning, foundations.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 198.

<sup>60</sup> Anderson’s source for his formulation is Barthes, *Michelet par lui-même*, 92.

<sup>61</sup> Jules Michelet, “Jusqu’au 18 Brumaire” [1872–74], *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1982), 268. This passage is quoted in full in Barthes, *Michelet par lui-même*, 1954, under the title “Magistrature de l’histoire.”

<sup>62</sup> But the attempt to find the *archon*’s origins would be fun. Working material for it may be found in Geoffrey Bennington and Jacques Derrida, *Jacques Derrida* (Paris, 1991), 299–302; Y. C. Aouate, “Les mesures d’exclusion antijuives dans l’enseignement public en Algérie, 1940–1943,” *Pardès* 8 (1988): 109–28. For the uses of history under Vichy, see Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (New York, 1972), 150–68; Jean-Michel Barreau, “Vichy, idéologue de l’école,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 38 (1991): 590–616; and Barreau, “Abel Bonnard, Ministre de l’éducation nationale sous Vichy, ou l’éducation impossible,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 43, no. 3 (1996): 464–78. See also Jean-Michel Guiraud, *La vie intellectuelle et artistique à Marseille à l’époque de Vichy et sous l’occupation, 1940–1944* (Marseille, 1987), 144–55; and W. D. Halls, *The Youth of Vichy France* (Oxford, 1981), 8, 19, 40, 216–19, for the uses of history to depose the centrality of the 1789 Revolution and Republicanism in French political culture. See Nadia Margolis, “The ‘Joan Phenomenon’ and the French Right,” in Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood, *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc* (New York, 1996), 265–87, for Michelet’s work on Joan of Arc (originally published in 1841, as part of his unfinished history of the French people), and its use by the French



Whether we can explain the presence of the Magistrate in Derrida's text or not, we can assuredly see that he is there. Indeed, we should find this particular magistrate's presence unsurprising: we have learned from Derrida himself that texts contain what apparently isn't there at all; that they pull against their overt meaning, in the unregarded details, in chains of metaphors, in the footnotes; on all the wilder shores of meaning that are signaled by punctuation marks, for example; by absences, spaces, lacunae, all working against their overt propositions.

Reading "Archive Fever" in this way would be fine, if our reading were to produce a magistrate who apparently wasn't there. But the *archon* is there: his house, his justice room, his law books open "Archive Fever"; and the problem is not that he's there but that he is the wrong magistrate. The *archon* operated a system of law in a slave society, and had a quite different function from the kind of magistrate that Michelet figured. The *archon* dealt with slaves, the majority of local populations, only as aspects of their owners' property and personality.<sup>63</sup> But the Magistrate whom Michelet figures as History was, in different ways, in England and France of the modern period, specifically charged with the care and management of the poor, and with the mediation of social and class relations. Michelet invoked Roman law in describing the duties and activities of a magistracy, and thus might be thought to make the post-Napoleonic French justice system the groundwork of his allegory. But the same broad assumptions of the magistrate's task guided theory and practice under England's system of common law. Statute law ("law positive," in eighteenth-century language) gave the care and protection of the majority of the populace to the justices of the peace, under the Poor Law. (This is to leave quite out of the reckoning the question of how nasty, demeaning, and actually unjust that treatment may have been, in any particular case.) English legal theory of the eighteenth century was quite strongly "Roman" in implication and interpretation, and the most striking legal commentator of them all, William Blackstone, understood the relationship between master and servant, between subordinates and those who ruled over them, to be the first of the "great relations" of private life that the law was interested in, and that on which all other forms of personal relationship subject to law (the married relation, and between parent and child) were based.<sup>64</sup> The local justice of the peace was formally obliged to mediate these relationships, within the social and familial hierarchies of civil society. Operating a legal system with chattel-slavery law, the *archon* did not—could not—do anything like this.

Could not do anything like the justice of the peace Philip Ward of Stoke Doyle in Northamptonshire, who sometime in April 1751 heard a complaint from a Mr. Sambrook, watchmaker of Oundle, whose apprentice had assaulted him. A servant or apprentice who did such a thing was liable to one year's imprisonment and additional corporal punishment, but the legislation specified that two justices must

Right (but not, it seems, during Vichy). See also Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 154–65.

<sup>63</sup> Victor Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, 2d edn. (London, 1969), 66–74, 77–80; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 4–5, 29, 87.

<sup>64</sup> Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England: In Four Books* (1765; rpt. edn., Dublin, 1775), 1: 422–32; S. F. C. Milsom, "The Nature of Blackstone's Achievement," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 1 (1981): 1–12; John W. Cairns, "Blackstone, an English Institutional: Legal Literature and the Rise of the Nation State," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 4 (1984): 318–60.



sit together to pass sentence in this way.<sup>65</sup> Doyle had already issued a warrant (he could do that on his sole authority), when it occurred to him “upon second thoughts that I as a single justice can neither punish him upon s.21 of 5 Eliz. c.4 nor upon s.4 of 20 Geo.2 c.19.” He recorded in his notebook his solution to the limits the law placed on his actions. Calling the arrested apprentice into the justice room at Stoke Doyle House and “concealing my want of power I said the words of the Statute read over to him and he immediately desir’d he might be admitted [*sic*] to ask his Masters pardon upon promising never to offend more and so was forgiven.”<sup>66</sup> The magistrate who is really in Derrida’s text, Michelet’s Magistrate, exercises a power that he does not always actually have, that has already always been inaugurated somewhere else; he files away not only official documents (although the warrant in this particular case from 1751, the hundreds of recognizances, depositions, and examinations that passed under the hand of justices of the peace, and must have passed through Ward’s justice room are actually lost) but also makes entries in a personal notebook that he, like many country magistrates, kept to remind himself of what he had done, as well as to remind himself of what the law said he could not do. And, although the nameless apprentice watchmaker of Oundle is not the best example I could produce, the stories of the poor, the *miserabiles personae*, end up in the archive, too. The archive that isn’t there in “Archive Fever” is not and never has been the repository of official documents alone. And nothing is there from the beginning. Archives hold no origins, and origins are not what historians search for in them. Rather, they hold everything *in medias res*, the account caught halfway through, most of it missing, with no end ever in sight. Nothing starts in the Archive, nothing, ever at all, although things certainly end up there.

Including, of course, dust. Even though Michelet was unaware of its precise components, he breathed it in, restored the dead to the light of day, and gave them justice by bringing them before the tribunal of History. This History was what Michelet himself wrote, out of the notes and the handfuls of dust he carried away from the Archive. As a form of writing, it was also an idea, of the total justice of a narrative that incorporated the past and the “when it shall have been,” that is, when the dead have spoken and (the specificity of Michelet’s central interest as a historian) France has been made.

Yet it is not his history of the French nation for which Michelet is remembered, at the beginning of the twenty-first century. What promotes the bright, interested question “Was he *mad*?” when you tell people that you are reading him are all the volumes that do not seem to be works of history, to the modern, professional historical eye: work on the sea, on birds, on women, on mountains, insects, love. These were the texts, an admixture of physiology and lyricism, that entertained Barthes in the early 1950s. They will probably continue to be marked as odd,

<sup>65</sup> Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 1: 427–28. Justices of the peace were more likely to learn their law not even from one of the many editions of Richard Burn’s *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* published after 1756 but from volumes of tear-out blank warrants, and summonses, like Burn’s own *Blank Precedents Relating to the Office of Justices of the Peace* (London, 1787). But in 1751, Ward probably referred to Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice: Containing the Practice, Duty and Power of the Justices of the Peace, as Well in as out of Their Sessions* (London, 1742), 139.

<sup>66</sup> Lincoln’s Inn Library, London, Misc. Manuscript 592, Manuscript Diary of Philip Ward of Stoke Doyle, Northamptonshire, 1748–1751.

although in the nineteenth-century development of the modern practice of history, they were not *very* strange.

As History, as a way of thinking and a modern academic discipline, came to be formulated, it bore much resemblance to the life sciences, where the task was also to think about the past—think pastness—about the imperishability of matter, through all the stages of growth and decay, to the point of recognition that “within the system of nature existing as it is, we cannot admit that an atom of any kind can ever be destroyed.”<sup>67</sup> Nothing goes away. Physiology, in serious and popular ways, was conceived as a form of history, a connection exemplified by the chemist and physiologist John William Draper, who followed his *Human Physiology* of 1856 with a *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* in 1863. Here, he sought to provide evidence of a concluding premise of his earlier work, that “the history of men and of nations is only a chapter of physiology.”<sup>68</sup> Draper’s panegyrics to the ever-moving, ever-changing sea and sky in this second work, his descriptions of the constant yielding of mountains to frost and rain, the passing of all things from form to form, suggest that Michelet’s volumes on similar topics should not be read solely under the interpretive banner of Romantic lyricism but as a form of history. They also make it very plain why Michelet *knew* that the unconsidered dead were to be found in the Archives Nationales, and that the material presence of their dust, the atomistic remains of the toils and tribulations and of the growth and decay of the animal body, was literally what might carry them, through his inhalation and his writing of History, into a new life. He knew that they were “not capable of loss of existence.”<sup>69</sup>

The historian’s massive authority as a writer derives from two factors: the ways archives are, and the conventional rhetoric of history writing, which always asserts (through the footnotes, through the casual reference to PT S2/1/1) that you *know* because you have been there. The fiction is that the authority comes from the documents themselves, as well as the historian’s obeisance to the limits they impose on any account that employs them. But really it comes from having been there (the train to the distant city, the call number, the bundle opened, the dust), so that then, and only then, you can present yourself as moved and dictated to by those sources, telling a story the way it has to be told.

There is not a way in which History (the work of historians, history writing) could operate differently. There is everything, or Everything, the great undifferentiated past, all of it, which is not history, but just stuff.<sup>70</sup> The smallest fragment of its representation (nearly always in some kind of written language) ends up in various kinds of archives and record offices (and also in the vastly expanded data banks that Derrida refers to in “Archive Fever”). From that, you make history, which is never what *was* there, once upon a time. (There was only stuff, fragments, dust.) “There is history,” writes Jacques Rancière, after his long contemplation of Michelet,

<sup>67</sup> John William Draper, *Human Physiology, Statistical and Dynamical; or, The Conditions and the Course of the Life of Man* (1856; rpt. edn., New York, 1868), 548.

<sup>68</sup> John William Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, 2 vols. (London, 1864), 1: 604. On the relationship of history to physiology, see Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 43–95.

<sup>69</sup> Draper, *Human Physiology*, 1: 549.

<sup>70</sup> See P. A. Roth, “Narrative Explanation: The Case of History,” *History and Theory* 27 (1988): 1–13.

“because there is the past and a specific passion for the past. And there is history because there is an absence”: “The status of history depends on the treatment of this twofold absence of the ‘thing itself’ that is *no longer there*—that is in the past; and that never was—because it never was *such as it was told*.”<sup>71</sup> Contemplating Everything, the historian must start somewhere, but starting is a different thing from originating, or even from beginning. And while there is closure in historical writing, and historians do bring their arguments and books to a conclusion, there is no End—cannot be an End, for we are still in it, the great, slow-moving Everything. An End is quite different from an Ending, and endings are what history deals in, just as its mode of beginning always suggests a wayward arbitrariness: “Once upon a time” is the rhetorical mode, the unspoken starting point of the written history. The grammatical tense of the archive is not, then, the future perfect, not the conventional past historic of English-speaking historians, nor even the *présent historique* of the French, but the syntax of the fairy tale: “Once, there was,” “in the spring of 1751” (“in the summer of 1994,” indeed), “once upon a time . . .”

The archive gives rise to particular practices of reading. If you are an archival historian, you nearly always read something that was not intended for your eyes: you are the reader impossible-to-be-imagined by Philip Ward keeping his justice’s notebook as an *aide-mémoire* (quite different from the way that Henry Fielding, who had a good deal of horrifying fun with what went on in the justice room, *did* imagine you, a reader, with *Joseph Andrews* in your hands, reading the novel he wanted someone to read). The vestryman recording an allowance of 6 pence a week in bread to a poor woman, the merchant manufacturer’s wife listing the payments-in-kind to her serving maid (silk ribbons, a pair of stays, a hatbox!) in Howarth 1794, had nothing like you in mind at all.<sup>72</sup> Productive and extraordinary as is Derrida’s concept of the *carte-postale* (the idea of the relationship between language and truth that his book *La carte postale* explores), of messages gone astray, not sent in the first place, or unread because you can’t see them for looking at them, as in Edgar Allan Poe’s “Purloined Letter,” none of it gives insight (indeed, it was not meant to) into the message that was never a message in the first place, never sent, and never sent to the historian: was just an entry in a ledger, a name on a list.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, historians read for what is not there: the silences and the absences of the documents always speak to us. They spoke, of course, to Michelet. (He was actually after the silence, the whisper, the unrecorded dead: what wasn’t there at all, in the Archives Nationales.) An absence speaks; the nameless watchmaker’s apprentice is important *because* he is nameless: we give his namelessness meaning, make it matter. Indeed, Rancière claims that it was Michelet who first formulated the proper subject of history: all the numberless unnoticed *miserabiles personae* who had lived and died, as mute in the grave as they had been in life. According to Rancière, Michelet’s modern reputation as a mere Romantic—indeed, sentimen-

<sup>71</sup> Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, Hassan Melehy, trans. (1992; rpt. edn., Minneapolis, 1994), 63.

<sup>72</sup> For the historian as a reader—always this kind of reader—of the unintended, purloined letter, see Carolyn Steedman, “A Woman Writing a Letter,” in Rebecca Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945* (Aldershot, 1999), 111–33.

<sup>73</sup> Jacques Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, Alan Bass, trans. (French edn., 1980; English, Chicago, 1987).

tal—rescuer of “the People” serves to repress both his startling originality as a historian and History’s proper topic.<sup>74</sup>

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE 1980s and 1990s, it was very sensibly suggested by Christopher Norris that it was best for historians not to mess with deconstruction, that as a method of reading devised for the interrogation of philosophical texts, its power lies solely in the particular terrain of philosophy (and possibly that of literature).<sup>75</sup> One might with some profit treat a work of history *as* a literary text and make deconstructive approaches to it as a form of writing, but those approaches could do nothing to, or for, the reading matter found in the archives, out of which the historical work is (partly) constructed. Norris made his point for political purposes, when an extreme relativism wedded to a form of deconstruction allowed some historians to deny that certain past events had ever taken place. What is clearer ten years on is that it was not historians who needed warning off but rather a number of cultural critics and theorists who wanted to address the question of history, or historicity, or merely have something to say about its relationship to deconstructive practice. It was the problem of diachronicity (in the realm of synchronic analysis and thinking) that was being raised. Or the problem of pastness, *tout court*.<sup>76</sup> The urgency with which Norris needed to give his advice to historians perhaps prevented him from considering what happens when the traffic goes the other way, when deconstruction considers historians and tells them about the history they write. It has long been noted that alerting historians to the fact that they write in the tragic mode, or as ironists, that they emplot their stories in particular ways, and may produce meanings that work against their overt and stated arguments makes absolutely no difference at all to their dogged daily performance of positivism. The text usually figured in these observations is Hayden White’s *Metahistory*, a work now nearly thirty years old; and, with White’s work in view, it has been suggested that one of the reasons for this, for the way in which deconstructive readings slither around the written history, is that their analyses do not have reference in mind. For history writing, as Maurice Mandelbaum pointed out some time ago, does not refer to archives and record offices, nor to the documents they contain. Neither is the point of reference any preexisting account of those documents in works of history. Rather, what is referred to are anterior entities: past structures, processes, and happenings. In their writing, historians “refer to past occurrences whose existence is only known through inferences drawn from surviving documents; but it is not to those documents themselves, but to what they indicate concerning the past, that the historian’s statements actually refer.” In making this point, Mandelbaum appears to suggest that the historian’s statements

<sup>74</sup> Rancière, *Names of History*, 42–75. And see Hayden White’s comments on these points, in his introduction to this work, xiv–xviii.

<sup>75</sup> Christopher Norris, *Uncritical Theory: Postmodernism, Intellectuals and the Gulf War* (London, 1992); and his *Deconstruction and the Interests of Theory* (London, 1988), 16–17.

<sup>76</sup> See, for example, Derek Attridge, Geoff Bennington, and Robert Young, eds., *Post-Structuralism and the Question of History* (Cambridge, 1987).

are not inventive, nor creative, but that history writing makes reference to History—as something that has a prior, pre-textual existence.<sup>77</sup>

We should probably go beyond this, by allowing that it is, in fact, the historian who makes the stuff of the past into a structure or event, a happening or a thing, through the activities of thought and writing: that they were never actually there, once, in the first place, or at least not in the same way that a nutmeg grater actually once was, and certainly not as the many ways in which they “have been told.” There is a double nothingness in the writing of history and in the analysis of it: it is about something that never did happen in the way it comes to be represented (the happening exists in the telling or the text), and it is made out of materials that are not there, in an archive or anywhere else. We should be entirely unsurprised that deconstruction made no difference to this kind of writing. The search for the historian’s nostalgia for origins and original referents cannot be performed, because there is actually *nothing there*: only absence, what once was: dust.

In 1779, Fanny Burney was taken ill when she was staying with her friend, Hester Thrale. (Her *then* friend. This friendship disintegrated some years later, when the widow of the brewing magnate married an Italian—and a mere music master to boot—and became Mrs. Piozzi. Many were lost at this time.) Burney was obviously a demanding invalid, or at least Mrs. Thrale found her so: “Fanny Burney has kept her Room here in my house seven Days with a Fever, or something she called a Fever,” wrote her exasperated hostess, in one of the six blank quarto volumes that her husband had given her in 1776:

I gave her every Medicine, and every Slop with my own hand; took away her dirty Cups, Spoons &c moved her Tables, in short was Doctor & Nurse & Maid—for I did not like the Servants should have additional Trouble lest they should hate her for’t and now—with the Gratitude of a Wit, She tells me that the *World thinks better of me* for my Civilities to her.

It does! does it?<sup>78</sup>

The cleverness of this entry is utterly charming: there is the confident move of the pen from the penultimate line to the last, making meaning by a space left behind; there is that exclamation mark, and the bold use of an exclamation and a question mark within one sentence, the insistence that you hear a tone of voice in words that were not, in fact, spoken aloud at all. Now Hester Thrale was, in all manner of ways, a very difficult number indeed, and she is scarcely good evidence for my case of the historian as reader of the unintended letter. She did not write for us, but she certainly imagined something like us reading her private diary—especially her academic readers, for among all its other uses, *Thraliana* was used as a source for her own philological work. She often reflected on what posterity would make of her writing:

<sup>77</sup> Mandelbaum, *Philosophy, History, and the Sciences*, 109–10.

<sup>78</sup> Katharine C. Balderston, ed., *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776–1809*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1951), 1: 413, entry for December 1, 1779.



but say the Critics a Violin is not an Instrument for *Ladies* to manage, very likely!  
 I remember when they said the same Thing of a Pen.  
 I wonder if my Executors will burn the Thraliana!<sup>79</sup>

And she so admired some of her *aperçus* and turns of phrase that she recycled them in her letters (like the Fanny Burney story). She wrote highly crafted, controlled, and managed accounts of herself, directed at future audiences. This is not the aspect of her voluminous writings that fixes attention. Rather, it is that question of someone else's supposed fever, a question asked in some place between speech and writing, that voiced skepticism, that irony, all of which provokes, in the hallucinatory aftermath of your own Archive Fever, the delicious idea of pursuing its origins—of finding out *where it came from*—through Derrida's text, indeed; so that you might end up exclaiming: "It does! does it?"—"Archive Fever, indeed? I can tell you *all about* Archive Fever!"

<sup>79</sup> Balderston, *Thraliana*, 2: 748.

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## Gendering Production in Wartime South Africa

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"TO SAY THAT THE SECOND WORLD WAR WAS IMPORTANT is to make the last uncontroversial statement in African Studies." These words opened a volume on *Africa and the Second World War* several years ago. The editors went on to suggest that such accord arose because "Everyone knows that it was either the end of the beginning or the beginning of the end of European colonialism in Africa." Indeed, by the end of World War II, the European colonial powers were exhausted by the second maelstrom to hit their continent in the twentieth century and soon determined that direct rule over African territories could not be sustained. Within fifteen years, most of the African continent was on the road to independent political rule. Historians and other scholars, however, have not looked very closely at the wartime experiences that brought about such momentous change. According to the editors of *Africa and the Second World War*, most historians refer to the conflict as "an almost incantatory invocation," a sort of empty historical marker, assuming the "immense significance" of the event but not examining it as a period in history or paying any attention to its complexities.<sup>1</sup> While historians agree that there must be a relationship between the war and subsequent African independence, our understanding of such a connection remains paradoxically both emphatic and amorphous.

More recently, Frederick Cooper has addressed this lacuna in analysis, drawing our attention to the fundamental importance of the war in shaking "old structures of power and habits of discourse" and causing British and French colonial authorities to change their "entire approach" to "the labor question" in their African colonies. During and after the war, officials pondered "the reshaping of a political framework in which a social question is debated." The political framework was colonialism. The social question was labor control over African colonial subjects. As Cooper demonstrates, the political framework was shaken by African laborers who challenged the outright and brutal repression exercised by their colonial employers. Massive labor strikes during and immediately after the war threatened to bring production to a standstill throughout both British and French colonies. As the war drew to a close, colonial policies gradually changed in the hopes of turning unruly workers into a stabilized work force. Colonial administrators throughout Africa began to accept their subjects as urban dwellers and industrial workers, "incorporating" them into local political structures instead of treating them as minors without rights, and they allowed union representation and

<sup>1</sup> David Killingray and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Africa and the Second World War* (London, 1986), 1.

bargaining in industrial affairs. Such a shift in policy had enormous political consequences, leading to a proliferation of African political organizations and the representation of African workers. Cooper's analysis has gone a long way toward helping us understand how and why the war had such "immense significance" for African history.<sup>2</sup>

The dramatic exception to this pattern, or as Cooper puts matters, "the obvious contrast," is South Africa. South Africa became more repressive in the postwar period than any of the colonial territories, despite economic and social wartime upheaval as significant as anywhere else on the continent. There, the impact of war appeared as profound as in the rest of Africa. Societies were mobilized. Structures of production changed. African workers disputed their appalling conditions of labor in strikes that threatened the country's economy as seriously as did those taking place in Kenya and Senegal and Ghana and the Ivory Coast at much the same time. Yet, rather than try to placate the workers, the white rulers of South Africa chose to intensify the repression of African labor. As Cooper has described, the South African government "made determined use of police power to reinvigorate the migratory system and to expel massive numbers of city dwellers to rural areas and to a life deemed to be 'African.'" Adopting and refining the tools of the most despotic labor regimes through a combination of economic and political repression, the South African government chose to turn back the hands of time with force and attempt to make Africans temporary members of South African industry and society.<sup>3</sup>

The differences in labor policy between South Africa and colonial Africa are clear. What is less so are the reasons why. Cooper states that the "divergence . . . appears as a direct consequence of the South African electorate's decision to embrace apartheid, with its notion of separateness, and reject stabilization."<sup>4</sup> Three years after the end of the war, in 1948, the Nationalist Party won the whites-only election on a political platform called "apartheid," or apartness. Although initially somewhat vague in conception, apartheid was intended to further disadvantage Africans, and it ultimately became an international symbol of the most regressive racism of the twentieth century. Among other fully institutionalized forms of racism, apartheid labor policies initiated in the 1950s and 1960s included job reservation for whites and a prohibition on labor representation for Africans. South Africa's "divergent" path can certainly be signposted by the institution of apartheid. But what caused this divergence, why this difference in labor policy, why this decision by the electorate?

<sup>2</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), 173, 262, and, for a succinct discussion of the ambiguities of independence, 457–72. For a reconsideration of African colonialism in general, see Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1516–45; and Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, 262–63. Michael Burawoy has argued that, under despotic labor regimes, political and civil power is mirrored on the factory floor, whether the political structures are colonial, capitalist, or socialist. See Burawoy, *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines, from African Advancement to Zambianization* (Manchester, 1972); *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labour Process under Monopoly Capitalism* (Chicago, 1979); *The Politics of Production: Factory Regimes under Capitalism and Socialism* (London, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, 262–63.

The reasons for the establishment of apartheid have been debated by scholars for years. Usually, the answers have been presented in more or less ethnic terms. Afrikaners mobilized as a group (the reasons for this have ranged from frontier racism to religious fervor to the aspirations of a *petit bourgeoisie*) and, in an election in 1948, took control of the state in order to benefit themselves at the expense of the African population of South Africa.<sup>5</sup> Yet, if this is so, why and, more important, how were these goals only realized in 1948 despite nearly fifty years of Afrikaner participation in a white-ruled South African state? What changed during the years immediately preceding 1948, the war years?

One approach to begin to unravel the complex effects of World War II on South Africa and the subsequent emergence of the devastating policies of apartheid is to examine closely labor relations during the war in much the same way that Cooper analyzed the rest of the continent to explain decolonization. As Cooper demonstrated, ongoing labor struggles throughout the war threatened the economic profitability of the colonies as well as the political control of the metropolitan powers, causing colonial administrators to try to defuse labor discontent by incorporating Africans into the political process. How did white South African officials react to such labor struggles? South Africa, like the African colonies, relied primarily on African labor performed under repressive conditions. The South African mining industry had always been the country's largest employer and had never considered accommodating the demands of its African workers. Mining accounted for well over 50 percent of South African government revenues, and employed the most despotic labor methods, using migrant workers who were considered expendable. In order to protect the mining industry's ability to attract African workers, the government enforced laws that effectively extended these deplorable conditions to all African workers, regardless of industry or duty. African workers were denied union representation and were all legally classified as "labourers" at mining industry rates of pay without regard to their skills or position.<sup>6</sup> Such conditions did not foster labor stability and threatened war production. If African workers went out on strike, war production could be thrown into chaos. Alternatively, any improvement in the conditions of employment for African factory workers could prompt demands by African miners and threaten the profitability of the mines, as well as the basis of South Africa's economy. If South African officials followed policies of cooperation and integration similar to those initiated elsewhere in Africa, the labor structure of the powerful mining industry

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975); Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948* (Cambridge, 1983); O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994* (Johannesburg, 1996); and Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> On the structure of the South African labor force, see, for example, G. V. Doxey, *The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1961); Stanley Greenberg, *Legitimizing the Illegitimate: State, Markets, and Resistance in South Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and Sheila Van der Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa* (London, 1942). On African trade unions, see Glenn Adler and Eddie Webster, eds., *Trade Unions and Democratization in South Africa, 1985-1997* (New York, 2000); Edward Feit, *Workers without Weapons: The South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Organization of African Workers* (Hamden, Conn., 1975); Baruch Hirson, *Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa, 1930-1947* (London, 1989); and Gay Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985* (Berkeley, 1994).

could collapse. How could South African officials stabilize this work force in order to secure production throughout the war without threatening the country's economy?

And South African officials encountered one additional complication: European craftsmen who held powerful and highly paid factory positions and who fought what they perceived to be threats to their position as a labor "aristocracy" in the industrial workplace. These workers enjoyed a monopoly of political and economic power as skilled white workers and could not be pushed aside easily in favor of disenfranchised and low-paid African workers. Eddie Webster and Jon Lewis have written well-documented studies that argue that, during the war and the decade immediately thereafter, South African officials and employers nevertheless sought with some success to weaken the position of these craftsmen by changing the very processes of production.<sup>7</sup> New techniques were introduced to expedite massive wartime production, relying more heavily on machine manufacture and therefore less on skilled workers. In particular, Webster and Lewis argue that new technologies resulted in a process of "deskilling," which undermined the power of skilled (white) workers and opened the door to the greater use of semi-skilled (African) workers. The technological changes reduced the control of the European workers over the production process while at the same time introducing less expensive but potentially more volatile African workers. Webster and Lewis both argue that, during the war years, "craft" unions began to identify themselves as exclusively "white" unions, increasingly basing privilege on race and that this worker racism carried through into the postwar years and the initiation of apartheid.<sup>8</sup> In short, the introduction of African factory workers during the war led to increasing white racism and the institution of apartheid.

But this is not exactly what happened during the war. The conflation of industrial transformation, increasing white racism, and apartheid does not explain the process whereby these three phenomena followed one another. If such factors had been brought together simultaneously during the war—in particular, the introduction of African workers into the wartime factories—the combination of white and African labor unrest would have paralyzed South African production not only in wartime factories but in the all-important mines as well. Although Africans eventually took such jobs, they were not allowed in to the semi-skilled factory positions until well after the war and even after the institution of apartheid. In a work on labor unions during the war, Peter Alexander argues that this was the case and that the unions

<sup>7</sup> Eddie Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould: Labour Process and Trade Unionism in the Foundries* (Johannesburg, 1985); Jon Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation in South Africa, 1924–55: The Rise and Fall of the South African Trades and Labour Council* (Cambridge, 1984). On the white working class, see also Robert Davies, *Capital, State, and White Labour in South Africa, 1900–1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1979).

<sup>8</sup> During the war and immediately after, white workers banded together to protect their rights on the basis of their race, despite ethnic divisions within the white work force between English and Afrikaners that played an intermittent role in worker strategies. The steel industry in particular underwent struggles between English and Afrikaans workers resulting in the establishment of separate unions and an ethnically split labor force similar to those described by Edna Bonacich. See, for example, Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); and Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*.



were able to hold the status quo.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, changes in the production process if not the permanent work force did take place during the war, and separately from the introduction of African workers, since South African officials and employers were eager to streamline production but not to provoke labor instability. South African officials sought to increase factory production without upsetting the labor status quo that reserved skilled jobs for whites and kept Africans, no matter what their job, classified as temporary and unskilled.

White women would provide the solution to South Africa's dilemma. Indeed, an understanding of the role of gender is as crucial as that of the obvious and compelling issues of race and class in order to understand many of the complexities of the South African labor market. Nevertheless, little work has been done to integrate these issues.<sup>10</sup> Webster and Lewis each make only a brief reference—no more than a sentence or two—to the role of women in this process. Iris Berger, on the other hand, has written a very detailed study of women in South African industry. She has focused in particular on the ways in which female workers organized to improve their conditions of labor. Yet, while including a brief but illuminating chapter on the activities of women war workers, she argues that their disappearance from the engineering workplace upon the cessation of hostilities meant that they had no long-term impact either on the industry or on the structure of production.<sup>11</sup> I would argue that gender is the missing piece of the South African puzzle, which allows for industrial change during the war without attendant political upheaval.

Adopting for the moment a comparative focus, gender emerges as a determinant element in changes made worldwide under wartime conditions of production. Indeed, women have made a significant and long-term difference to the structures of production in which they engage. Maurine Greenwald, for example, in her study of the impact of World War I on female workers in the United States, has argued that not only did women enter war production in huge numbers but that their labor was fundamental to the "dilution of craft skills." New workers, especially women, were brought in to do the jobs previously limited to men deemed "skilled" workers, particularly in the American engineering industry, and they consequently changed these jobs in significant ways.<sup>12</sup> Laura Lee Downs, in an examination of the impact of gender on the French and British manufacturing industries from the beginning

<sup>9</sup> Although Alexander argues that white and black workers in fact worked together to improve wages and working conditions, his contentions cannot be supported in this case. Peter Alexander, *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid* (Cape Town, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> The growing literature on South African women examines the ways in which class and race affect women's lives but does not necessarily extend the analysis to consider how the employment of women alternatively affects concepts of race and class. See Belinda Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900–1983* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991); Ellen Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman* (London, 1985); Emma Mashinini, *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life: A South African Autobiography* (London, 1989); Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (New York, 1991). See also Special Issue on Women, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (October 1983).

<sup>11</sup> Iris Berger, *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900–1980* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 144. Peter Alexander likewise has argued that, because of the departure of women from the engineering industry after the war, "It is most unlikely that [they] made a significant lasting impact." See Alexander, "Collaboration and Control: Engineering Unions and the South African State, 1939–1945," *South African Journal of Sociology* 27, no. 2 (1996): 75.

<sup>12</sup> Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (1980; rpt. edn., Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 116–18, 238.

of World War I to the end of the 1930s, also demonstrated the ways in which “gender intersected with structural transformations in the labor process.” She argues that, while women entered manufacturing in considerable numbers—“the story of new opportunities for women”—once in the work force, they were subjected to a wide range of restrictions, such as lower pay and poorer conditions of labor than men. “Gender,” Downs contends, “was . . . transformed from a principle of excluding women into a basis for dividing labor within a newly fragmented labor process.”<sup>13</sup> In a third example, Ruth Milkman has looked at the way in which U.S. employers during World War II justified the use of female labor in their factories. In the United States, as in Europe, this justification had a long-term impact on the development of processes of mass production: “The emphasis on the idiom of sex-typing on the physical limitations of women workers . . . justified the sexual division of labor [and] it also served as the basis for increased mechanization and work simplification.”<sup>14</sup> These three examples help demonstrate the long-term impact of gender on the restructuring of production during wartime.

The introduction of women—white and coloured<sup>15</sup>—into industrial jobs formerly held by white men in World War II South Africa likewise allowed the restructuring of South African industry. During the war, employers and the government used women, despite vociferous objections from the white unions, to re-gender and “dilute” skilled positions as techniques of mass production were developed, and did so in a manner that would have risked great labor upheavals had they attempted to use African men in these same positions. These wartime changes allowed production to expand and kept worker unrest to a minimum. After the war, these gendered categories of operative labor—the backbone of machine production—became re-racialized as African workers were moved into the jobs formerly held by women. The re-gendering of the South African workplace created new divisions in the work force that allowed the introduction of Africans into jobs with low pay and few rights. The implementation of apartheid shortly thereafter would further undermine African workers’ rights and protect the mining industry by putting all African workers on par as temporary “sojourners” in the white cities.

<sup>13</sup> Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 1–2, 14.

<sup>14</sup> Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 60.

<sup>15</sup> The term “coloured” refers to a community whose ancestors include Africans and Europeans, as well as slaves brought from southern India and Indonesia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Referred to as “mixed race” by successive white governments, coloureds were denied the legal or economic rights accorded to whites and held a somewhat ambiguous position under segregation and apartheid. Today, the coloureds constitute a significant community within South Africa with a distinct identity. See Wilmot James, Daria Caliguire, and Kerry Cullinan, eds., *Now That We Are Free: Coloured Communities in a Democratic South Africa* (Boulder, Colo., 1996); Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African “Coloured” Politics* (New York, 1987); John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996). During the war, African women constituted less than 1 percent of the industrial work force, although Africans as a group represented over 50 percent of the industrial work force by the end of the war. In comparison, white women made up approximately 10 percent of the wartime industrial work force. See *Union Statistics for Fifty Years* (Pretoria, 1960), G6, G7. Urban African women were instead drawn into a number of activities, including entrepreneurial enterprises and domestic work. For examples, see Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*.

SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT READY to go to war in 1939.<sup>16</sup> The country was politically divided, and opponents of the entry into war began arming themselves in readiness for internal conflict as they had during the first world war.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the administration of Jan Smuts committed itself to raising and equipping a large military force, providing raw materials for Allied production, and meeting domestic needs for manufactured goods. Because Smuts did not want to antagonize any further the Afrikaner opponents of the war, his government chose not to introduce conscription, and the South African military had to depend on approximately 132,000 white volunteers. With regard to wartime industrial production, however, an element of compulsion was introduced in February 1941 when artisans were made subject to government regulation with regard to where, under what terms, and for how long they could work.<sup>18</sup> Men subjected to such government regulation ("conscripted" was the term used by union leaders to describe their condition) comprised almost double those serving in uniform, with 210,000 whites working in South Africa's industrial sector during World War II.<sup>19</sup> These numbers were part of the massive mobilization of the entire country.

In order to produce the necessary war goods, South African industry would be transformed from one based on craft to one based on mechanization. Until the outbreak of war, "the engineering industry . . . had been mainly a jobbing industry doing repair and maintenance work for the mines," with "little manufacture . . . done." The "engineering industry" consisted primarily of 150 small "private shops on the Rand" (South Africa's major mining center), where a work force consisting "almost exclusively of skilled artisans" repaired and maintained mining equipment.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, based on massive iron-ore reserves and a fledgling state-run steel industry, Prime Minister Smuts felt confident in agreeing to supply the Allies with 40,000 tons of iron ore and £1 million worth of ammunition per month for the

<sup>16</sup> Smuts had become prime minister after winning parliamentary support for South Africa's entry into the war in opposition to the policy of neutrality implemented under the government of J. B. M. Hertzog. Hertzog and his Afrikaner supporters resented British imperial policies dating from the nineteenth century. For a useful introduction to the politics of this period, see T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (Toronto, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> A small group of Afrikaner generals who had served in the South African War organized an incipient rebellion against South Africa's entry into World War I. The rebellion of approximately 11,000 armed Afrikaners was put down by government troops in November 1914. See D. W. Kruger, *The Age of the Generals: A Short Political History of the Union of South Africa, 1910–1948* (Johannesburg, 1961).

<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of 1941, a controller of industrial manpower (hereafter, "controller") was appointed (under terms of War Measure No. 6) with the authority to regulate where people worked and the rates of pay they would receive. See H. Tinsdale, "Civil History of the War" (unpub. typescript), pp. 1–2, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, University of Cape Town (hereafter, UCT). See also J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation*, 100–01.

<sup>19</sup> At the start of the war, South Africa had a permanent force of only 352 officers, 5,033 other ranks, and an Active Citizens Force of 13,490. As the official history of the war states, "To say that South Africa was unprepared for war is no exaggeration." H. J. Martin and Neil D. Orpen, *South Africa at War: Military and Industrial Organization and Operations in Connection with the Conduct of the War, 1939–1945* (Cape Town, 1979), 26–27, 346. For employment figures, see *Union Statistics for Fifty Years*, A30, A33. Large numbers of Africans as well as coloureds and Indians also served as volunteers in the armed forces (123,000) and in industrial production (450,000) during the war. See Louis Grundlingh, "The Recruitment of South African Blacks for Participation in the Second World War," in Killingray and Rathbone, *Africa and the Second World War*.

<sup>20</sup> "Manpower," 2–3, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. See also Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 25.

duration of the war.<sup>21</sup> Smuts also provided government funds to establish eight new state-run plants for the manufacture of war materiel and to install £6 million worth of machinery and equipment at private engineering firms.<sup>22</sup> And production methods at these factories would change. "War production," as an official memorandum on the history of employment during the war noted, "was based upon standardisation of components so that they were interchangeable" and therefore "necessitated a different method of production" from the individual crafting of replacement parts undertaken at most pre-war engineering firms. It was the difference between individual craft and mass production. Key to this new process of mass production would be the expansion of the work force and a "dilution" of labor skills, something that the individual white craftsmen in the small shops had struggled against for decades.<sup>23</sup>

Since skilled workers were in seriously short supply and were urgently needed by the lucrative mining industry, the government decided to introduce less skilled workers into the ammunition factories.<sup>24</sup> In January 1940, the government negotiated an agreement with employers and unions to permit the employment of "emergency workers," in positions in which they would normally not be considered qualified and at 85 percent of the usual wage.<sup>25</sup> The government had difficulty

<sup>21</sup> Martin and Orpen, *South Africa at War*, 140; Minutes, Iscor Board of Directors, September 4, 1940, Department of Commerce and Industries Archives, 3263, 509/8, vol. 4B, Central Archives Depot, Pretoria (CAD). All archival records are held in this depot unless otherwise noted.

<sup>22</sup> Nancy L. Clark, *Manufacturing Apartheid: State Corporations in South Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 112; H. J. van der Bijl, "Report on Organisation, Principles of Purchase and Production," August 14, 1940, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT.

<sup>23</sup> "Manpower," 3, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT.

<sup>24</sup> The director-general of supplies in a postwar report noted that there had been a significant shortage of skilled artisans well before the war. See Director-General of Supplies (hereafter, DGS), Circular No. 7, February 1, 1944. On the shortage of artisans, see also Minister of Economic Development Archives (hereafter, MED) 2, Board of Trade and Industries, *Report No. 286: Investigation into the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries in the Union of South Africa* (Pretoria, 1946), 208. Nevertheless, the government estimated that there were 4,800 journeymen employed in the mines in 1944, while commercial manufacturers reported employing 4,600. DGS, Circular No. 11, June 28, 1944, MED, 28; F. C. Williams Memorandum, October 19, 1944, Board of Trade and Industries Archives (hereafter, RHN), 462, 32/5/1, vol. 3. Even when the demand for skilled workers to perform ship repairs at the nation's ports became critical for Allied naval operations, journeymen at the mines remained untouched. DGS, Circular No. 11, June 28, 1944, MED, 28. Government planners continually referred to the fact that the country's postwar industrial development remained dependent on its largest consumer, the mines. See, for example, H. J. van Eck to Minister of Economic Development, September 10, 1943, MED, 22, 3/35, vol. 2. A 1940 government survey confirmed that the economy was too dependent on mining to threaten its labor: out of 110 firms, all but 14 would be affected by a downturn in mining. See the chart showing firms and their dependence on the gold mining industry, June 7, 1940, Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission (K302) 3, IRC 6, vol. 1. Even the government mining engineer argued that the state was too dependent on mining revenues to threaten its labor sources. See Government Mining Engineer, "Increased Working Costs on Mines," February 8, 1944, Department of Mines Archives (hereafter, MNW), 1144, mm94/13.

<sup>25</sup> The agreement stated that emergency labor could if necessary be employed in skilled positions—categories at the top of the pre-war wage scale ("journeymen's or Grade I Operatives work")—with preference given to "unemployed artisans in other Industries, preferably [but not necessarily] . . . employees whose trades have some affinity to the operations they will be required to perform." Journeymen were defined under the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, which limited the right to enter labor negotiations to white and coloured workers only, as "a worker who has completed his contract of apprenticeship in any of the classes of work enumerated in sub-section (1) (a) of section 2 of this schedule, and is employed on any such classes of work, or any worker over the age of twenty-one years employed on any such classes of work." These classes included skilled positions as boilermaker, fitter and turner, bricklayer, carpenter, molder, welder, and other such jobs. Grade I



finding such workers, and tried direct recruitment through its own training program, the Central Organisation of Technical Training (COTT). Although more than 22,000 went through COTT training, only 306 graduates worked in industry by the end of the war. The bulk entered the army instead, where they found better benefits.<sup>26</sup> Despite its best efforts, the government found few white men willing to work in the country's wartime factories.

Failing to recruit sufficient numbers of white males into the factories, the government faced a serious challenge. There were millions of Africans available for training and employment, yet their introduction into skilled and semi-skilled jobs would constitute a dramatic change in labor relations. Labor stability was crucial during the war, but offering African workers union representation, as in the other African colonies, would overturn the mining labor model. Furthermore, it would provoke the ire of the white artisans who were still so crucial to the country's war effort. If war production were indeed to be placed on a stable and expanded footing, new and uncontroversial sources of labor would have to be tapped.

WOMEN PROVIDED AN OBVIOUS SOURCE of "diluted" labor in a situation in which white men were in short supply and Africans on the basis of their race were excluded from consideration as emergency workers. Women had been "economically active" in manufacturing since the beginning of the century, particularly in the clothing and food processing industries, where the craft unions accepted their positions as semi-skilled workers. By the 1930s, they formed the bulk of the work force in these industries.<sup>27</sup> Most of the women employed were Afrikaners—many of whom had a long history of trade union activity—but there was also an increasing number of coloured women at work, especially in clothing.<sup>28</sup> The unions had already accepted the presence of these women on the factory floor in semi-skilled and fairly low-paid jobs. Still, at the beginning of the war, less than 20 percent of white women over the age of fifteen, and only 33 percent of coloured, were officially defined as economically active compared with figures for white and coloured males of 87 and 93 percent respectively.<sup>29</sup> For government officials and employers alike, these women clearly offered a potentially enormous and relatively noncontroversial source of war workers.

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operatives engaged primarily in supervisory work. See Government Notice no. 707, *Government Gazette* (May 7, 1937): 12–21. All these positions were occupied by white workers. Coloured employees were restricted to repetition work and general laboring. Under the Emergency Agreement, unions were assured that they would be consulted in all emergency hirings. See "Draft Arrangement for the Admission and Control of Emergency Labour into the Iron and Steel and Engineering Industry for the Duration of the War," January 26, 1940, Department of Labour Archives (hereafter, ARB), 1557, 1183/1.

<sup>26</sup> "Manpower," 11, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. In total, 26,000 people received training between July 1940 and April 1945. Almost 70 percent of them chose to enter the armed forces rather than local industry after training, although all had the promise of postwar employment.

<sup>27</sup> *Union Statistics for Fifty Years*, A30, 31, G2, L4.

<sup>28</sup> See Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*. See also Leslie Witz, "Servant of the Workers: Solly Sachs and the Garment Workers' Union, 1928–1952" (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984), on female Afrikaner-coloured labor union activity.

<sup>29</sup> *Union Statistics for Fifty Years*, G2.



For their part, women in great numbers would seek employment as wartime emergency workers, motivated by a desire to serve their country “during a most critical period of Nazi aggression” but also to escape the often-indigent conditions in which many lived. They came primarily from sectors of the population identified half a decade earlier by the Carnegie Commission on Poor Whites as consisting of “paupers,” and were primarily Afrikaners. Their entry into the work force had been going on since the beginning of the century, despite the political depiction of Afrikaner women as devoted mothers and homemakers. Referred to as “volksmoeders,” or mothers of the nation, Afrikaner women were typically portrayed as devoted to the private or domestic sphere rather than participants in the public sphere.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, many young single rural Afrikaner women were responsible for the upkeep of their impoverished relatives.<sup>31</sup> They saw in war production a chance to earn the funds that could be remitted “home” or as a way to escape from their depressing and difficult rural circumstances. Others had been in the cities of the Rand for several years, already having been driven into factory work, jobs in shops, or domestic labor in order to support their rural dependents or to survive. There were also considerable numbers of married or widowed older women. These were driven—like Mrs. M. J. du Plessis, “utterly unable to feed, clothe, and pay the house rent” from her husband’s income as a shunter for the Iscor mining and steel company, and Mrs. C. Berry, a widower for thirteen years with three teenagers to support, and Mrs. C. M. J. van Zyl, recently divorced after an “unhappy” married life and without any income whatsoever—into munitions work in order to support themselves and their families.<sup>32</sup> Women in South Africa, as around the world, flocked to these jobs for a variety of personal reasons.

For their part, employers were happy to hire these women. With a female emergency worker agreement in place in 1940, engineering firms, the mines, and government agencies immediately began hiring women for war production, placing most of them in semi-skilled jobs.<sup>33</sup> Proving that the use of the women did not

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of the “volksmoeder” ideology, see Louise Vincent, “A Cake of Soap: The Volksmoeder Ideology and Afrikaner Women’s Campaign for the Vote,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32 (Winter 1999): 1–18; and “Bread and Honour: White Working Class Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 (March 2000): 61–78. For a discussion of the use of gender to justify Afrikaner nationalism and racism, see Jonathan Hyslop, “White Working-Class Women and the Invention of Apartheid: ‘Purified’ Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation against ‘Mixed’ Marriages, 1934–9,” *Journal of African History* 36 (January 1995): 57–82; and “Incident at Ziman Brothers: The Politics of Gender and Race in a Pretoria Factory, 1934,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 28 (Summer 1995): 509–26.

<sup>31</sup> “Many of the women employed at the [South African] Mint are the sole support of a couple or several dependents.” Women Engineering Workers’ Union, “Memorandum on Conditions at the Mint in Pretoria,” August 1942, AH 646, Dd 9.18, University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter, WITS).

<sup>32</sup> The quote about Nazi aggression is from a statement by Frances Engela, a union organizer for women employed in the South African Mint. See the “Memorandum for the S.A. Trades and Labour Council by the S.A. Mint Employees’ Union,” June 25, 1946, AH 646, Dd 1.17, WITS; those by individual women are from the same source. On the general condition of poor whites, women especially, in the 1930s, see the *Report of the Carnegie Commission of Investigation on the Poor White Question in South Africa* (Stellenbosch, 1932), esp. vol. 5, pt. (b), “The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family”; and Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 70–89. Given the predominance of Afrikaners among the emergency workers, and the antipathy of many of them to South Africa’s entry into the war, the strongest motivating factor is likely to have been financial need. This is not, however, to suggest that some were not motivated by patriotic concerns. For biographical details of some of the women and their own statements about their economic position, see below.

<sup>33</sup> By November 1940, four of the largest private engineering firms engaged in war production—

threaten mining's labor structure, a "number of mines" had women at work on munitions production by the end of 1940, despite the lack of a specific agreement between employers and unions permitting the extension of such labor to gold mining.<sup>34</sup> The government itself hired over a thousand women to work at the South African Mint in Pretoria to operate presses, stamps, and lathes in the production of bombs and ammunition as well as military badges, and hundreds more to work for the South African Railways and the Post Office.<sup>35</sup> All employers were eager to use the women, and they quickly filled a majority of the emergency positions in the wartime engineering factories.

THE TERMS OF THE WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT differed markedly from those of the male "emergency workers." Whereas men viewed as "unqualified" by the unions were being paid the "qualified" rate of wages, throughout the war women were to be defined as "temporary" workers only and paid much less than the male emergency workers. Unlike their male counterparts hired as emergency labor or as COTT trainees, the women were never guaranteed long-term employment following the war. Indeed, the unions would only agree to the use of women in engineering if it was made clear that they would not qualify to remain in the industry beyond the duration of the war.

The women were restricted to semi-skilled jobs, and their wage rates were quickly reduced. The craft unions insisted that the women could only do repetition work.<sup>36</sup> The training time was cut drastically from three years to one, with the effect of also cutting the pay level for the fully trained women.<sup>37</sup> By September 1940, employers instituted pay rates for the women's jobs that were significantly lower than the

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Stewarts and Lloyds, C. C. Taylor, West Rand Engineering, and Steel Engineering—had hired women. See Divisional Inspector to Secretary for Labour, November 21, 1940, ARB, 1558, 1183/9.

<sup>34</sup> See the exchange of correspondence between R. Glastonbury and the secretary of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, February 13, 18, 25, 1941, ARB, 1558, 1183/9. Members of the AEU were fitters, turners, and toolmakers who worked primarily in grades I and II and lower operative categories and thus were most likely to be doing the same jobs as female emergency workers.

<sup>35</sup> On the workers at the Pretoria Mint and their duties, see Inspector of Female Labour to Controller, October 4, 1941, ARB, 1971, COM (Controller of Manpower) 1/39/1.

<sup>36</sup> The official terms for the skilled jobs were "Journeyman" and "Grade I Operative," and the women could only work a step down as "Grade II Operatives." Under the 1937 industrial agreement still in force at the beginning of the war, this grade was limited to repetition machine work using lathes, drills, saws, and such. The emergency women's agreement mirrored these limitations, restricting the women workers to the "operation of machine tools, light welding and core making and armature winding." They were not permitted to supervise the use of these machines or to repair them. See "Manpower," 12–13, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. See also the letter of C. V. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Industrial Council for the Iron and Steel Manufacturing and Engineering Industry, Transvaal, September 6, 1940, ARB, 1558, 1183/9. The actual jobs that could be done by Grade II operatives and the rates of pay for each level within the category are described in detail in Government Notice no. 707, *Government Gazette* (May 7, 1937): 14–15, 17–18. The wage agreement of September 1940 took effect in July 1941.

<sup>37</sup> Report to the Industrial Council by R. Glastonbury, Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, December 15, 1941, attached to Secretary of Transvaal Iron and Steel and Engineering Industries Federation to Controller, May 1, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. See also Industrial Council Memo, 1944, ARB, 1816, 1612/1/17–20G. Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 133–34, discusses continuing negotiations that took place in late 1940 and early 1941 between unions and employers over the exact terms on which women could be employed.

"peacetime" rates for the same jobs.<sup>38</sup> At that time, the maximum rate the women could be paid was almost 20 percent less than that paid to male operatives.<sup>39</sup> By 1941, the government went a step further and instituted the practice of paying a lower rate to all women regardless of their job on the basis of their sex. In May 1941, the controller of industrial manpower set the maximum rate for women emergency workers "irrespective of occupation" at 75 percent of that of men.<sup>40</sup> Despite the advantages to male workers, the unions worried about the precedent being set. They complained that "a cheaper class of labour" having been "trained and demonstrated its ability to discharge the work" would have the long-term effect of "(a) inducing the Industry to endeavour to retain this [cheaper] standard when profit control is no more, or (b) compel the Industry to demand this standard as a result of the Consumer's awareness of the cheaper cost of production."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, why pay more for skill deemed unnecessary?

When women started moving into skilled jobs at lower pay, the unions' worst fears were realized. Evidence for this development came from the reports of the government inspector of female labor, who reported in 1941 that several women on each shift had "gradually been trained to take complete charge of the finishing machines and displace journeymen" at one workshop.<sup>42</sup> Under normal peacetime labor conditions, promotion from learner-operative to operative was meant to take at least two years and up to five, that from operative to journeyman perhaps longer, yet here were women making the jump from unskilled to skilled in little more than a year. Moreover, employers were pressing constantly "to extend the scope of women workers to the Journeyman's occupation," and to "employ women on normal production" as well as on munitions. They did so on the basis of an argument that women workers had "proved capable of performing the work in question as efficiently as male labour." The unions disagreed, arguing that the women were not performing skilled jobs but still needed supervision. Due to their lack of skills, they should be paid only 75 percent of the wage "called for as a

<sup>38</sup> On the rates of pay for women, see the letter of C. V. Patterson, September 6, 1940, ARB, 1558, 1183/9; Beatty to Director of Technical Production, November 19, 1940, ARB, 1558, 1183/9; Wage sheet, Central Ordnance Factory, September 1, 1941, and the reports of Grace Cameron-Swan, Inspector of Female Labour, for October and November 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1. The September 1940 agreement provided that male and female emergency workers would be paid the same rate for munitions work.

<sup>39</sup> Under the 1937 industrial agreement, Grade II operative pay was set at 2s. 1d. per hour, that of journeyman and Grade I operatives at 2s. 9d. per hour. See Government Notice no. 707, *Government Gazette* (May 7, 1937): 17-18. On the rates paid to male emergency workers, see Glastonbury's Report to the Industrial Council, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2; and "Manpower," 13, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT.

<sup>40</sup> See Glastonbury's Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. Women would receive the maximum of 1s. 9d. already set by employers; male emergency workers would get 2s. 4d.

<sup>41</sup> See the reports of Glastonbury and Williams, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Inspector of Female Labour to Controller, October 7, 1941, ARB, 1971, COM 1/39/1. See also Glastonbury's Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37 Sc. IV, pt. 2. According to an earlier agreement reached between molders and employers with regard to the use of male emergency workers, the latter would be entitled to journeyman wages after three years of work. See J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation*, 96-97.

minimum in the case of the Journeyman.”<sup>43</sup> Employers were more than happy to pay the lower rates while still employing the women in skilled positions.

“Two different pay rates for parallel lines of work” was the accusation made by the unions by the end of 1941. Certain that means were “being sought to extend the scope of women workers to the Journeymen’s occupation,” and to apply the lower female operative rate of pay to the skilled positions, the unions demanded equal pay for equal work.<sup>44</sup> The unions were concerned not that women were underpaid nor that there was an “immediate danger” to “established wage standards, but because of the danger inherent in training a large number of persons to perform such work at a lesser rate for Post-war purposes.”<sup>45</sup> If such work could be performed with limited skills and lowered wages during the war, how could the unions justify the necessity of more skilled and higher-paid workers after the war? Nevertheless, the Chamber of Mines, the country’s largest employer, replied that equal pay for women was “absurd.”<sup>46</sup>

Rather than equal pay, employers were eager to extend sex-based wage rates throughout industry. The industrialists argued in heavily gendered terms that the lower rate “was not entirely foreign” to women’s “normal earning standards,” that in practice “4 women” were “required to perform one journeyman’s work,” that it seemed “logical that a woman should be given the same rates of pay as an apprentice who can be assumed to have the same earning capacity,” that women were after all just “temporary” workers, and that it was “psychologically justified” that women should be “on a common basis” as to pay rates. They also justified the case for a lower wage rate for female than for male emergency workers on the basis that there were “practically no male emergency workers . . . at present available”; therefore, the sex-based pay differential would be hardly evident to those concerned. Low paid, assumed to lack the skills of male workers, and psychologically pre-determined by their sex to favor the same rate of pay irrespective of individual

<sup>43</sup> See Glastonbury’s Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>44</sup> See Glastonbury’s Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. On union problems, see also J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation*, 98–100.

<sup>45</sup> The AEU was especially concerned about women being paid 1s. 9d. for skilled work that would earn a male journeyman 2s. 10.5d. See Glastonbury’s Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Secretary of the AEU to Secretary of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, February 13, 1941, and the latter’s reply of February 18, 1941, ARB, 1558, 1183/9. See also the earlier correspondence with regard to this issue, Deputy Director-General of War Supplies to Secretary for Labour, November 22, 1940, and the latter’s reply of December 14, 1940, referring to the existence of a very “bad atmosphere” between mine employer and unions; ARB, 1558, 1183/9. Beatty to Director of Technical Production, November 19, 1940, ARB, 1558, 1183/9. The union situation further deteriorated in March 1941 when engineering became the first industry to be officially declared “controlled” by the government. Under the terms of wartime legislation, the controller of industrial manpower could prevent men in “scheduled” jobs—primarily skilled occupations—from changing their places of employment without his approval. He could also order them to change jobs if he considered war needs required such a move. He also had the power to determine wage rates, and exercised this authority in November 1941 when he froze artisan wages, a move the AEU denounced as “dictatorial.” See “Manpower,” 6–7; and Tinsdale, “Civil History of the War,” 1–3, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. For the use of the word “dictatorial,” see E. A. Clements, AEU, to Controller, November 24, 1941, ARB, 1949, COM 1/29.



abilities: such was the employers' view of the essential qualities of the female war worker.<sup>47</sup>

It was difficult for the unions to counteract the employers' viewpoint since they believed that the women were less well trained than the males and clearly intended to be temporary. Nevertheless, R. Glastonbury of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) tried to argue that female workers should be "remunerated for the work they will perform on the basis of that work, and not on the sex of the worker," and remarked that women workers had proved as efficient as male. And he rejected the employers' recommendation for a uniformly low wage for women on the grounds that this would provide unfair competition for regular workers, especially the skilled. Rather than advocate equal pay for equal work, however, he suggested that the rate of pay for women engaged in normal production be set at 15 to 25 percent lower than that paid to men, with some differentials based on the job.<sup>48</sup> The unions hoped to preserve some differentiation between jobs based on training and skill, and automatically to extend this justification to include gender.

The government eventually struck a compromise, allowing employers to hire women into skilled positions at 75 percent of the male rate.<sup>49</sup> In May 1942, the controller of industrial manpower approved the extension of the emergency use of female labor from munition into regular production although, at "the insistence of Trade Unions [determined] to protect the status of the artisan," he established official female hourly rates of pay at least 25 percent below those of regular male employees. In reality, however, women received far different benefits from the men and earned between a sixth and a quarter—not 75 percent—of the actual take-home pay of male semi-skilled workers and between an eighth and a fifth that of journeymen. Even the highest paid women doing skilled work earned only a third of the take-home wage of their male peers.<sup>50</sup> The numbers of such cheap workers seemed sure to increase when the government, in May 1942, announced that

<sup>47</sup> See F. C. Williams's Memo, attached to Secretary of Transvaal Iron and Steel and Engineering Industries Federation to Controller, May 1, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Glastonbury suggested that the rate of pay for women engaged in normal production be set at 2s. 1d.—the ruling rate for Grade II operatives—though only after twelve months' continuous labor in the job, and that a rate of 2s. 4d. (after three months' continuous labor) be set for women working in supervisory (Grade I operator) and journeyman positions. See Glastonbury's Report, December 15, 1941, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Government inspectors testified to the ability of the women. At a furniture-making plant in Pretoria, for example, an industrial inspector reported on numerous production processes involving box making for military purposes that could be done by women: using jigsaw machines to cut patterns, beveling with a portable disc sander, operating an electric screwdriver. The only problems with the introduction of female labor, the inspector noted, were that some machines were "too heavy" for an "average woman" to operate (therefore necessitating the retention of some white male operatives), and that the "suggested women operatives would be rubbing shoulders with the male non-europeans employed as labourers all day long." R. T. Blake (Industrial Inspector) to Divisional Inspector of Labour, March 18, 1942, ARB, 1557, 1183. Blake suggested that the latter problem could be alleviated if production processes undertaken by women could be done in a separate room.

<sup>50</sup> "Manpower," 8, 9–10, 13, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. The maximum a woman subject to manpower control could earn was 2s. 4d. Skilled workers, their pay augmented by overtime and cost-of-living allowances, earned an average of 5s. per hour. This meant an average wage for male journeymen of £12/2/2 in 1942, and for semi-skilled men, £8/15/9, compared with the £1/10/0 to £2/15/0 for most women and no more than £4/7/6 for the best paid. Compare the figures for engineering journeymen (averages given for 1940–1943) in W. Crompton to Controller, May 3, 1943, ARB, 1949, COM 1/29, pt. 2, with those for women in Annexure "B" of R. E. Hill to Secretary for Finance, August 27, 1943, Public Services Commission Archives (hereafter, SDK), 3597, 45/5/1, pt.



employers could make application to the controller of industrial labor for permission to hire women into journeyman positions.<sup>51</sup>

Despite their threats, the unions gradually acquiesced to the use of the women in skilled and semi-skilled jobs, both at lower pay and with less training than had been required for white males before the war.<sup>52</sup> While the unions, especially the AEU, worried that a precedent would be set for postwar wage standards, they still clung to the stipulation that these workers were only “temporary,” and thus their terms of employment were somehow aberrant and exceptional. The unions recognized that the use of the women did not transgress the racial divide between European and African workers and thus did not threaten the unions’ equation of race and skill. The women were holding the jobs, if not all of the privileges, formerly associated with skilled labor.

THE TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN in normal production, especially in skilled positions, expanded rapidly after 1942.<sup>53</sup> The controller of manpower announced in January 1943 that women should be trained in “general fitting and machining (including turning).” He stated, “It is not intended to utilise the services of these persons in work of a repetitive nature similar to that of operatives but it is desired that they should perform the duties usually assigned to journeymen.”<sup>54</sup> Previously male positions were reclassified as women’s journeyman jobs, and the rates of pay applied to the category were effectively reduced.<sup>55</sup> When the controller allowed the women to “work on single purpose lathes of all types and operations in the

1. Numerous statistics collected by the controller with regard to wages paid to males in the engineering industry can be found in ARB, 1949, COM 1/29.

<sup>51</sup> Government Notice no. 979, *Government Gazette*, May 2, 1942.

<sup>52</sup> The AEU, “in the face of some opposition from other Unions,” finally agreed to the employment of female (and male) emergency workers in munitions at the lower rate of pay than regular male workers in order “to further the War effort.” See Glastonbury’s Report, December 15, 1941, and F. C. Williams’s Memo, both attached to Secretary of the Transvaal Iron and Steel and Engineering Industries Federation to Controller, May 1, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>53</sup> The Union Steel Corporation, for example, which had planned in May 1942 to use semi-skilled male labor in its bomb-making facility, hired women instead when men were not available. J. G. Dalton, Technical Advisor Aerial Bomb Section, to Mr. Mackenzie, Assistant Deputy of the DGWS(T), May 4, 1942, ARB, 2003, COM 2/11. At the Witwatersrand Mining Company in Germiston, 135 women (many between sixteen and twenty) were making 500 lb. bombs. They were engaged in “light welding, cutting, screwing, [operating] single purpose machines, screwing nose caps, big ends, small ends, thread milling, making tails of bombs, thinning steel, rivetting, testing with pressure air, spray painting, varnishing . . . [swinging] hammer[s] from side to side with ease, energy, joy and accuracy,” while all the “heavy lifting” was done by African laborers. Cameron-Swan to Controller, October 20, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1. At the New State Areas Mine in Springs, women were employed in drilling, riveting, screw and tapping, acetylene welding, and had just begun to receive instruction in the use of electric welding. Cameron-Swan, Memorandum on Employing Female Emergency Workers without Controller’s Permission, October 30, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Payne to Controller, October 1, November 9, 1942, and Controller to Representative, Durban, January 30, 1943, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Local Representative to Controller, March 4, 1943, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1. The female molders received pay rates of 2s. 3d. to 2s. 5d. an hour for work in normal production and 2s. to 2s. 2d. for munitions work. As noted earlier, male journeymen got 5s. per hour. See Memorandum on Female Emergency Workers [author’s initials illegible] to J. A. Wagner (Office of Controller), February 18, 1943, and the marginal notations on [Local Representative to Controller], March 4, 1943, ARB 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

manufacture of electrical equipment" in 1941, one employer estimated that "80 percent of the machinery" in munitions factories by 1942 was "being run by women."<sup>56</sup> Although the department of labor was well aware that these actions could pose a threat to the future livelihood of the male workers, the controller allowed the increasing use of the women.

The government quickly moved beyond allowing the practice of employing women in the skilled jobs to encouraging it. The government-operated COTT instituted in April 1943 two special courses: a "Fitters Course for Civilian Women" and a "Machine Tool Operators Course for Civilian Women Personnel."<sup>57</sup> The aim of these courses, in the words of a representative of the controller, was not to "turn out women journeymen anything as proficient as an apprentice" but to provide "technical and mechanical knowledge" sufficient to enable emergency workers "to function as a useful production unit" in an industry increasingly demanding "more highly skilled women."<sup>58</sup> Even the Post Office announced that it intended to "train young women for engineering workshop duties which are more appropriate to them than to men"—the department's chief engineer praised women's "nimble fingers and good eyesight"—and in time to utilize those employed "on machine tools now used for war production . . . [and] later on for production of civil needs." Particularly disturbing for the male unions was the Post Office's statement that it was training women for "a permanent occupation," not one that would end with the war.<sup>59</sup> The unions complained bitterly throughout the war that what was supposed to be a wartime exception to be decided case by case was becoming an industry practice.<sup>60</sup> Much as the unions did not want women in regular production, they could not keep them out by objecting to their cheapness (real) or their lack of skill (presumed).

Contemporary evidence shows that observers at the time considered that the introduction of women made a profound impact on production processes. The first official history of manpower written after the war noted, "dilution in the engineering and munitions industry as a whole was considerable [and] was achieved by the use of women."<sup>61</sup> Indeed, female emergency workers far outnumbered males. In

<sup>56</sup> "Manpower," 13–14, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. On the rate of hiring, see the Inspector of Female Labour to Controller, October 8 and 9, 1941, ARB, 1971, COM 1/39/1. The estimate of 80 percent women was published in the engineering industry's trade journal, *Engineer and Foundryman* (October 1942): 459 (as cited in Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 57, 68, n. 62).

<sup>57</sup> COTT descriptions, April 3 and 6, 1943, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

<sup>58</sup> See the comments on "Female Emergency Workers" attached to Personal Representative of the Controller to the Attention of T. Freestone, March 28, 1944, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Chief Engineer, Post Office, to Controller, September 17, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

<sup>60</sup> On the ineffective complaints of the AEU about this pattern, see AEU to Controller, January 25, 1943, September 1, 1944, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pts. 1 and 2; and also the expression of alarm by one lower-level official: "if we establish a precedent in allowing one firm a contravention, where will it end?" Inspector to Controller, February 8, 1945, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. The Iron Moulders Society had agreed to the use of women on light core molding only so long as they were paid the same rate of wages as a journeyman. That was never done.

<sup>61</sup> "Manpower," 11–12, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT, emphasis added. The memorandum added the words "and apprentices" after "women," but since the number of women employed during the war far outnumbered apprentices by between two and three times, I have shifted that phrase with its misleading emphasis to the footnotes. The role of apprentices is discussed in South African Federation of Engineering and Metallurgical Associations (hereafter, SAFEMA),

1942, there were twenty-six times as many women employed as emergency workers by engineering firms on the Rand as there were men.<sup>62</sup> Women overall accounted for the largest single group of new white employees engaged in war production by the metals and engineering industry. By 1943, there were as many women employed in engineering (an industry that had employed no females before the war) as the entire white work force employed by the metals industry a decade earlier.<sup>63</sup> By 1944, female operatives accounted for 16 percent of the work force engaged in munitions production, almost half as large again as the proportion (11 percent) comprised by white males.<sup>64</sup>

The introduction of the women into the engineering industry had transformed the labor force. For the first time, white males no longer enjoyed a monopoly of control over skilled industrial jobs. These women were working in jobs formerly classified as "journeymen" positions, the highest in the labor hierarchy. And they were performing the work with less training and at lower pay than the white males who had previously held the jobs. This dramatic break with past practice was possible under the emergency conditions of wartime, and was justified through gendered discrimination. Nonetheless, it created a precedent that would help erode the pre-war labor hierarchy of skill based on race and gender. More important, South African women would also prove instrumental in reshaping the very production process itself in war factories, leaving a lasting legacy of their work.

WHILE THE UNIONS WORRIED about the temporary use of women in skilled positions in factories throughout South Africa, they were simultaneously faced with the expansion of an established group of semi-skilled female workers who were employed at the South African Mint. The mint had employed women since well before the war, making coins and military badges. When the war began, the mint substantially expanded its operations, running three plants in Pretoria and one in Johannesburg for the production of "shell cases, shell and mortar fuses and the manufacture of jigs, gauges and dies for the S.A. Mint ammunition plants." The Pretoria plants hired almost 1,500 white women (most of them Afrikaners), and the mint-operated plants in other parts of the county hired an additional 485. A mint newly opened at Kimberley relied on coloured women to carry out semi-skilled work in the production of cartridge cases and bullets and the reconditioning of fired

"Historical Memorandum," October 19, 1944, RHN, 462, 32/5/1, vol. 3, p. 5; and Acting Divisional Inspector to Secretary for Labour, March 1954, ARB, 1530, 1002/5, pt. 1.

<sup>62</sup> "Emergency Labour," February 2, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2.

<sup>63</sup> The controller put the figure for white female engineering workers at 4,909 in December 1943 (out of a total number of 20,000 whites employed in the metal industries) and those of coloured females at 1,548, for a total of 6,457 women workers. In 1933-1934, total white employment in metal industries amounted to only 6,865 workers (all males). See the reports of Cameron-Swan to Controller, 1942-1944, ARB 1960, COM 1/37, Sc. IV B; the "Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Post War Readjustment and Development in the Engineering and Chemical Industries, Annexure by the Chairman on the Future Use of D.G.S. Annexe Factories," and the annexure on "The Future Use or Disposal of Government Munition Plants," November 3, 1944, Social and Economic Planning Council Archives (hereafter, SEC), 105, file 511; "Manpower," 22; and Tinsdale, "Civil History of the War," 7, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT; Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 45.

<sup>64</sup> "Manpower," 14-15, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT.

shell casings. Another new plant at Ladysmith used Indian men for semi-skilled operations, some of them skilled furniture-makers from Durban who had volunteered for war production in that city but whose labor the department of labor felt could not be used there, given the likelihood of "strong opposition from the Trade Unions concerned." The bulk of the work force was made up of Africans hired as "labourers," performing manual work. Overall, white females accounted for almost 60 percent of the white work force and 25 percent of the total number of workers employed by the mint.<sup>65</sup>

The attitude of the government and the unions to these women was similar to that toward the women at the other factories. They believed that these women could fill a need without significantly changing the postwar labor status quo. For the government men who ran the mint, women with their "deftness and skill" offered an abundant source of cheap labor that could be relied on to mass-produce munitions with the "fineness and accuracy" that such work required.<sup>66</sup> The unions once again expected these women to leave the factories after the war.<sup>67</sup> Although the women would be forced out of the factories through a catastrophic accident rather than through union pressure, government and union officials were wrong in assuming that the mass-production techniques they helped develop would also disappear.

The women at the South African Mint worked under deplorable conditions before and during the war. The mint had a history dating well before the war of employing female workers at dramatically low wages. Irrespective of the fact that women worked in a variety of positions, all received what was officially designated as a "women's rate" of pay.<sup>68</sup> The mint maintained its practice of paying a low women's rate well into the war, although it did introduce some differentiation in wages based on occupation. Nevertheless, such a wage rate produced a weekly take-home pay for female skilled and unskilled workers that amounted to less than that paid to a white male unskilled laborer.<sup>69</sup> The women complained that it was "in

<sup>65</sup> Indian males accounted for 27 percent of the work force at Ladysmith, coloured females for almost 50 percent of those employed at Kimberley. See the file on Women Operatives (Pretoria), Ammunition, December 1943, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1 pt. 2; "Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Post War Readjustment and Development in the Engineering and Chemical Industries, Annexure by the Chairman," November 3, 1944, SEC, 105, file 511; "Manpower," 13-14; and Tinsdale, "Civil History of the War," 3-4, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. On the coloured workers in particular, see Freestone to Controller, April 14, 1942, and Cameron-Swan to Controller, March 15, 1943, ARB, 279, COM 2/2, vol. 1; on Indian labor, see B. Polly, Secretary of the Non-European Building Workers' Industrial Union Natal, to Minister of Labour, September 21, 1942, and the memorandum on the "Employment of Non-Europeans in War Industry," October 6, 1942, ARB, 1994, COM 1/65. See also Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 136-37, 326 nn. 27, 28, 29.

<sup>66</sup> "Manpower," 13, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT; Inspector of Manpower to Controller, January 22, 1942, ARB, 279, COM 2/2, vol. 1.

<sup>67</sup> This attitude was made clear, for example, in the opposition of the AEU to the training of white male youths as tool-setters at the mint. The secretary of the union, Glastonbury, argued that there was no point in training male teenagers rather than women for such a job, because at the end of the war the mass-production techniques of the mint would no longer be used in industry, and since women would be dismissed anyway, better that than be left with some unemployed and disgruntled youngsters. Glastonbury to Controller, August 24, 1942, ARB, 279, COM 2/2, vol. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Annexure "A," R. E. Hill to Secretary for Finance, August 27, 1943, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Male unskilled workers received between £3/0/0 and £4/0/0 each week; skilled men got paid wages ranging from £4/10/0 to £8/5/0. Women capstan operators received between £1/10/0 and £2/17/6 for a job that men got paid £4/10/0 to do. See Freestone to Secretary for Labour, April 25, 1941, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

keeping with Christian principles, and with the liberal view of civilized progress to promote reasonable living conditions and a fair scale of wages . . . [We] are sacrificing more . . . for a keen sense of loyalty and willingness to assist the war effort.”<sup>70</sup> The influx of women brought about by the coming of the war, and the numerous new positions created by the development of mass production, placed these sexually discriminatory rates in stark relief. One labor inspector noted in April 1941, “In some instances women are working side by side with men on the same type of work, using the same machines and tools but being paid very much less . . . no Government could justify compelling women to work 66 to 77 hours per week in order to earn, on the average, 50s. to 60s.” The inspector thought these conditions came very “close to sweating.”<sup>71</sup>

The women complained that their working conditions were generally dreadful. They stood on bare cement floors up to ten hours at a stretch, without heat, and sometimes in buildings that had no weatherproofing whatsoever. There were an “inadequate number of wash basins without hot water . . . two lavatories serving from 25 to 100 individuals . . . [and] owing to the shortage of paper, newspaper is being used in some lavatories.” As a result, “water taps provide the only washing facilities. Grimy hands are not readily cleansed by water from frozen taps, and meals eaten with dirty hands mixed with grease from the machines cannot be palatable nor hygienic.” If the women tried to avail themselves of the first aid equipment, they discovered that it was locked up. If they reported to the first aid station, they were “dosed with aspirins whether their ailment be a bilious attack or a cough.” Although the women admitted that most were “unaccustomed to regular incomes and that the work has opened up great opportunities,” they also maintained that “it is . . . seemingly unpatriotic to utilize these [wartime] contingencies against the employees.”<sup>72</sup>

Many of the female wartime workers came from rural areas or were otherwise without accommodation, and they were housed in “hostels” on the mint grounds. While they paid for their food and lodging, they were subjected to curfews, controls, and punishments for transgressing the rules. If they missed a meal, they were refused food. There was no sick fund to help them when ill, and they were required to pay for any medicine. In 1944, Mrs. S. B. Johnson, a representative from the controller of manpower concerned that it was becoming increasingly difficult to recruit women at the mint, visited the hostel to investigate the women’s complaints. She outlined a situation in which the women workers were treated as “inmates” (her own word), despite the representation of the hostels as a “home” to incoming workers. She concluded,

I do not think I am overstating facts when I say that the psychological approach to the women is very wrong . . . There are many juveniles and several old women in the hutments.

<sup>70</sup> Women Engineering Workers’ Union, “Memorandum on Conditions at the Mint in Pretoria,” August 1942, AH 646, Dd 9.18, WITS.

<sup>71</sup> Freestone to Secretary for Labour, April 25, 1941, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1. The hours of work had also varied considerably. Before the war, women in the mint worked a 44-hour week. During the war, mint management experimented with various combinations, ranging from six 8-hour shifts to six 10-hour to six 11-hour to five 12-hour, before settling on six 8-hour shifts.

<sup>72</sup> Women Engineering Workers’ Union, “Memorandum on Conditions at the Mint in Pretoria,” August 1942, AH 646, Dd 9.18, WITS.



The former need guidance and great and sympathetic understanding, and the latter can so obviously benefit by a few years of security and happiness which the Hostel and the work at the Mint has offered them. They need reassurance. My recommendation is that Welfare of the women be earnestly considered and that instead of curtailing pleasure in the hutments that such functions be encouraged. Need I point out that the more enjoyment in the house, the less the desire to be out on the streets and the lesser the temptations.<sup>73</sup>

Any complaints about their situation resulted in threats. According to the women, "on the slightest provocation [we] are forcibly told by the Staff that for the amount [we] pay, [we] are well catered and cared for, and to seek accommodation elsewhere if [we] are not satisfied."<sup>74</sup> The women were generally treated as minors regardless of their age, being told where to sit at meals and docked their pay at work for missing a curfew.<sup>75</sup> They were regarded as temporary, expendable, and apparently ungrateful.

Who would take such low-paid and ill-regarded positions? The wages paid these women were still targeted at single women without dependents, despite the fact that most if not all of the women employed during the war were largely responsible for their families' support.<sup>76</sup> While the historical record leaves most of the women employed in the mint anonymous, compensation claims made by a small number of the Afrikaner women after the war provide some details about the individual circumstances of white female emergency workers. Most of those hired by the mint prior to the war had conformed to a pattern distinguished by historians with regard to the female factory work force in general: single women, usually from rural areas, who worked to supplement their families' incomes. Those hired during the war were more often married women, usually with dependents, who provided a significant source of income for their families. Indeed, government wartime policy favored married women and the poor. When the recruitment of women began in earnest, the government official in charge of mobilizing women, Grace Cameron-Swan, was instructed by the controller to recruit soldiers' wives first and then "deserving cases," that is, those in financial need. While she found relatively few soldiers' wives in need of work, she received an overwhelming number of applications from the poor, over 1,800 by September 1942, with most of these applicants responsible for an average of five dependents.<sup>77</sup>

Whether single or married, all the women documented by the compensation claims had difficult family circumstances. There was T. Russo, for example, in her early twenties at the beginning of the war, who worked in the Pretoria Mint with her younger sister, Irma. The two Russo sisters helped their father, a tradesman with the South African Railways, support their mother, a "semi-invalid" suffering "dreadfully with rheumatism," a "mentally deficient" adult brother, another adult

<sup>73</sup> S. B. Johnson, "Re: Inspection of Hostel Accommodation and Workshops—South African Mint, Pretoria: 26th, 27th and 28th September, 1944," October 3, 1944, ARB, 280, COM 2/2, vol. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Anonymous statement quoted by S. B. Johnson, *ibid*.

<sup>75</sup> Hostel policies were outlined in a rebuttal to Mrs. Johnson's report in "Minutes of Meeting Held in the Boardroom, S.A. Mint, on 18 November 1944 to Discuss Report Submitted by Mrs. Johnson on the Conditions at the Mint Hostel," November 18, 1944, ARB, 280, COM 2/2, vol. 3.

<sup>76</sup> On the comparable rates for white male laborers working for the state, see "Memorandum for the S.A. Trades and Labour Council by the S.A. Mint Employees' Union," June 25, 1946, AH 646, Dd 1.17, WITS.

<sup>77</sup> Cameron-Swan to Controller, September 10, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1.

sister "paralysed in her left side," and a fifth sibling still at school. Miss H. H. Lewis, also in her early twenties when war broke out, moved from being a "Head Checker" at the "De Luxe Laundry" to work at the mint in order to provide "the upkeep of my aged parents," especially her mother, who was "a very sickly woman suffering from goitre and dropsy." Miss J. S. J. Naude supported her sixty-year-old mother as well as her sister's nine-year-old daughter. Miss D. J. C. Botha, in her late thirties and unmarried, was the sole support for her aged parents (in their late seventies) as well as the orphaned daughter of her deceased sister. Then there was Mrs. E. Ferreira, separated from her husband since 1938 and, because of his failure to provide any child support, solely responsible for their three children (one of whom, her eldest daughter, she had removed from school at thirteen and sent to work "in order to assist me with our living expenses"). And Mrs. M. E. Viviers with five children to support (all school-age or younger), Mrs. L. J. M. de Vos with three, Mrs. M. J. P. du Plessis with three dependents also, all with husbands employed as unskilled laborers by the railways or by Iscor at rates of pay on which it was "utterly impossible" for their families to exist. For these women, factory work provided a means to alleviate their grinding poverty.<sup>78</sup>

DESPITE THEIR PRECARIOUS SITUATIONS, these women soon sought union representation to improve their lot. Unlike the female "emergency" workers governed under the Emergency Agreements, the women at the mint were considered regular employees who had the legal right to negotiate their terms of employment. Government officials early on recognized the likelihood of such a development and considered improving conditions in order to forestall a union.<sup>79</sup> The male unions were concerned at the introduction of large numbers of women into skilled positions at the mint, but their constitutions prohibited female membership.<sup>80</sup> The women needed their own representation.

In view of the possible threat posed by female labor to the position of craft workers, the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC), an umbrella organization that brought together trade unions in a national organization between 1930 and 1947, decided to create a separate union specifically for female war workers in the engineering industry, the Women Engineering Workers Union

<sup>78</sup> See the statements of these women and others, collected by Frances Engela on behalf of the South African Mint Employees' Union in 1946, "Memorandum for the S.A. Trades and Labour Council by the S.A. Mint Employees' Union," June 25, 1946, AH 646, Dd 1.17, WITS. Prior to the war, the number of women employed by factories had been on the decline. See Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*; and Andrea van Niekerk, "The Use of White Female Labour by the Zebediela Citrus Estate, 1926-1953" (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1988).

<sup>79</sup> In May 1941, the secretary for Labour wrote to the secretary of the Public Service Commission expressing his view that, with "certain subversive influences . . . angling to organise workers" (he was referring to unions established by Afrikaner nationalists), munition employees were certain to be organized "shortly" and that it would be better if management improved conditions of labor before trade unions forced a change. Secretary for Labour to Secretary of the Public Service Commission, May 29, 1941, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Government legislation (Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924) prohibited membership by Africans (but not coloureds and Indians) in these unions. See also Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 138-44, for a detailed discussion of the trade union movement and women employed in munition production.

(WEWU).<sup>81</sup> The SATLC believed that the union should begin by organizing the largest group of female war workers—those at the mint—and then proceed to extend its activities throughout the rest of the country. In March 1942, the SATLC appointed Mrs. F. J. Engela as the first secretary of the newly organized union.<sup>82</sup> The director of the mint, J. T. Becklake, objected to the formation of the union on the grounds that mint employees were public servants and should be represented by the Public Servants Association; he suggested that Engela confine her organizing activities to the coloured women at Kimberley. The SATLC replied, “whether the Director is disposed to co-operate or not such organisation will be continued.”<sup>83</sup> Engela found it “necessary to acquaint him [Becklake] that we would be forced to use such ways and means as we may deem suitable for contriving our objective.” Refused entry to the mint, she stood outside the factory gates and signed up several hundred members.<sup>84</sup> In the face of such tactics, and learning from his government superiors that they had no objections to such a union so long as it restricted its activities to white and coloured women and excluded Africans, the director of the mint backed down. By May 1942, the WEWU had enrolled almost half the white women at the Pretoria Mint; by July, over three-quarters were union members.<sup>85</sup>

Once the women started negotiating in earnest, they began to appreciate how difficult it would be to wrest concessions from their employers. Their umbrella union, SATLC, did not include the women in industry-wide negotiations for a wage agreement. Instead, Engela was informed that the WEWU was “directly responsible to the National Executive Committee of this Council.”<sup>86</sup> The women were on their own in negotiations with the mint management. Their complaints that it was “unpatriotic” of employers to exploit them and apparently to intend to treat them as “mere novices” for the duration of the war fell on deaf ears.<sup>87</sup> In frustration,

<sup>81</sup> The constitution of the AEU specifically limited membership on the basis of sex. Secretary of the AEU to Secretary of the SATLC, January 7, 1942, AH 646, Dc 5.37, WITS. Membership in the new union was open to “Any female employees engaged in the South African Mint and in engineering, mining, and ordnance factories.” “Constitution of the Women Engineering Workers Union,” May 1942, AH 646, Dd 17.115, WITS. For a detailed study of the SATLC, see J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation*.

<sup>82</sup> Secretary of the SATLC to Secretary of the AEU, February 2, 1942, and Secretary of the SATLC to Mrs. F. J. Engela, March 2, 1942, AH 646, Dc 5.37, WITS.

<sup>83</sup> Director of the Mint to Secretary of the SATLC, April 18, 1942, and Secretary of the SATLC to Controller, April 20, 1942, AH 646, Dc 5.37, WITS.

<sup>84</sup> Engela, “Women’s Engineering Workers’ Union,” May 1942, AH 646, Dd 9.18, WITS.

<sup>85</sup> Female emergency workers engaged on munitions work outside the mint received 1s. 9d., and if in normal production got 2s. 1d. as compared with 1s. to 1s. 5d. per hour at the mint. Male wages were significantly higher. The continuing shortage of male artisans had quickly led to the end of their wage freeze, and steady increases began to such an extent that most journeymen were getting well over 4s. an hour in 1942, and white males in engineering averaging close to 3s. Secretary of the SATLC to Secretary of the AEU, May 15, 1942, AH 646, Dc 5.37, WITS; Director of the Mint to Secretary for Finance, July 8, 1942, Treasury Department Archives (hereafter, TES), 7378, 61/143; Secretary of the Public Service Commission to Secretary for Finance, July 24, 1942, TES, 7388, 61/143. The following year, Engela claimed to have 90 percent of the female workers at Pretoria and 70 percent of those employed at Kimberley as members of her union. See the “Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Committee of Enquiry, South African Mint,” June 15, 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc.

<sup>86</sup> See the instructions sent by the secretary of the SATLC to Engela, March 2, 1942, AH 646, Dc 5.37, WITS.

<sup>87</sup> The women wanted higher wages, regular cost-of-living adjustments, holiday pay, bonuses, and improved working conditions in general. See the WEWU’s “Memorandum on Conditions at the Mint in Pretoria,” n.d. [1942], ARB, 279, COM 2/2, pt. 1.

many of the women left the mint in search of higher pay as emergency workers at the other factories, with 1,000 out of 1,700 female employees leaving during the first six months of 1942.<sup>88</sup> Finally, there was some improvement in 1942 with a slight increase in wages, but they were still substantially below those set by the controller for female emergency workers and much less than those paid to male workers.<sup>89</sup>

Nevertheless, the women were changing the production process at the mint if not their own pay and work conditions. A new, intermediate class of jobs was emerging that combined some skill with low wages and few rights. Most of the women at the mint were performing semi-skilled work and were termed "operatives," unlike the female "journeymen" in the private plants. By 1942, women were classified under four new categories in place of the ten categories of labor in the 1937 industrial agreement (which was still in force in the engineering industry at large).<sup>90</sup> None of these new categories recognized the unionized women as skilled workers.<sup>91</sup> Most (83 percent) of the women at the Pretoria Mint were employed in the two lowest categories, with nearly 50 percent in the bottom category, "general operators." Only 1 percent received the top wage rate of 2s. 2d. an hour.<sup>92</sup> And even those women who did move on to more specialized jobs at the mint found that, as a rule, they still received the same rate of pay as if they were entry-level workers.<sup>93</sup> The mint works

<sup>88</sup> Director of the Mint to the Secretary for Finance, July 10, 1942, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

<sup>89</sup> On male wage rates, see Annexure "A," "Wages up to July, 1942," South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation Ltd., Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. In general, the labor agreement reached in 1942 between the women and the mint improved female employment conditions upward to conform with the 1941 Factories Act. The work week was limited to 45 hours, divided into six 7.5-hour shifts, overtime pay and a cost-of-living allowance were instituted, paid holidays provided, and in general, conditions in the workplace were to be improved. Nevertheless, the new agreement did little to bring their wages up to industry standards.

<sup>90</sup> The 1937 schedule listed journeymen, operators in categories 1 through 7, apprentices, and general labourers.

<sup>91</sup> Initial discussions for a new wage structure did include recognition that women worked as journeymen and capstan operators, but at the final meeting between management and union representatives the director of the mint informed Engela that after discussions with the secretary of the treasury he had amended the draft agreement to exclude WEWU members from formal recognition as doing journeyman work and had limited such recognition to female emergency workers only (who made up only a tiny proportion of the mint's female work force). See Director of the Mint to Secretary for Finance, July 10, 1942, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1; Secretary of the Public Service Commission to Secretary for Finance, July 24, 1942, TES, 7388, 61/143; "Director's Order No. 167, Rates of Pay—Operative Staff (Women) (Pretoria)," August 1, 1942, ARB, 3273, 1183/14; Engela to Minister of Labour, August 24, 1942, ARB, 3273, 1183/14; "Minutes of a Meeting Held in the [Mint] Director's Office," August 31, 1942, ARB, 3273, 1183/14; "Agreement Entered into between the South African Mint and the Women Engineering Workers' Union," September 21, 1942, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc.

<sup>92</sup> The top wage category for women (aa) was for "overseers." The second category was for "supervisors" and "special duty operators," the third for "gaugers," "enamellers," "kitchen assistants," "seamstresses," and several other occupations, and the fourth category (dd) was for "general operators." See the "Agreement Entered into between the South African Mint and the Women Engineering Workers' Union," September 21, 1942, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc; "South African Mint, Women Operators, Ammunition, December 1943," SDK, 3497, 45/5/1, pt. 2; and "Manpower," Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT. The reduced alphabetical categorization in place of the more elaborate numerical scheme ruling elsewhere in the industry had first been laid out in the 1941 mint wage plan for women, though with six categories (two of them for piecework) rather than the four established in 1942.

<sup>93</sup> See the individual cases cited by a deputation of women and described in "Complaint Received from 4 Female Emergency Workers of the S.A. Mint, All Presently Employed at the Johannesburg Branch," August 24, 1942, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 1; and further complaints detailed in the WEWU's "Memorandum for the Controller of Manpower on Union—S.A. Mint Agreement," March 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc.



manager did not believe that even women supervisors shouldered much responsibility but “were merely in charge of the women,” and did not deserve higher pay.<sup>94</sup> Management justified the lower rate of wages paid to women on the basis of their sex by comparing their wages with the rates paid in the leather, clothing, tobacco, and printing industries—ones historically dominated by female labor—rather than with the pay rates received by males doing comparable jobs in the engineering industry.<sup>95</sup> A separate agreement drawn up for the coloured women who worked at the Kimberley Mint set their wages at 10 percent less than those established for white women.<sup>96</sup> The WEWU even tried to get the employers to agree to pay some of the women on the basis of piecework in order to allow some increase in wages, but the mint refused.<sup>97</sup>

These jobs were all considered “women’s work” and pay was set accordingly. Women who even officials at the mint admitted were doing exactly the same job as journeymen were never “considered as full journeymen” and so were denied the higher pay and benefits of their fellow workers throughout the war.<sup>98</sup> All of the machine operators—working on capstans, thread millers, drilling and press working machines, cutting, cupping and forming, weighing and gauging machines—received what they described as “disgracefully inadequate [wages]. Standing at [the] machines, in many cases, with continually wet hands [while] the construction of the machines renders the operators pre-eminently liable to injury.”<sup>99</sup> Responsible for the bulk of production, these women were nevertheless treated as temporary minors without rights.

<sup>94</sup> When Engela complained in May 1943 that women doing the job of “overseers”—an (aa) category defined as being in charge of a group of workers engaged in a series of operations—were being paid as “supervisors”—a (bb) job defined vaguely as being responsible for “a section of production”—the mint works manager responded that it was “a joke” that women were ever called overseers. Engela to Controller, May 21, 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc. The supposed distinction remained a source of contention. See debate about the issue in the “Minutes of Meeting of South African Women’s Engineering Union,” January 7, 1944, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc.

<sup>95</sup> By using such a gender comparison rather than one based on the job, mint management could in fact demonstrate that its female employees were exceptionally well paid, since the lowest wage received in the leather industry was only two-thirds that of the lowest rate ruling in the mint. See the “Comparative Statement,” January 12, 1944, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 2.

<sup>96</sup> Director of the Mint to Secretary for Labour, October 9, 1942, ARB, 3273, 1183/14.

<sup>97</sup> Freestone to Minister of Labour, January 20, 1943, ARB, 3273, 1183/14; “Women Engineering Workers Union Memorandum for the Controller of Manpower on Union-S.A. Mint Agreement,” March 1943, Minutes of the 6th Meeting of the Committee of Enquiry, S.A. Mint, June 1, 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc; Secretary for Labour to Secretary of the Public Service Commission, June 16, 1943, ARB, 3273, 1183/14; Minutes of Meeting of South African Women’s Engineering Union, January 7, 1944, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc (another copy is in SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 2).

<sup>98</sup> The only concessions that women mint employees succeeded in gaining were two paid tea breaks per day in November 1943, and the addition of a penny an hour “Continuous Service Increment” awarded after twelve months’ continuous service as from August 1944. “Minutes of a Conference Held in the [Mint] Director’s Office,” August 31, 1942, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1; Director of the Mint to Secretary for Labour, April 22, 1944, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. Draft Agreement Entered into between the South African Ammunition Factory and the South African Mint Employees’ Union, November 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc; Secretary of the Public Service Commission to Secretary for Finance, August 22, 1944, TES, 7388, 61/143. The one-penny bonus went up to two pennies per hour after twenty-four months of continuous service. See also Freestone to Tinsdale, May 12, 1944, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2; Engela to Director of the Mint, June 19, 1944, TES, 7388, 61/143; Hill to Secretary for Finance, July 5, 1944, TES, 7388, 61/143; Secretary of the Public Service Commission to Secretary for Finance, July 7 and 12, 1944, TES, 7388, 61/143.

<sup>99</sup> South African Mint Employees Union, “Memorandum on the Second Agreement between the S.A. Mint and This Union,” October 1943, AH 6.46, Dd 9.18, WITS.



Since these jobs were confidently expected to be temporary, the unions had no concerns about the devaluing of work at the mint as they had elsewhere in the engineering industry and blatantly put the interests of their members ahead of the women. The AEU found nothing objectionable in the manager of the mint's claim that women should be paid less than men on the grounds that "these were two sets of employees [deserving different rates of pay]." <sup>100</sup> The AEU did, however, want the meager benefits accorded women in their September 1942 agreement with the mint to apply with full force for all of the male workers. They also argued that male operatives in the mint doing the same work as women should receive the higher rates of pay ruling in private industry. <sup>101</sup> In turn, the skilled male workers at the mint demanded proportionate upgrading and won, after threatening to go out on strike. <sup>102</sup> When members of the AEU later found their jobs at these improved conditions threatened in 1944 by low wage competition from women, the union went so far as to recommend that the women should "be dismissed" rather than paid an equal wage. <sup>103</sup> In other words, their union allies believed that the women were "expendable," and that they should be fired before any improvement in their wages might threaten the men's jobs.

Desperate, the women made an appeal to public opinion. The union disseminated widely a letter praising the contributions of the soldiers overseas but pointing out that "their efforts would be worthless were it not for the women who are working day and night to produce the required munitions and ammunitions." While emphasizing the importance of loyalty in the national struggle, the women nevertheless revealed that they were "impoverished," frequently ill because of the poor conditions of work, and often provided with no medical attention. Government officials thought the letter "not . . . altogether . . . desirable." <sup>104</sup> Alternatively, antiwar Afrikaners saw an opportunity to undermine the war effort by exploiting the women's grievances. Engela rebuffed approaches from representatives of the incipient Afrikaner Christian Nationalist trade union, who stood outside the mint gates calling on female workers not to travel in vehicles driven by African drivers and claiming that godless communists were cold-bloodedly selling out the workers to a black proletariat. When Engela complained to the government that such people were "endeavouring to capture my Union on racial lines" and trying to create an antiwar sentiment "in one of the most important war factories in South Africa," the Christian Nationalists "incited the workers to take violent action" against Engela and "actually used the following words ' . . . tear her to pieces.' " <sup>105</sup> The women found little support in the arena of public opinion.

<sup>100</sup> "Minutes of Meeting Held in Mr. Ivan Walker's Office," September 11, 1944, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 2. As noted above, the female workers in the mint, because of their union membership, were not considered emergency workers.

<sup>101</sup> Secretary for Labour to Secretary of the Public Service Commission, June 7, 1943, ARB, 2003, COM 2/2 Sc.

<sup>102</sup> Director of the Mint to Secretary for Finance, March 11, 1943, TES, 7388, 61/143; Secretary of the Public Service Commission to Secretary for Finance, June 4, 1943, SDK, 3597 45/5/1, pt. 1; Director of the Mint to Secretary for Finance, April 13, 1943, TES, 7388, 61/143.

<sup>103</sup> Glastonbury to Controller, July 25, 1944, ARB, 280, COM 2/2, vol. 2.

<sup>104</sup> Engela to "Messrs.," December 22, 1942, with marginal annotations, ARB, 3273, 1183/14.

<sup>105</sup> Engela to Controller, May 9, 1944, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2. The sentence from the ACN, "Die godlose kommunis verkoop ons koelbloedig aan 'n swart proletariat" (The godless communist sells us coldbloodedly to a black proletariat), is from a flyer distributed outside the mint.

Fed up with the machinations of their white male counterparts, in 1943 the women sought out new allies, including African male workers. Indeed, the rates of pay of the bulk of the white women operators at the mint remained much closer to those set for African laborers than to those of white male operators.<sup>106</sup> The WEWU changed its name to the South African Mint Employees Union and opened its membership to all workers, temporary and permanent, irrespective of sex or race, and excluding only artisans and emergency workers.<sup>107</sup> Having already achieved considerable success at getting coloured women to join her union in 1942, despite the “ill-founded prejudice of Europeans” against such a move, in 1944 Engela hired an African organizer to recruit potential union members from among the 6,000 African males working at the various mint plants. Engela documented the appalling conditions of these workers, often fired when injured or ill rather than provided with medical treatment, and expected to “pay Poll Tax, support a wife and children, acquire clothes, purchase tobacco and pay for entertainment on the scandalous wage of £1/4/0 per week,” not enough (in Engela’s opinion) to keep them from starving.<sup>108</sup> The women were discovering that their plight was more similar to the African workers’—also temporary and considered expendable—than to that of their alleged union allies.

Indeed, by 1944, the wage structure at the mint was clearly organized on the basis of a gender and racial hierarchy, despite similarities in job duties. At the top of the wage and job classification structure was a small group (4 percent of the total work force) of white male artisans. Below them, a larger number (11 percent of the work force) of white male “operatives” earned up to four times as much as the white and coloured women, and Asian and coloured men, restricted by their sex or race to the semi-skilled category (white males had a monopoly on skill). This underprivileged and underpaid group of operatives formed the second largest group of workers at the plant (29 percent) and received uniformly low rates of pay (further subjected to gradations by job, sex, and race), little higher than those paid to the employees who formed the largest part of the work force (48 percent), African males. While most of the latter were as a result of their race categorized as manual laborers, some, at the Kimberley and Ladysmith plants, were actually working as operatives.<sup>109</sup> The wage hierarchy was clearly stratified by race and gender.

<sup>106</sup> African workers employed in the category of “General Labourer” received approximately 24s. per week compared with 30s. for white women (white men got closer to four times the female rate). See Government Notice no. 912, *Government Gazette* (May 21, 1943): 224–44; and Secretary for Labour to Secretary of the Public Service Commission, July 21, 1943, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

<sup>107</sup> “Membership is open to employees of the Government at the Mint . . . other than artisans and emergency workers. This description will include both sexes and all races.” Application for Registration—South African Mint Employees Union, November 17, 1943, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 1.

<sup>108</sup> “Memorandum on Wages and Conditions of Africans by the South African Mint Employees Union,” December 12, 1944, AH 646, Dd 1.17, WITS. In addition to the wage of £1/4/0, Africans also got a weekly cost-of-living allowance of 8s. Engela provided figures demonstrating that a take-home pay of £1/12/0 could barely support a single person much less any dependents, and ought to be raised to at least £2/0/0 plus a cost-of-living allowance. Mint management did everything they could to prevent Engela’s African organizer from having access to the work force. For Engela’s 1942 quote about ill-founded prejudice, see Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, 141.

<sup>109</sup> The Lenz munitions plant in Johannesburg employed approximately 2,000 African males, referred to as “dilutees” hired for their “endurance and strength.” See “Manpower,” 14, Papers of the Industrial Manpower Commission, Bc 825, UCT.

EVENTS OVERTOOK THE WOMEN'S UNION before recruitment efforts among African workers could bear fruit. In March 1945, an explosion at the Loading Field plant of the Pretoria Mint killed 28 workers (12 white females, 12 African males, and 3 white men) and left another 250 injured, many severely.<sup>110</sup> With the facility in ruins, the rest of the workers at the mint were placed on half time, production was closed down for the rest of the war, and most were eventually dismissed.<sup>111</sup> With the end of the war in sight, and munitions production no longer needed, the mint also fired all the coloured workers at Kimberley, whom the government referred to disparagingly as "ex-domestic Coloured servants who are insistent that their future employment should be as favourable as with the Mint."<sup>112</sup> Even before the explosion, the government had foreseen a point at which female labor would no longer be needed for munitions production, and hoped that the women would find employment as waitresses, dressmakers, and hairdressers back in the country areas they had left in order to escape poverty.<sup>113</sup> While the explosion provided a reason to close down the plant, the government was still worried that the women would try to remain in the area looking for comparable work. To encourage them to leave Pretoria altogether, the government provided female workers with a one-way rail pass upon their dismissal and, in the face of continued resistance to the enforced repatriation, considered also offering the women a cash bonus to go "home."<sup>114</sup>

Such policies returned many of the women to the same poverty they had tried to escape in first seeking work at the mint. Miss T. Russo had not been physically injured when the plant blew up, but a year after the explosion she was still unemployed, constantly nervous, and terribly depressed, whether from her injuries, her economic situation, or as a result of several years' service at the mint. Likewise, Misses Lewis, Naude, and Botha had all suffered injuries ranging from bruised shoulders to impaired sight and hearing. Each recounted in her claim for financial compensation daily pain combined frequently with "fits of depression." Miss Naude still "could not compose . . . [herself] sufficiently" to speak to a prospective employer. The married women mentioned earlier—Ferriera, Viviers, de Vos, and du Plessis—likewise complained between them of various ailments ranging from bruised bodies to lost hearing and deteriorating eyesight, a common complaint

<sup>110</sup> In 1942, the director of the mint had asked that the word "Risk" be deleted from the title of the special bonus that workers at the Loading Field plant received. He argued that there was no real risk for the women employed there, other than getting headaches from cordite fumes. See the "Minutes of a Conference Held in the Director's Office," August 31, 1942, SDK, 3597, 45/5/1, pt. 2.

<sup>111</sup> E. Williamson (Chair, Re-employment Committee) to Prime Minister, March 16, 1945, TES, 7394, 61/172, vol. 1. Approximately 250 women remained employed by the mint through the remainder of the 1940s and into the 1950s.

<sup>112</sup> Acting Secretary to the Prime Minister to SATLC, April 13, 1945, AH 646, Dc 8.59, WITS.

<sup>113</sup> Mrs. O'Connor, president of the South African Women's Auxiliary Service, cited the growing demand for rural women in having their "hair dressed," but she also expressed concern as to "whether the rural woman [including returned munition workers] had sufficiently deft fingers to be trained." See the "Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Post War Readjustment and Development in the Engineering and Chemical Industries, Annexure by the Chairman," November 3, 1944, SEC, 105, file 511.

<sup>114</sup> WADC (Women's Auxiliary Defense Corps) Section to Lt. Col. Cochran, December 8, 1944, Director-General of Demobilization Archives, 236, 412/15; DGS to Secretary for Labour, May 30, 1945, ARB, 1816, 1612/1/17-20G; Employment Office to Controller, June 20, 1945, ARB, 1959, COM 1/37, Sc. IV, pt. 2; Women's Employment Officer to Divisional Inspector, Department of Labour, July 26, 1945, ARB, 1816, 1612/17-20G.

resulting from years of detail work at the mint. Their main difficulty appeared to be that their "nerves [were] constantly on edge." This combination of physical and mental difficulties left those harmed by the explosion often unable to undertake their own housework (all had dependents for whose upkeep they were responsible) and almost without exception unable to undertake regular employment. As a result, their families had to try and scrape together a "hand to mouth existence," sometimes not able to afford more than a tent in which to live, and fantasizing about extremely modest futures. Several expressed hope that they could be compensated with enough money to buy a few chickens and perhaps a small rural property. Enough perhaps, in the words of Mrs. C. J. Muller, married in 1911 and the main support during the Great Depression of her husband (a poorly paid laborer) and their nine children (six of whom either fought in World War II or worked in munitions production), that she might be able to "have a garden and grow vegetables and flowers." None of the injured received any compensation from the government, and all had great difficulty securing assistance from a public fund set up to aid them. The officials administering the fund paid out miniscule sums to some of the injured while accusing many of those who requested help of suffering not from real injuries but from "compensationitis" and "pensionitis."<sup>115</sup>

The large-scale dismissal of women from the mint signaled the removal of females in general from the engineering industry and made way for the return of the white male veterans to jobs that had been permanently altered.<sup>116</sup> No longer needing workers for war production, and faced by union demands for the elimination of what was regarded as a form of cheap labor competition, the controller of industrial manpower and private employers alike gave notice to the emergency workers (practically all of them women).<sup>117</sup> At the same time, the available number of jobs in engineering expanded as the national income doubled, and the number of people economically active increased 34 percent in the decade 1936–1946.<sup>118</sup> Much of this expanded production was made possible by the use of machinery used previously for munitions production.<sup>119</sup> Leading engineering firms

<sup>115</sup> See the statements of these and other women collected in 1946 by Engela, "Memorandum for the S.A. Trades and Labour Council by the S.A. Mint Employees' Union," AH 646, Dd 1.17, WITS. The fund collected £26,000 in public contributions. This would have provided an average of £104 for each accident victim. Instead of handing out lump sums, the fund managers paid out miniscule pension amounts of approximately £3/0/0 per month to only a small proportion of those requesting support.

<sup>116</sup> Since 1943, government officials had been concerned about the postwar employment prospects for unskilled white males. Officials feared that the 130,000 white soldiers as well as an estimated 60,000 civilians employed in domestic war work would all be thrown out of jobs as soon as hostilities ceased. Minutes of the Munitions Production Committee, April 15, 1943, MED, 27.

<sup>117</sup> By 1946–1947, white women accounted for less than 4 percent of the work force in engineering, and all females less than 2 percent of the total number of workers, slightly more percentage-wise than had been the case before the war, but much less than the nearly 20 percent identified by the controller in 1944. See Union of South Africa, *Census of Industrial Establishments, 1937–1938* (Pretoria, 1941), 2; and *Census of Industrial Establishments, 1947–1950* (Pretoria, 1954), 2. Employers in the engineering industry noted that the "Unions are of opinion that . . . [women] cannot be employed when the War ends," thus the dismissal to avoid union protests. See SFEMA, "Historical Memorandum," October 19, 1944, RHN, 462, 32/5/1, vol. 3, p. 20.

<sup>118</sup> The net value of manufacturing output first exceeded the value of gold output in 1943–1944 and accelerated thereafter, amounting to almost double by 1946–1947, with metal products the largest growing segment of the manufacturing industry. *Union Statistics for Fifty Years*, A33, 36, 38, S3, K4, L3, L20. The net value of output in basic metal industries tripled between 1938–1939 and 1946–1947.

<sup>119</sup> As soon as the war ended, numerous private manufacturers began negotiations with the War



bought valuable jigs and gauges, used to set the repetitive operations of machines for mass production, for as little as 10 percent of their original cost.<sup>120</sup> As Eddie Webster has argued, production processes initiated during the war brought about the mechanization of the engineering industry.<sup>121</sup>

But would the introduction of new industrial technologies translate into a new labor structure, or would industry be forced to revert to the pre-war skill hierarchy? Employers anticipated that in the postwar period industrial output would continue to expand and were concerned that the old hierarchy built on skill would drive up labor costs. Employers argued that if women could do such work the jobs could not be that difficult, or expensive.<sup>122</sup> And although there were significant historical barriers to the employment of Africans in these jobs, the federation of engineering manufacturers believed Africans were "well-suited to perform a good deal of work of a semi-automatic character."<sup>123</sup> Since the beginning of the mining industry in the late nineteenth century, Africans had performed all types of jobs from laboring to semi-skilled, but their work had always been labeled by employers and organized labor alike as unskilled and pay rates set accordingly.<sup>124</sup> White engineering unions had excluded all African workers from membership since the 1910s and the 1920s to protect their monopoly on craft and semi-skilled work and by seeking an industry-wide closed shop agreement. As the industry and its demand for labor grew, they began to open union membership to coloured and Indian workers (legally defined as employees and therefore potentially a source of competition for

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Stores Disposal Board (hereafter, WSDB) for the purchase of the equipment that had been installed at government expense on their properties. The government had worried about the disposition of the plant well before the end of the war and set up the WSDB in 1944. "Second Report of the Advisory Committee on Post War Re-Adjustment and Development in the Engineering and Chemical Industries," November 3, 1944, War Stores Disposal Board Archives, 13, DB1/17.

<sup>120</sup> Overall, the value of machinery, plant, and tools in the engineering industry increased almost 160 percent between the beginning of the war and the establishment of peacetime production, while the number of workers employed rose by less than half that rate. Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the Disposals Advisory Committee, March 7, 1946, WSDB, 12, 1/9/17A. The number of African workers increased by 78 percent, that of whites by 50 percent. There was, however, a significant increase in labor costs, with the wage bill for Africans rising by 260 percent and that for whites by 130 percent. See the *Census of Industrial Establishments, 1937-1938*, 2; and *Census of Industrial Establishments, 1946-47* (Pretoria, 1950), 2.

<sup>121</sup> Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 55-66. Peter Alexander has argued that mechanization and mass production did not take place, and that there is only a "mechanisation myth" in the literature. Unfortunately, however, rather than focus on the evidence provided by Webster (whom he ignores on this issue), he chooses to attack the work of Jon Lewis, which deals only in a peripheral fashion with the changing nature of production. Moreover, Alexander's arguments are based solely on a reading of statistics presented in the censuses of industrial establishments and not on relevant archival records that document changes in the labor process. In addition, he assumes that because munitions production ceased, the munitions industry had no longstanding impact on commercial production, and is unaware of the transfer of mass-production machinery from the wartime workplace into the commercial sector. See Alexander, "Collaboration and Control," 73.

<sup>122</sup> Webster has suggested an element of employer dissembling in their support for wartime production, arguing that "women were used as the pretext for mechanization"; *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 57.

<sup>123</sup> SAFEMA, "Historical Memorandum," October 19, 1944, RHN, 462, 32/5/1, vol. 3, p. 16.

<sup>124</sup> The Mines and Works Act of 1911, the first piece of overtly racial legislation implemented by the newly formed Union of South Africa, had given legal recognition to a job color bar by restricting Africans (or "Natives," in the parlance of the day) to laboring jobs in the mining industry. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 had continued and extended this process of racial stratification beyond the mines by excluding all Africans from the legal definition of employee.



skilled positions) in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, but the ban on African membership remained absolute.

Although a few Africans had already begun to work in operative positions during the war, this situation only changed in the latter months of 1944 and after, as, with the end of the war in sight, employers began to dismiss women and formally introduce Africans into operative positions already deemed "expendable" through the women's experience. A government survey undertaken in 1946 found that the largest engineering firms—Iscor, Dorman Long, and Stewarts and Lloyds—all employed Africans in "semi-skilled and operative work of a simple or routine nature" as well as in laboring jobs. Stewarts and Lloyds' respondent detailed the situation in which an African operative would be used rather than a European: "when a small amount of skill is required as example where the Operative operates a lever to put a machine in motion which has a purely automatic operation and over which actual operation performed, the non-European has no control."<sup>125</sup> These were jobs of a type that had not existed in the pre-war workplace.

This shift was only possible due to the renegotiated industrial agreement finally published in 1944 and the further agreement of 1946, which mirrored conditions first established at the mint for the women. The industrial agreement published in 1944 announced a radical new categorization of work for the metals and engineering industry. For the first time ever in an industrial agreement, Africans were formally introduced into the operative category.<sup>126</sup> In 1946, the movement of Africans into operative positions was facilitated further as the bottom D category was further stratified into three subsets, D1, D2, and D3, with the addition of more jobs related to machine production such as automatic machine operator and operator of a power-driven hoist while not under supervision. Whereas the structure of the 1937 industrial agreement had nine of the ten categories of jobs in the hands of white males, the 1946 agreement divided production almost down the middle, with four job categories still for white males and three primarily, though not exclusively, for African males (D1–D3). And conditions of labor for women were,

<sup>125</sup> "Summary of Replies Received from Private Corporations, etc.," Committee to Investigate the Employment of Unskilled European Workers, K407, vol. 9.

<sup>126</sup> There was a reduction of the ten job categories (journeyman, operative grades I–VII, apprentice while a minor, general labourer) of the 1937 industrial agreement down to seven (journeyman, operative A–D, general labourer, apprentice while a minor), with the greatest change taking place in journeyman and operative positions. Skilled workers cemented further their privileged position. Rather than journeymen and Grade I operatives together being at the top of the wage scale, the latter (now operatives Grade A) topped out at 10 percent less. White men in the operative category no longer enjoyed the possibility of being ranked with skilled workers. Africans were included as "boss boy" in the bottom operative category, "D," but also into such newly added jobs (also in the D category) as "die-casting machine operative," and "power presser using pre-set dies." Compare the industrial agreement published in Government Notice no. 997 with that of no. 707, *Government Gazette* (June 23, 1944): 416–38, and (May 7, 1937): 12–21. The 1937 agreement had been amended slightly in 1943 (Government Notice no. 912, *Government Gazette* [May 21, 1943]: 224–45) to reflect the elimination of one job within electrical cable manufacturing, thereby reducing the number of categories of operatives from seven to six. In 1944, one change did undercut the skilled workers' craft monopoly, and that was the reduction of apprenticeships from five years to three. Both J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation in South Africa*, 104, and Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, 60, mistakenly claim the introduction of the operative D position as taking place in 1943 and being limited to Africans. The error begins with their citation of an unpublished paper by D. Hemson, "Capital Restructuring and the War Economy: The Phase of Liberalism" (mimeo, 1977). Reference to the industrial agreements demonstrates the original error.

again for the first time, explicitly addressed, including restrictions and exclusions that also applied to all workers in the operative D category, thereby in effect extending to African men the conditions previously established for female war workers.<sup>127</sup>

In short, the industrial agreements negotiated between employers and white male unions in 1944 and 1946 represented the impact of wartime deskilling and job devaluation within a context of industrial growth and the development of processes of mass production. If employers at any time had sought before or during the war to reclassify jobs and to introduce Africans rather than the “temporary” women into operative positions, the white trade unions would have certainly opposed such a move through industrial action, and Africans would have demanded the same rights as white male workers. The use of women, however, met the war needs of the country, facilitated the development of machine production, and made possible the quiet and uncontroversial reclassification of jobs. The engineering industry at the end of the war not only produced much more than it did at the beginning, its work processes were also structured quite differently, with women and then Africans recognized formally as part of the operative sector.

HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXCEPTION or “obvious contrast” as Frederick Cooper described it? While South Africa did not experience the same changes that took place throughout the rest of Africa in the wake of World War II, the country nevertheless underwent radical transformation as a result of the war. With little more than the dominant mining industry and extensive farming before the war, South Africa emerged in the postwar period with an active manufacturing sector and the attendant development of a new work force. The country entered a period of phenomenal economic growth as well as the urbanization of the majority of the population. Nevertheless, South Africa also entered one of the darkest periods of its history with the introduction of apartheid in 1948 and the brutal and relentless oppression of the majority of its population until 1990. Despite examples from elsewhere in Africa and the hopes of many, economic growth and prosperity did not automatically bestow political rights on the majority of South Africa’s population.

In South Africa, as elsewhere, there was a complicated connection between political power and economic leverage. As Michael Burawoy demonstrated in his studies of Zambia, Hungary, and the United States, the organization of production and the labor hierarchy on the factory floor parallels the broader economy as well as the political power structure. The organization of production can bestow or withhold political power for categories of workers. As production processes have continually changed throughout the industrial age, political regimes have faced this dilemma, or, as Cooper puts it, the reshaping of a political framework in which a social question is debated. During wartime, this process was not only accelerated, it was also subject to sweeping control by the political system under wartime

<sup>127</sup> The 1946 agreement was published as Government Notice no. 2389, *Government Gazette* (November 15, 1946): 593–625. This agreement also limited the protection of a closed shop to journeymen only.

emergency powers. In the former colonies, the metropolitan countries underestimated the political costs they would pay for securing economic performance. In most other countries during wartime, however, political stabilization was paramount.

In the United States, Britain, and France—as described by Greenwald, Milkman, and Downs—women provided the means to transform production without disturbing political power. Viewed as a “temporary” group, their inclusion in the work force was not considered a breach of the political hierarchy. Perceived as being physically and mentally inferior, the women supposedly necessitated the “dilution” of work. And all of this was justified by employers and governments as part of the demands of wartime rather than the exigencies of industrialization. In South Africa, the government could likewise turn to a group considered safe and expendable—white females—rather than to more threatening African workers for what was perceived as “temporary” participation. Although Africans forcefully resisted their situation in South Africa throughout the war, this gendered solution robbed them of important leverage. And the use of the women also eased the fears of the white population that industry and their jobs were somehow being fundamentally altered during the war. As elsewhere, the women workers were viewed as no threat to the status quo.

Nevertheless, the use of the women also resulted in a restructuring of work and the labor hierarchy that would carry through into the postwar period, allowing for the subsequent introduction of African workers in the South African case. Women were first introduced into “skilled” positions at far lower rates of pay and with less training than their white male predecessors, opening up new categories of pay and work in labor contracts. And women created some of the jobs requiring less skill, training, and receiving less pay that would form the “operative” backbone of the postwar engineering industry. Justified during the war through arguments of female weakness, inferiority, and diminished financial needs, these new labor categories would hold after the war and provide a convenient structure for a racialized industrial work force.

Yet in South Africa, as elsewhere, changing the jobs and the work force also threatened the political framework. In the United States, as Milkman has argued, the subsequent introduction of increasing numbers of African-American workers led to greater demands for civil rights in the postwar period. How did a similar change affect the South African political structure? African workers found increasing opportunities on the factory floor, while their rights as workers remained minimal. With the introduction of apartheid in 1948, the government moved to undercut Africans’ leverage by changing their rights as workers to mirror their rights as citizens. African workers, like African citizens, were denied basic rights of representation and security—just as they were in the cities, the polling booths, and the Parliament—creating a factory labor regime that was aligned with the political system. Deemed temporary residents in “white” South Africa, Africans in all occupations lost the few rights of representation, residence, and freedom they still enjoyed prior to the war. Through legislation to limit workers’ activities, the right to live in any area outside the “homelands,” and even political representation by white politicians, apartheid allowed the introduction of Africans into important

jobs while ensuring that their leverage to improve their jobs would be so minimal as to blunt the threats of disruption and instability that worried the colonial powers during World War II. Although African workers would indeed continually protest against their situation, the apartheid "solution" succeeded to an extent sufficient to ensure industrial stability into the postwar period. With the transformation of work accomplished during the war through the use of devalued female workers, the introduction of Africans without rights completed the profitable restructuring of South African industry.

In the 1970s, however, African workers through a series of strikes and other forms of work stoppages demonstrated that their power on the factory floor would force a political transformation. At the forefront of this labor challenge were African operatives in the engineering industry. By the beginning of the decade, African men working in semi-skilled job categories first opened to them by the war experiences of female emergency workers comprised one third of operatives in engineering; by the end of the decade, they were closer to half of the work force. Through their actions in the workplace, they brought production to a halt.<sup>128</sup> Rather than lose control over the workplace, employers and government officials in South Africa at the end of the 1970s supported legislation that had been earlier repudiated, legalizing African trade unions. Just as colonial administrators had gambled that labor representation was worth the risk of increased political power in order to secure economic stability during the war, South Africa finally reached the same impasse three decades later. The consequences of this choice were to be as fundamental to South Africa in the 1980s as they had been to the rest of Africa in the 1950s, with apartheid overthrown within a decade just as colonialism had been by the beginning of the 1960s.

<sup>128</sup> On the postwar introduction of Africans in the engineering industry, see Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*. For labor struggles in the 1970s and 1980s, see Adler and Webster, *Trade Unions and Democratization in South Africa*; and Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance*.

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*AHR Forum*  
**Creating National Identities in a  
Revolutionary Era**

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*The construction of national identities in times of crisis is the subject of this Forum. The essays probe the intricacies of modern forms of nationalism by examining identity as a revealing expression of collective self-imagery. They do so through chronicles of three efforts to create national identities amid the chaos and confusion of the revolutionary era in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Western Europe and North America. **Daniel A. Bell** examines the paradox of French nationalism being created at a time of acute anxiety about the legitimacy of the very idea of a French nation. **Dror Wahrman** probes the widespread fears about the unreliability of national identities that emerged in England in the wake of the successful American revolt. **Andrew W. Robertson** demonstrates that during the crucial period of national identity-making in the United States, from the election of George Washington to end of the War of 1812, partisan political identities worked against the consolidation of local identities that would have weakened nascent American nationalism. Together, the essays underscore the contradictions, instabilities, fabrications, and mystifications embedded in the creation of national identities in these places and times. **Benedict Anderson** enlarges the analytical reach of the Forum by subjecting the topic to a transnational and transhistorical analysis. His commentary identifies core issues in the essays and suggests how broad comparisons with similar developments in other times and places illuminate their implications for the three nations under study while conversely explaining how such comparisons reveal the significance of the three tales themselves for larger inquiries into the critical issue of modern nationalism. The Forum thus provides compelling evidence about the centrality of the illusive concept of national identity to our attempt to understand the history of nationalism.*



The Unbearable Lightness of Being French:  
Law, Republicanism and National Identity at the  
End of the Old Regime

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DAVID A. BELL

"WE HAVE MADE ITALY. Now we have to make Italians." Historians of nationalism delight in quoting this famous saying of the Risorgimento leader Massimo d'Azeglio but usually only to echo his own point, namely that the formal creation of the Italian nation had little meaning for most of its supposed citizens.<sup>1</sup> Whatever their formal nationality, they remained first and foremost, in language, customs, historical traditions, and political allegiances, inhabitants of their villages and regions: Sicilians, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Calabrians, Romans, Umbrians, Venetians—not "Italians."

Yet the saying is important for another reason, for it perfectly and concisely expresses something that is at the heart of nationalism: the idea of the nation as a political construct. The word "nation" itself is an ancient one, going back to the Latin *natio*, and it was long used unproblematically, in many European languages, to refer to such entities as France, England, Italy, and Germany.<sup>2</sup> But until the late eighteenth century, "nations" were treated as facts of nature, their existence taken for granted. Even in the absence of a unified Italian or German state, "Italy" and "Germany" were not things to be made. Supposedly, they were there already. What distinguishes the language of modern nationalism from earlier languages of national sentiment is precisely the conscious perception that nations are *not* there already but must be formed or completed through concerted political action. Even those nationalists who insist on the essential, natural distinctiveness of their particular nation, grounded in the people's common blood or the physical terrain, nonetheless also invariably define that nation as in some sense unfinished. Action is still urgently required to purge it of impurities (usually ethnic), to reattach

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1992), 44; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nation and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (New York, 1977), 107.

<sup>2</sup> The argument that for centuries "nation" meant primarily communities of foreign university students, developed particularly by Guido Zernatto in "Nation: The History of a Word," *Review of Politics* 6 (1944): 351–66, has been too easily accepted by many scholars. See the persuasive evidence presented by Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1998), 14–17 (although the author proceeds to draw unwarranted conclusions about the antiquity of nationalism itself); Jean-Yves Guiomar, *La nation entre l'histoire et la raison* (Paris, 1990), 13; and Claude-Gilbert Dubois, ed., *L'imaginaire de la Nation (1792–1992)* (Bordeaux, 1992), 20.

unjustly severed portions of it, or to revive and reawaken essential national qualities that have been forgotten, abandoned, or stolen. To achieve these goals requires the full capacities of the modern state: to design and enforce citizenship requirements, to repress or even expel national minorities, to annex unjustly alienated national territories, to supply a proper civic education, and to provide inhabitants of different regions with common loyalties, traditions, beliefs, and even a common language. On this level, there is little difference between supposed "civic" and "ethnic" forms of nationalism. (Indeed, recent work has convincingly argued that this facile, familiar distinction obscures more than it illuminates.)<sup>3</sup>

The idea of the nation as a construction therefore long antedates the current academic tendency to treat *everything* as a construction. Those modern scholars who have triumphantly exposed the artificial nature of modern nations, as if nationalism were some great confidence game, have generally failed to realize that the very existence of nation-building programs amounts to at least a partial recognition of this artificiality by nationalists themselves.<sup>4</sup> If the nation did exist in a complete and satisfactory form, nationalist politics would be redundant. Yet in this recognition lies the great irony of modern nationalism: for at the same time nationalists admit that their nation remains to be built, they make claims that take its full and complete existence for granted, and for justification. As Geoff Eley has concisely put it in reference to nineteenth-century Germany—a place not exactly lacking in lyrical invocations of a primordial national essence—"Unification entailed a subsequent process of cultural coalescence which in theory it had already presupposed."<sup>5</sup>

This idea of the nation emerged with particular strength and clarity in eighteenth-century France. It did not emerge in France alone: the eighteenth century saw the development of sentiments and movements that deserve the name "nationalist" throughout Europe, from powerful monarchies such as Great Britain to peripheral areas such as Greece and Corsica.<sup>6</sup> But France was distinguished by the self-consciousness with which the issues were discussed, the unusually strong emphasis on political doctrine as the foundation stone of the nation (as opposed to language or blood or history), and the amazing suddenness and strength with which a coherent nationalist program crystallized during the French Revolution. Nearly eighty years before d'Azeglio's call for the making of Italians, the playwright Marie-Joseph Chénier could speak to the National Convention in much the same

<sup>3</sup> Most recently, see the persuasive work of Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> The artificiality of modern nations has been emphasized most strongly by Ernest Gellner, in *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983). Gellner has been taken to task over the question by many authors, including notably Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), who points out that all large-scale communities are in some ways fictitious. My own point is rather that, in the case of nationalism, the fiction is consciously conceded by the nationalists themselves. I have developed this point further in David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Geoff Eley, "State Formation, Nationalism, and Political Culture: Some Thoughts on the Unification of Germany," in *From Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* (London, 1986), 66.

<sup>6</sup> On Britain, see above all Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992). For the "peripheral" states, see especially Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, vols. 3 and 4 (Turin, 1979, 1984).

terms about making Frenchmen: "What is our duty in organizing public instruction? It is to form republicans; and even more so, to form Frenchmen, to endow the nation with its own, unique physiognomy."<sup>7</sup> The word "nationalism" was coined in the late 1790s, precisely as overwhelmed observers were struggling to make sense of the political deluge they had just witnessed in France.<sup>8</sup>

France therefore makes a useful test case for reevaluating the origins of nationalism—a reevaluation that is presently somewhat overdue. The last two decades have seen a great and fruitful outpouring of theoretical studies, but empirical, historical study has proceeded very unevenly, with certain areas receiving enormous attention and others relatively little.<sup>9</sup> With the exception of Great Britain, eighteenth-century France still falls into the second category, despite the fact that the theoretical literature nearly always discusses it and, indeed, often puts great emphasis on it.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, a reevaluation has now begun, thanks to scholars such as Pierre Nora, Peter Sahlins, Edmond Dziembowski, Sophie Wahnich and Hélène Dupuy.<sup>11</sup> In this essay, I hope to advance the discussion further, and to move toward a general interpretation.

In my view, the history of the origins of French nationalism divides into three distinct parts.<sup>12</sup> First, there took place the rise of the "nation" as a political concept, starting in the decades around 1700. There then followed, especially in the last twenty years of the Old Regime, the concept's radical destabilization, as a result of the collapse of traditional constitutional politics, and the development of a classical republican critique of French institutions and society. Finally, there was the judgment, reached by the Jacobins under the First Republic, that the construction of the nation required a laborious process of national education. The first and last of these developments, in particular, reveal the extent to which nationalism arose out of changes in the realm of religion. I have argued elsewhere that the rise of the "nation" as a political concept took place as educated Europeans came to perceive a radical separation between God and the world in the decades around 1700,

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in *Réimpression de l'ancien moniteur*, 32 vols. (Paris, 1847), 18: 351.

<sup>8</sup> On the origins of the word, see Beatrice Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789 according to the General Cahiers* (New York, 1934), 22.

<sup>9</sup> In the secondary literature, in addition to the works of Anderson, Gellner, and Seton-Watson, the most important for this essay have been John Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Difference: The Politics of Identity Writ Large," in Calhoun, ed., *Critical Social Theory: Culture, History and the Challenge of Difference* (Oxford, 1995), 231–82; Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986); Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York, 1971); Smith, *National Identity* (Reno, Nev., 1991).

<sup>10</sup> The chapter that Greenfeld devotes to early modern France (88–189) in *Nationalism* is a good illustration, relying heavily on such outdated quasi-amateur works as Jean Lestocquoy, *Histoire du patriotisme en France des origins à nos jours* (Paris, 1968), and Marie-Madeleine Martin, *The Making of France: The Origins and Development of the Idea of National Unity*, Barbara and Robert North, trans. (London, 1951).

<sup>11</sup> See especially the following works: Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 parts, 7 vols. (Paris, 1984–92); Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrennees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); and Sahlins, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685–1787," *Representations* 47 (1994): 85–110; Edmond Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750–1770: La France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford, 1998); Sophie Wahnich, *L'impossible citoyen: L'étranger dans le discours de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1997); Hélène Dupuy, "Genèse de la Patrie Moderne: La naissance de l'idée moderne de patrie en France avant et pendant la Révolution" (Mémoire de Doctorat, Université de Paris-I, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> The following paragraph is based on my book *The Cult of the Nation*.

struggled to find ways to discern and maintain terrestrial order in the face of God's absence, and devised new intellectual means of understanding the world on its own terms, without reference to supernatural determinations. I have further argued that as the French attempted to develop actual programs and policies aimed at constructing the nation, particularly during the revolution, they fell back on languages and practices of conversion developed by the clergy of the Catholic Reformation, in their attempts to construct not a new nation but a new church.<sup>13</sup>

In this essay, however, I will concentrate on the second, more purely secular part of the story: the period of destabilization when the concept of the "nation" that had become central to French political culture was suddenly and profoundly called into question. It was a stunningly paradoxical moment, for, from most points of view, the coming of the French Revolution marked the concept's apotheosis in France. On June 17, 1789, the deputies to the Third Estate in the newly convened Estates General took the dramatic step of declaring themselves the *National Assembly*. Within a few months, this new assembly would declare, as its most important and inviolable principle, that "the source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation."<sup>14</sup> Yet, at the same time, many French writers were emitting unprecedented doubts on the subject. In December 1788, for instance, the anonymous author of a book called *Lettres angloises* wrote that the French "perceive quite well that they are not a nation; they want to become one."<sup>15</sup> A political pamphlet from the same year claimed that "this people, assembled out of a multitude of small, different nations, do not amount to a national body."<sup>16</sup> In 1789 itself, the great orator the comte de Mirabeau, one of the prime movers behind the June 17 declaration, called France "nothing but an unconstituted aggregate of disunited peoples," while the other prime mover, Emmanuel Sieyès, spoke of the need to make "all the parts of France a single body, and all the peoples who divide it into a single Nation."<sup>17</sup> In short, at the moment that the concept of the nation mattered more in French history than ever before, the French seemed more uncertain than ever about what, exactly, the nation was—indeed, if it was even there at all. How did this moment come about?

Obviously, a short, speculative essay cannot hope to offer a definitive answer to this question. It cannot lay out the complex eighteenth-century discussions of "the nation" in systematic detail, and must confine itself largely to illustrative quotation. Nor can it do much in the way of relating the concept of the nation to such concepts as the *patrie* and the "people." As far as definitions go, I cannot do much more here than state that eighteenth-century authors most often used "nation" to mean a community that satisfied two loose conditions. First, it grouped together people who had enough in common—whether language, customs, beliefs, traditions, or some combination of these—to allow them to be considered a homogeneous

<sup>13</sup> I have developed this point in "Lingua Populi, Lingua Dei: Language, Religion and the Origins of French Revolutionary Nationalism," *AHR* 100 (December 1995): 1403–37.

<sup>14</sup> Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Article 3.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789: Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse* (Geneva, 1985), 140.

<sup>16</sup> *Discours sur le patriotisme* (n.p., 1788), 82.

<sup>17</sup> Cited in C. Berlet, *Les tendances unitaires et provincialistes en France à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Nancy, 1913), 151; Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, *Instructions envoyées par M. le duc d'Orléans pour les personnes étrangères de la procuration aux assemblées de baillages relatives aux Etats-généraux* (Paris, 1789), 44.

collective. Second, it had some sort of recognized political existence. A "people" most often only met the first of these conditions, while the concept of *patrie*, in the eighteenth century, more often had a more purely political sense, referring to the political unit to which a person felt ultimate loyalty.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, within this limited space, I hope I can at least suggest some reasons why the concept of the nation was so radically destabilized at the end of the Old Regime, leading to what can fairly be described as the birth of nationalism in France.

WE HAVE TO START WITH a brief survey of the concept's acquisition of political and cultural salience in the eighteenth century. Despite the claims of Colette Beaune and Myriam Yardeni concerning the birth of a French national consciousness in the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century, respectively, their own evidence fails to demonstrate that French authors before 1700 invested the word "nation," as opposed to *patrie* or "kingdom," with significant political or cultural meaning.<sup>19</sup> Only in the period around 1700 did polemical authors, notably Henri, comte de Boulainvilliers, begin to make sweeping political claims for "the nation." Only in 1743 did a French author, the priest and magistrate François-Ignace d'Espiard de la Borde, make "nations," for the first time, an object of systematic scholarly inquiry. (Montesquieu drew heavily on his book, and d'Espiard in turn tried to capitalize on Montesquieu's success by publishing a rewritten version in 1752 under the title *L'esprit des nations*.)<sup>20</sup> And only in the 1750s did "the rights of the nation" become a rallying cry for France's principal institutional opposition to the monarchy, the high courts known as *parlements*. It was their usage that led the marquis d'Argenson to note in 1754 that "the words *nation* and *state* have never been repeated as often as they are today."<sup>21</sup> By 1789, the words "nation" and "national" had become ubiquitous. "The epithet 'national' is in everyone's mouth," a history book reported in 1789. "A fruit merchant the other day cried out in the street, selling her merchandise: 'national plums, national apples.'"<sup>22</sup> If any further confirmation is needed, the newly digitized catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale reveals that "nation" and "national" appeared in just 105 French-language book

<sup>18</sup> The myriad conflicting and often contradictory eighteenth-century formal definitions of these terms would require a long article of their own to elucidate in full. For a survey of contemporary dictionary definitions, see Elisabeth Fehrenbach, "Nation," in Rolf Reichart and Eberhard Schmitt, eds., *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich, 1680–1820*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1986), 75–107. In my own understanding of these terms and their contemporary meanings, I rely above all on Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; and Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, Susan Ross Huston, trans., Fredric L. Cheyette, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559–1598)* (Louvain, 1971). For an excellent critique of the position they adopt, see Steven Englund, "The Ghost of Nation Past," *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992): 299–320.

<sup>20</sup> Boulainvilliers' works are discussed in Harold A. Ellis, *Boulainvilliers and the French Monarchy: Aristocratic Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); [François-Ignace d'Espiard de la Borde], *Essais sur le Génie et le Caractère des Nations, Divisé en six livres*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1743); [d'Espiard], *L'esprit des nations* (The Hague, 1752).

<sup>21</sup> René Louis de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson, *Journal et mémoires*, Edme-Jacques-Benoît Rathéry, ed., 8 vols. (Paris, 1859), 8: 315 (June 26, 1754).

<sup>22</sup> Cited in Fehrenbach, "Nation," 98.



titles before 1700 but in 895 between 1700 and 1789. In the largest collection of French electronic texts, the ARTFL project, the frequency with which authors used “nation” and “national” during the 1710s and 1720s was double what it had been in the 1690s and 1700s. During the 1730s and 1740s, the usage doubled again.<sup>23</sup>

Explaining this rise is beyond the scope of this essay. But it is important to note that the concept of the nation took on particular salience in two very different arenas. One was the arena of traditional institutional politics, in which various opponents of the royal ministry—particularly the *parlements*—sought to justify their opposition by symbolically placing the figure of the “nation” vis-à-vis, or even above, the crown. Before 1770, their claims remained very limited in comparison with later, revolutionary ones, for they did *not* assert that “the nation” had any right to change France’s ancient constitution, or its hierarchical, corporate social order, much less grant it any clear right of resistance against tyranny, or ground such a right in natural law or a social contract. While they used the phrase “the rights of the nation,” they generally meant not natural rights but positive ones, defined by French law and history. The rights in question belonged not to the nation as a whole but to the modern French institutions that had inherited the authority of the nation’s supposed original assemblies, those famous gatherings of the triumphant Franks in their thousands, on the Champ de Mars next to conquered Roman Lutèce. The actual political changes they demanded consisted essentially of a shift in power from the crown to its traditional, corporate, institutional rivals. In short, they conceived of the “nation” as an essentially juridical entity, and their writings fit squarely into a constitutionalist tradition that stretched back to the sixteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

The second arena was international. During the eighteenth century, French interest in other lands and peoples grew vertiginously, and publishers hastened to satisfy it with travel writings, *The Jesuit Relations*, newspapers, atlases, and Orientalist novels, not to mention the omnivorously cosmopolitan writings of the Philosophes.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, France engaged in continuous and anxious competi-

<sup>23</sup> The following table gives the frequency, per 100,000 words:

Date	“Nation”
1690–1709	4.7
1710–1729	10.0
1730–1749	20.8
1750–1769	22.2
1770–1789	22.5

In addition, the use of the neologism “national” went from 0 in 1710–1729, to 1.0 per 100,000 in 1730–1749, to 1.3 in 1750–1769, and 3.8 in 1770–1789. The word-frequency database can be consulted on the World Wide Web at: <http://humanities.uchicago.edu/ARTFL>. The French national library catalog is located at: [www.bnf.fr](http://www.bnf.fr).

<sup>24</sup> I have developed this point in David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (New York, 1994), 117–19. For a recent survey of the ongoing debate over these matters, see Michael Sonenscher, “Enlightenment and Revolution,” *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 2 (1998): 371–83. See also, more generally, Roger Bickart, *Les parlements et la notion de souveraineté nationale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1932).

<sup>25</sup> See Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle de lumières* (Paris, 1995); Gilbert Chinard, *L’Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1913); Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les relations de voyages du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l’évolution des idées: Contribution à l’étude de la formation de l’esprit du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1927).

tion with Great Britain, even when not actually at war, and over the course of the century, French attitudes toward this competition changed dramatically. While the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–14) appeared to French commentators principally as a war of royal houses, the Seven Years' War (1756–63) struck them as a war of nations.<sup>26</sup> As a contributor to Elie Fréron's newspaper *L'année littéraire* concisely wrote: "There are wars in which the nation only takes an interest because of its submission to the Prince; this war is of a different nature; it is the English nation which, by unanimous agreement, has attacked our nation to deprive us of something which belongs to each of us."<sup>27</sup> Both curiosity and international competition prompted the growth of a substantial literature devoted to what we would now call the comparative study of national character, much of which had as its not-so-subtle purpose the defense of the French character and the denigration of the English.<sup>28</sup>

Thanks to these developments, by 1770, the "nation," whether defined by reference to its historical rights or to its "character," had become a central organizing category in French political culture and cultural politics. It was incessantly referred to, deferred to, and treated as the fundamental ground on which other forms of human relations were built.<sup>29</sup> In the last two decades of the Old Regime, the concept would grow more important still. But at the same time, it was radically challenged and destabilized.

THE QUOTATIONS ARE FAMILIAR: "It is France's salvation you must consult, not its archives" (Cerutti). The French nation "was made not to follow examples but to give them" (Rabaut Saint-Etienne). "All must be new in France; we wish to date only from today" (Barère). "I am convinced of the need to effect a complete regeneration and, if I may so express it, to create a new people" (Robespierre).<sup>30</sup> All illustrate, if not a rejection of history *in toto* by the French revolutionaries, their specific repudiation of France's prerevolutionary history, now contemptuously

<sup>26</sup> This point is developed in David A. Bell, "Jumonville's Death: Race and Nation in Eighteenth-Century France," in Bell, Ludmila Pimenova, and Stéphane Pujol, eds., *Raison universelle et culture nationale au siècle des lumières* (Paris, 1999), 227–51. See also Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme*.

<sup>27</sup> "Projet patriotique," in *Année littéraire* (1756), 8: 43.

<sup>28</sup> Among the works of the major Philosophes, Montesquieu's *L'esprit des lois*, Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*, and Rousseau's *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* devoted particular attention to the question of comparative national character. A complete bibliography on this subject will be available in November 2001 at [www.davidbell.net](http://www.davidbell.net).

<sup>29</sup> For this formulation, I am indebted to Calhoun, "Nationalism and Difference"; Keith Michael Baker, "Enlightenment and the Institution of Society: Notes for a Conceptual History," in Willem Melching and Wyger Velema, eds., *Main Trends in Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 1992), 95–120; and Marcel Gauchet, "Les Lettres sur l'histoire de France d'Augustin Thierry," in Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, pt. 2, vol. 1: 247–316. Baker, in his essay, prefers to see the concept of "society" occupying this position. I would suggest that in fact a series of shifts around the year 1700 opened an intellectual space in which a number of different concepts could occupy the position, including also, notably, "civilization."

<sup>30</sup> Joseph-Antoine-Joachim Cerutti, *Mémoire pour le peuple* (Paris, 1788), 63; Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint-Etienne, quoted in Mona Ozouf, "La Révolution française et la formation de l'homme nouveau," in *L'homme régénéré: Essais sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1989), 116–57, at 125; Bertrand Barère, quoted in Ozouf, *L'Ecole de la France: Essais sur la Révolution, l'utopie et l'enseignement* (Paris, 1984), 33; Maximilien Robespierre, July 13, 1793, in James Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1891–1907), 2: 35.

dismissed as “the Old Regime.”<sup>31</sup> Students of the revolution are of course familiar with this rejection, and Dale Van Kley has convincingly argued that to a large extent it derived from the logic of the intense prerevolutionary political debate of 1787 and 1788.<sup>32</sup> What has not been appreciated is the extent to which the rejection, which actually began with actions taken by the crown well before the revolution, affected the concept of the nation.

For roughly half a century before 1770, political debates about the nation remained largely bound up within the juridical paradigm discussed above. Such was the power of French juridical language, and the institutions—above all, the *parlements*—that had begotten it, and that still dominated French political life. In these debates, the nation was defined by its historical and juridical inheritance from its supposed founders. The “rights of the nation” were, in this view, identical to the “fundamental laws” that the founders had supposedly laid down and that formed the basis of France’s ancient, unwritten constitution, limiting the king’s freedom of action with regard to such matters as taxation and the royal succession.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the inheritance was inseparable from the traditional institutions, which, under the ancient constitution, were held to “represent” the nation. As Paul Friedland has cogently argued, according to prevailing, pre-modern understandings of representation, the *parlements* and Estates General were not held merely to speak for and stand in for the nation but to incarnate it—in a sense, to *be* it.<sup>34</sup> Montesquieu illustrated this usage in *The Spirit of the Laws* when he wrote that, in the early Middle Ages, “one often assembled the nation, that is, the lords and bishops.”<sup>35</sup> The nation could not freely choose other representatives, because the nation could only take form in particular institutions.

Because the debates remained within this framework, before 1770 they largely turned on the questions of just what the “fundamental laws” were, how far they extended, and whether the *parlements* could be considered the lineal descendants of the original assemblies of the Franks. Thus these decades witnessed passionate but also clotted and limited legal controversies over the nation’s history, in which half-forgotten or altogether mythical figures like Kings Clotaire, Childebert, and Pharamond loomed up out of the Dark Ages to menace the century of lights, and antiquarians rummaged through dusty archives in search of lost capitularies with the intensity of knights chasing the grail. The *parlements* put claims about “the rights of the nation” into their published remonstrances—which were their principal means of opposing royal legislation—while supporters of the monarchy, in response, insisted that the nation’s principal representative remained the monarch

<sup>31</sup> On the complexity of revolutionary views of history, see Joseph John Zizek, “The Politics and Poetics of History in the French Revolution, 1787–1794” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> Dale Van Kley, “From the Lessons of French History to Truths for All Times and All People: The Historical Origins of an Anti-Historical Declaration,” in Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Declaration of the Rights of Man* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 72–113.

<sup>33</sup> See on this point Bickart, *Les parlements et la notion de souveraineté*, 54–55.

<sup>34</sup> Paul A. Friedland, “Representation and Revolution: The Theatricality of Politics and the Politics of Theater in France, 1789–1794” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1995).

<sup>35</sup> Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone, trans. and eds. (Cambridge, 1989), 544 (pt. 6, book 28, chap. 9).

himself—that he alone embodied the nation and gave it form.<sup>36</sup> But throughout, the substance of the debate resembled a lawsuit over a piece of property, with the nation primarily a juridical category, whose “rights” and “privileges” were unchanging and unmodifiable inheritances, passed from one generation to the next like an heirloom or estate.

All this changed, however, in the year 1771. It changed, above all, because the ancient judicial framework of French political life crumbled at this time, and it crumbled, above all, because of the actions of the monarchy itself. In the winter of 1770–1771, King Louis XV and his lord chancellor, Maupeou, at the end of a particularly convoluted and drawn-out battle with the *parlements*, abruptly ended the traditional ballet of respectful remonstrance and measured reply with a brutal show of force, arresting and exiling the recalcitrant magistrates. Moreover, while the king and the chancellor did not initially have a radical program in mind, as the crisis developed they drew on new, enlightened ideas about rational government so as to justify altogether abolishing existing judicial offices (which judges had owned as a form of property) and replacing the magistrates with their own, pliant nominees, a move that had very little precedent in French history and law. They thereby went beyond even what the authoritarian, but ultimately more traditional, Louis XIV had ever done, provoked the greatest institutional crisis in France for over a century, and prompted the formation of a broad-based opposition movement, which called itself the Parti Patriote.<sup>37</sup>

As recent scholarship has shown, the so-called “coup” of 1771 demonstrated not only to the magistrates and their supporters but also to a wide spectrum of French readers that the crown itself no longer respected the grand principles of French law, and therefore the sovereign courts could no longer act as an effective restraint on royal power.<sup>38</sup> From now on, opposition to the crown would have to search for different sources of legitimation, and so dissident writers increasingly embraced full-blown theories of national sovereignty, in which the nation could freely choose its form of government. “It is the nation which is sovereign,” wrote the comte de Lauragais in one of the most popular pamphlets of the crisis. “It is so by its power, and by the nature of things.”<sup>39</sup> Even the innately conservative and consensus-seeking Parisian jurists who had guided the magistrates through the previous decades’ conflicts belatedly acknowledged that the *parlements* could not take the place of the Estates General, whose convocation after 150 years they suddenly deemed desirable. Some started to draw on both natural law theory and classical republican ideas to justify their resistance to the monarchy.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See Bickart, *Les parlements et la notion de souveraineté*, 41–57.

<sup>37</sup> On the “Maupeou coup,” see above all Julian Swann, *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754–1774* (Cambridge, 1995); Durand Echeverria, *The Maupeou Revolution: A Study in the History of Libertarianism, France, 1770–1774* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985); and Shanti Marie Singham, “‘A Conspiracy of Twenty Million Frenchmen’: Public Opinion, Patriotism, and the Assault on Absolutism during the Maupeou Years, 1770–1775” (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1991).

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the literature mentioned above, see also, on this theme, Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 249–302.

<sup>39</sup> Louis Brancas, Comte de Lauragais, *Extrait du droit public de la France* (n.p., [1771]), 45.

<sup>40</sup> Bibliothèque de la Société de Port-Royal, Paris, Collection Le Paige, 571, no. 26 (Le Paige to Murard, May 20, 1772). See also Dale Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unravelling of the Old Regime, 1750–1770* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 193. The most important work to draw on natural law and

Going even further, as Keith Baker has shown, a few particularly radical jurists started infusing the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* into the mainstream of French political discussion, thereby sweeping away any notion that inflexible legal and historical constraints bound the French nation to a particular form of government. In 1775, the young Parisian barrister Jacques-Claude Martin de Mariveaux published *L'ami des lois*, which rehearsed the familiar potted histories of the Franks and their successors but then went far beyond them. "Man is born free," declared Martin vigorously, if not originally, and added for good measure that "the French Nation has a social contract," which gave it the right to choose whatever form of government it wished, without reference to any original foundation.<sup>41</sup> The same year, the Bordeaux barrister Guillaume-Joseph Saige published his influential, Rousseauian *Catéchisme du citoyen*, which argued the point even more explicitly: "For there is nothing essential in the political body but the social contract and the exercise of the general will; apart from that, everything is absolutely contingent and depends, for its form as for its existence, on the supreme will of the nation."<sup>42</sup> In these writings, the idea of the nation as the fundamental ground of human existence, the ultimate framework for all social and political action, an idea that had only become thinkable in the early eighteenth century, now found active, powerful political expression.

When Louis XV succumbed to smallpox in 1774, his successor, Louis XVI, restored the old *parlements*, but this act could not close the Pandora's box that had flown open three years before. The concepts of the "nation" and the *patrie* had emerged as the principal symbolic sources of political legitimacy in France, and they still held this position when the final crisis of the Old Regime began ten years later, with the slide of the French state toward bankruptcy. The older, judicial mode of arguing about the "nation" admittedly took time to disappear. So-called "patriots" and supporters of the ministry alike continued to wrestle in the archives of medieval institutions right down to 1789, not infrequently choking on the dust they stirred up.<sup>43</sup> Yet, in the so-called "pre-revolution" of 1787–1789, an increasing number of the self-proclaimed "patriotic" writers no longer invoked the authority of *patrie* and "nation" merely in the hopes of altering the balance of power among existing institutions. With the state collapsing, they now did so in order to justify the wholesale transformation of the political system. And in the great blooming of political debate that preceded the final convocation of the Estates General in 1789, they led the way in abandoning the appeal to French history altogether and fully endorsed Saige's claim that everything depended on the supreme will of the nation. Most important in this regard, of course, was Emmanuel Sieyès's brilliant pamphlet *What Is the Third Estate?* which argued that only the deputies to the commoners' Third Estate were the true representatives of the French nation. It was this work

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classical republicanism was Claude Mey, Gabriel-Nicolas Maultrot, and Armand-Gaston Camus's influential *Maximes du droit public françois* (Amsterdam, 1772).

<sup>41</sup> [Jacques-Claude Martin de Mariveaux], *L'ami des lois, ou les vrais principes de la législation françoise* (n.p., 1775), 6, 25.

<sup>42</sup> [Guillaume-Joseph Saige], *Le catéchisme du citoyen*, quoted in Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 143.

<sup>43</sup> See particularly, on this issue, Van Kley, "From the Lessons of French History."



that set the stage for the first great act of the revolution, namely the Third Estate's arrogation of the title "National Assembly," at Sieyès's instigation, on June 17, 1789.<sup>44</sup>

But what was this "nation" that the National Assembly spoke for? What made the 28 million people commonly designated as "French" into a single entity? What was seen to bind them together, besides their status as subjects of Louis XVI? It was certainly not language, at a time when French remained a foreign tongue for much of the population.<sup>45</sup> Nor was it ethnicity, for notions of a single "French race" as yet had little purchase. As Voltaire had famously written, "France is an assemblage of Goths, Danes . . . Germans . . . Franks, Swiss, and some Romans mixed with the old Celts."<sup>46</sup> Throughout the century, it was rather French law and history that had been perceived as the essence of French nationhood, and French law and history were what had now been put radically into question, first by the monarchy in 1771 and then by the opposition in 1789. Thus the turn away from traditional historical and juridical understandings of the French nation radically destabilized the meaning of the concept of "nation," precisely at the moment of its apparent apotheosis.

The problem was exacerbated by the fact that, after 1771, the traditional, juridical means of argument was used not only in reference to France itself but to individual French provinces, and in a manner that called the existence of the nation into question from another direction. In 1771–1774, and then again in 1788–1789, it was widely feared that the king or Estates General might take drastic and unprecedented measures against traditional provincial liberties and privileges. In response, self-appointed spokesmen for many provinces asserted the utter inviolability of these liberties, over even the unity of France, and they claimed for the provinces the status not just of "nations" (a terminology that was not altogether uncommon in the eighteenth century) but of "nations" equal to France itself. Thus an anti-Maupeou pamphlet entitled *Manifeste aux Normands*, reprinted in 1788, insisted: "We [the Norman people] are bound to France by agreements which are no more and no less authentic than . . . all other treaties between nations." The magistrates of Pau, in the southwest, described themselves in 1788 as inhabitants of "a country [*pays*] foreign to France, although ruled by the same king," and talked of the Pyrenean "nations" of Navarre and Béarn. A little later, the former mayor of Strasbourg, Johann von Türkheim, asked the following: "will Lower Alsace have the courage and resolution to . . . declare that it was subject to the French crown but not the French nation, and intends to preserve its rights and liberties?" Similar language was employed in debates in Mirabeau's native Provence.<sup>47</sup> It was in this context that

<sup>44</sup> Emmanuel Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* (Paris, 1789). On Sieyès and his influence, see most recently William H. Sewall, Jr., *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and "What Is the Third Estate?"* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

<sup>45</sup> See Bell, "Lingua Populi, Lingua Dei."

<sup>46</sup> Voltaire in *Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le grand*, quoted in Laurent Versini, "Hommes des lumières et hommes de couleur," in Jean-Claude Carpanin Marimoutou and Jean-Michel Racault, *Métissages*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1992), 25–34, at 28. See, on this subject, Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, D.C., 1996); and Jacques Barzun's still-useful book *The French Race: Theories of Its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications prior to the Revolution* (New York, 1932).

<sup>47</sup> "Manifeste aux Normands," rpt. in *Maupeouana, ou Recueil complet des écrits patriotiques publiés*

Mirabeau and Sieyès could so easily describe the France of 1789 as a mere aggregate of different peoples.

YET IT WAS NOT MERELY THE DESTABILIZATION of traditional juridical politics that led observers to question the very existence of the nation at the end of the Old Regime. At the same time, a critique of the French nation arose from within the literature on national character, as that literature increasingly turned in a direction that deserves the label "republican."

It hardly needs saying that national stereotypes, usually based on the attribution of exaggerated individual characteristics to an entire people, long predate the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, at the end of the Old Regime, the French went to unprecedented lengths in cataloging, analyzing, debating, and caricaturing national differences, in forms ranging from learned treatises such as d'Espiard's to crude war propaganda. They did not usually go so far as to ascribe a "national character" to the entire population of a nation, something the enormous social and demographic variety of France and its neighbors would have made an impossible task. Instead, they generally let a single part stand for the whole. Voltaire, for instance, wrote in the *Essai sur les mœurs* that "the spirit of a nation always resides with the small number who put the large number to work, are fed by it, and govern it," while Charles Pinot-Duclos, in his *Considérations sur les mœurs*, put things even more simply: "It is in Paris that you have to consider the Frenchman, because there he is more French than elsewhere." Rousseau, by contrast, in a vision pregnant with implications for later, Romantic nationalism, found the "genius" and mores of a nation in the "most distant provinces." "It is the countryside that makes the country [*pays*]," he insisted, "and the people of the countryside who make the nation."<sup>48</sup>

While French authors wrote about national character for many different purposes, and in wildly varying styles, they nonetheless generally saw it determined by three broad factors. First and foremost came the physical environment, or "climate," a subject whose serious study in France went back to Jean Bodin, and whose popularity in the eighteenth century was due above all to Montesquieu. (Eighteenth-century wits quipped that where Nicolas de Malebranche had seen everything in God, Montesquieu saw everything in climate.)<sup>49</sup> Secondly, there was

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*pendant le regne du Chancelier Maupeou*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1775), 6: 1–21, quote from 1 (see also the similar "Manifeste aux Bretons," 84–97); 1788 rpt. cited in Berlet, *Les tendances unitaires et provincialistes*, 10; magistrates of Pau cited in Berlet, 59; Türkheim cited in Jules Keller, *Le théosophe Frédéric-Rodolphe Saltzmann et les milieux spirituels de son temps*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1985), 1: 194; Provençal debates discussed in Rafe Blaufarb, paper delivered at Society for French Historical Studies, Washington, D.C., March 1999.

<sup>48</sup> Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1804), 6: 230; Charles Duclos, *Considérations sur les mœurs de ce siècle* (Amsterdam, 1751), 16; Rousseau, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (Paris, 1966), 615.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Robert Shackleton, *Montesquieu: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1961), 302. Voltaire, Denis Diderot, Buffon, and Claude-Adrien Helvétius all embraced theories of climate enthusiastically. In general on theories of climate, see Shackleton, 302–19; Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 141–82; Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*; Henry Vyverberg, *Human Nature, Cultural Diversity, and the French Enlightenment* (New York, 1989). As Shackleton observes, Montesquieu drew heavily on d'Espiard's earlier work.

a nation's constitution, and political action more generally. Their importance in shaping national character was meditated on most profoundly and influentially by Rousseau, who claimed in his *Confessions* to have seen early on in life that "everything fundamentally depended on politics . . . and that no people would ever be anything other than what its Government made of it."<sup>50</sup> Finally, there was historical evolution: the idea that nations tended to follow roughly the same pattern of linear development from "savagery" to "civilization," and that their character therefore depended on how far they had progressed along the scale. This idea lay behind Voltaire's mammoth and powerful exercise in comparative national history, the *Essai sur les mœurs*, and also animated the marquis de Mirabeau's enormously popular *L'ami des hommes*, where, in the accents of biblical lyricism, the process was likened to the life of an organism: "There is a circle prescribed to all nature, moral as well as physical, of birth, growth, fullness, decline and death. Thus are the days from morning to night, the years in their solar revolutions, the life of man from cradle to tomb, and that of states from their foundation to their fall."<sup>51</sup> The factor of *mœurs* (mores or manners), which eighteenth-century French writers also frequently invoked, generally depended in its turn on some mixture of politics or evolution, while the phrase "moral causes" (as opposed to physical), which appears frequently as well, usually amounted to a conflation of the two.<sup>52</sup>

To the extent that French authors believed that political action and historical evolution determined national character, they also generally saw these two factors working through a particular intermediary: women. For if national character was in some senses identical to or symbiotically linked to *mœurs*, *mœurs* themselves were the province of women, both because of women's general influence on social interactions and their specific role in educating the young. "Women," d'Espiard remarked, "are the essential part of *mœurs*," and the military reformer Guibert agreed with him: "Men make laws," but "women make *mœurs*, there lies their true empire."<sup>53</sup> Montesquieu, in a brief discussion of whether it was possible to alter a "national character," could envision only one way of actually doing so: "One could constrain [the] women, make laws to correct their *mœurs*, and limit their luxury."<sup>54</sup> Not coincidentally, these measures, which Montesquieu himself hesitated to apply, formed the heart of Rousseau's misogynistic prescription for preserving the *mœurs* of Geneva in his *Letter to d'Alembert*.<sup>55</sup> Women, in short, constituted both a measure of a nation's civilization and the key to the preservation of its character.

<sup>50</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 4 vols. (Dijon, 1964), 1: 404.

<sup>51</sup> Victor de Riquetti de Mirabeau, *L'ami des hommes: ou, Traité de la population*, Rouxel, ed. (Paris, 1883), 317. He was the father of the revolutionary orator, the comte. The most commonly used full title of Voltaire's work, significantly, was *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*.

<sup>52</sup> Rousseau, for instance, believed that mores and religion alike depended largely on the form of government. For Voltaire, in the *Essai sur les mœurs*, both were heavily influenced by the development of civilization.

<sup>53</sup> D'Espiard, *L'esprit des nations*, 2: 207; Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte de Guibert, *Le connétable de Bourbon*, in *Oeuvres dramatiques de Guibert* (Paris, 1825), 22 (the observation comes in an exchange between the heroine Adélaïde, who begins a line of verse saying "Les hommes font les lois," and the hero Bayard, who completes it with the phrase "Les femmes font les mœurs").

<sup>54</sup> Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 310.

<sup>55</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Politics and the Arts: Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theater*, Allan Bloom, trans. and ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), esp. 81–92, 100–13.

Armed with these conceptual tools, eighteenth-century French authors went eagerly about investigating national characters, particularly the one they saw reflected in the mirror. They were not always consistent, to say the least. To take perhaps the most obvious example, at different times Voltaire described the French as “the most sociable and polite people on earth” (the preface to a stage play in the 1730s), “a people of heroes . . . a gentle and terrible people” (a war poem from the 1740s), and “monkeys and tigers” (from his bitter exile in the 1760s).<sup>56</sup> Still, outside of wartime literature (which predictably hailed every French male as a heroic warrior), the French national character was generally associated with a relatively well-defined and consistent constellation of closely related traits.<sup>57</sup> To be French was to be particularly sociable, particularly refined or polite, and above all particularly *léger*—a term that literally means “light” but that implies a mix of vivaciousness, inconstancy, and perhaps also superficiality. Often, these traits were invoked all at once, as in Baron d’Holbach’s umbrella comment that “the general character of the French nation is gaiety, activity, politeness, *sociabilité*,” or the reforming magistrate Joseph Servan’s characterization of the Frenchman as a “model of politeness,” whose “vivacity has no object other than the pleasures of society.”<sup>58</sup>

All three qualities were easily explained by reference to climate, political action, and history. The French, living in a supposedly perfectly temperate climate, had, so it was claimed, succeeded in avoiding the solitude, seriousness, and moroseness of northern peoples and the weakness, indolence, and debauchery of southern ones. Their moderate sociability, refinement, and *légèreté* were the result.<sup>59</sup> The French character also showed the influence of its monarchical government and aristocratic social system, in which court grandees, who embodied most perfectly the qualities of sociability, refinement, and *légèreté*, set the tone and everyone else scrambled to imitate them. Above all, if the French were said to maintain a degree of polite social interaction unknown elsewhere and to devote themselves to endless rounds of pleasure, it was because they stood at the end point of that long process of historical evolution that had taken them away from their “savage” or “barbarian” origins and rendered them steadily more “polite,” “policed,” or “civilized.” Sociability, refinement, and *légèreté* were all closely linked to the concept of “civilization” that took

<sup>56</sup> Voltaire, quoted in Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 75; Voltaire, *Le poème sur la bataille de Fontenoy* (Amsterdam, 1748), unpaginated; Voltaire, quoted in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 50.

<sup>57</sup> For a full exposition of this argument, with ample supporting evidence, see David A. Bell, “La caractère national et l’imaginaire républicain à l’époque de la Révolution Française,” forthcoming in *Annales: Histoire, sciences, sociales*.

<sup>58</sup> Baron d’Holbach quoted in Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty*, 76; [Joseph Servan], *Le soldat citoyen, ou vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du royaume* (“Dans le pays de la liberté,” 1780), 16. See also, for instance, d’Espiard, *L’esprit des nations*, 1: 62–64. Jean-François Sobry, *Le mode françois, ou discours sur les principaux usages de la nation françoise* (Paris, 1786), 18. This discussion is greatly indebted to the work of Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty*, and Goodman, *Republic of Letters*.

<sup>59</sup> See, for instance, Antoine de Rivarol, *L’universalité de la langue française* (1783; Paris, 1991), 25; d’Espiard, *L’esprit des nations*, 2: 25; [Thomas-Jean Pichon], *La physique de l’histoire: ou, Considérations générales sur les Principes élémentaires du temperament et du Caractère naturel des Peuples* (The Hague, 1765), 262–63.



shape in the mid-eighteenth century, and that itself depended on a vision of historical progress and cosmopolitan exchange between "civilized" people.<sup>60</sup>

Although many authors, following Montesquieu's example, couched their reflections in a tone of studied scientific impartiality, observation melded easily into apologia. French moderation, sociability, and refinement were praised and pointedly contrasted to the alleged "turbulence," sullenness, and brutality of the English, whom French authors regularly denounced as "barbarians" and "cannibals."<sup>61</sup> Even the quality of *légèreté*, so easily associated with frivolity and superficiality, had its defenders. The pamphleteer Jean-François Sobry, in a survey of French characteristics and institutions, wrote that "if [the Frenchman] has *légèreté*, it is not at all of the sort which is fickle and superficial but rather that *légèreté* which recoils from heaviness and monotony. The Athenians were also *léger*, and they were the foremost people in the world." The novelist Jacques-Antoine Perrin likewise commented: "Our neighbors may well call us *léger*, frivolous, inconsequential. But this lightness, this frivolity is the source of our amusements and our pleasures; it is to delicacy and even gallantry that we owe our happiness, they are virtues for us."<sup>62</sup> Many other authors avoided the negative associations of *léger* by using *gai* as a substitute. Being *gai*, like being *léger*, was presented as the opposite of being "heavy" (*lourd*) or "pedantic" (characteristics often associated with the English).<sup>63</sup>

The civilized traits of sociability, refinements, and *légèreté* also represented what French authors tended to see as the extraordinary influence possessed by women in French society. D'Espiard and Montesquieu agreed that women, to whom vivaciousness and love of society came naturally, ruled French *moeurs*, obliging men to strive to please them.<sup>64</sup> Sébastien-Marie-Mathurin Gazon-Dourxigné, author of a historical essay on the "principal absurdities of different nations," attributed the refinement and sociability of the French to political and historical factors, but particularly to the "company of women."<sup>65</sup> Many observers considered the position of women the principal difference between France and those nations that restricted women to what Antoine de Rivarol called "the domestic tribunal."<sup>66</sup> D'Espiard stressed that "society cannot exist without women," and added that, therefore, nations like the Chinese "have destroyed Society by this eternal imprisonment of

<sup>60</sup> See Lucien Febvre, "Civilisation: Evolution of a Word and a Group of Ideas," in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, Peter Burke, ed., K. Folca, trans. (New York, 1973), 219–57; Joachim Moras, *Ursprung und Entwicklung des Begriffs der Zivilisation in Frankreich (1756–1830)* (Hamburg, 1930); Pierre Michel, "Barbarie, Civilisation, Vandalisme," in Rolf Reichard and Eberhard Schmitt, eds., *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich, 1680–1820*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1988), 1–43; Anthony Pagden, "The 'Defence of Civilization' in Eighteenth-Century Social Theory," *History of the Human Sciences* 1 (1988): 33–45.

<sup>61</sup> See Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme*; and Bell, "Jumonville's Death."

<sup>62</sup> Sobry, *Le mode françois*, 19; Perrin quoted in Grieder, *Anglomania in France*, 95–96. See also, for instance, the defense of *légèreté* in *Apologie du caractère des anglois et des françois, ou observations sur le livre intitulé Lettres sur les Anglois & les François, & sur les Voyages* (n.p., 1726), esp. 105. The anonymous author claimed that the quality made the French more witty and adventurous.

<sup>63</sup> See, for instance, Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 310; Rivarol, *L'universalité*, 23; *Discours sur le patriotisme*, 82.

<sup>64</sup> Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 311–2; d'Espiard, *L'esprit des nations*, 1: 153.

<sup>65</sup> Sébastien-Marie-Mathurin Gazon-Dourxigné, *Essai historique et philosophique sur les principaux ridicules des différentes nations* (Amsterdam, 1766), 138.

<sup>66</sup> Rivarol, *L'universalité*, 23.



women, which is the least philosophical and most unjust thing in the world.”<sup>67</sup> The anonymous author of a book comparing the French and English characters suggested that if the English stopped banishing women from the table after dinner, the nation would grow less misanthropic. “The Frenchman,” he remarked, “owes the aimable qualities which distinguish him from other peoples to interchange with women.”<sup>68</sup>

Yet it was precisely over the position of women that French students of national character revealed their greatest anxieties. D’Espiard, for all his solicitude where Chinese women were concerned, also commented that “foreigners say that in France, men are not men enough, and women are not women enough.”<sup>69</sup> Gazon-Dourxigné added a similarly cautionary note to his celebratory history of the French character: “Some women were reproached for taking on the character of men, and many men for too closely resembling women.”<sup>70</sup> Rivarol noted severely that “it is from women’s vices and ours, the politeness of men and the coquetry of women, that was born this gallantry of the two sexes which corrupts both in turn.”<sup>71</sup> These remarks recall Rousseau’s remark in the *Letter to d’Alembert* that the two sexes should “live separated ordinarily,” and that, “no longer wishing to tolerate separation, unable to make themselves into men, the women make us into women.”<sup>72</sup>

These authors nonetheless had ambiguous attitudes toward the reform of the French character, because they believed that, thanks to the favorable climate, beneficial historical evolution, and a political system they would not dream of challenging, the French character was still generally acceptable. In effect, they agreed with Montesquieu, who wrote, in a passage from *The Spirit of the Laws* that obviously referred to France:

If there were in the world a nation which had a sociable humor, an openness of heart, a joy in life, a taste, an ease in communicating its thoughts; which was lively, pleasant, playful, sometimes imprudent, often indiscreet; and which had with all that, courage, generosity, frankness, and a certain point of honor, one should avoid disturbing its manners by laws, in order not to disturb its virtues. If the character is generally good, what difference do a few faults make?<sup>73</sup>

In the final decades of the Old Regime, however, in the context of military defeat, and the vulnerability of the French constitution to “despotism” supposedly exposed by Maupeou’s coup, moderate assumptions of this sort increasingly came into question. More observers adopted a caustic, Rousseauian view of the progress of civilization, and started to think of impaired national virility as an urgent problem in need of a solution. As early as 1762, at the end of the Seven Years’ War, a

<sup>67</sup> D’Espiard, *L’esprit des nations*, 1: v–vi.

<sup>68</sup> He added that if Asians and Africans stopped keeping women in chains, “they would lose their cruelty, and grow civilized” like the French. *Lettre d’un jeune homme à son ami, sur les Français et les Anglais, relativement à la frivolité reprochée aux uns, et la philosophie attribuée aux autres* (Amsterdam, 1779), 16.

<sup>69</sup> D’Espiard, *L’esprit des nations*, 1: 153.

<sup>70</sup> Gazon-Dourxigné, *Essai historique et philosophique*, 138.

<sup>71</sup> Rivarol, *L’universalité*, 23.

<sup>72</sup> Rousseau, *Politics and the Arts*, 100.

<sup>73</sup> Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 310.

*Discours sur le patriotisme*, read in the Academy of Lyon, warned that the French had developed a tendency to become “sybarites, plunged into a voluptuous stupor, breathing and thinking only for pleasure, deaf to the voice of the *patrie*.” It added sternly that “if fashion, modes and frivolity take the place of *moeurs* and reason . . . then a nation is done for.”<sup>74</sup> In 1787, an entrant in an academic essay competition on patriotism called the French “too *léger* and too dissipated,” and warned they might perish unless they grew more civic-minded.<sup>75</sup> Even the poet and academician Antoine-Léonard Thomas, in other contexts a great eulogist of national heroes, scolded the French for being a “*léger* and impetuous nation, ardent for pleasures, concerned always with the present, soon forgetting the past, talking of everything and caring about nothing; it treats everything that is great with indifference.”<sup>76</sup>

Almost without exception, as Antoine de Baecque has stressed, these critiques associated French traits such as refinement and *légèreté* with the corporeal failings of lethargy, sickness, physical corruption, and old age.<sup>77</sup> “The French nation has changed,” one typical prerevolutionary lament proceeded. “We are no longer as robust, as strong, as the ancient Gauls from whom we descend.”<sup>78</sup> The people had become “indolent, apathetic, carefree,” in a modern period described as “a long lethargy,” or “a coating of rust.” The French were “an immense people grown old in despotism,” “a degraded, debased people,” “a society grown old in slavery and sensual pleasure and corrupted by the habit of vice.”<sup>79</sup> Such images, heavily influenced by Rousseau’s pessimism, first appeared in political literature after the coup of 1771, but in 1788–1789 they became ubiquitous, and even more despairing. “O my Nation! To what degree of abasement have you fallen,” wrote the future Jacobin Jérôme Pétion in his exemplary *Avis aux français*.<sup>80</sup> And a 1789 address to the Estates General asked: “Is there a nation more immoral than the French? Is there one that misunderstands and violates the laws with such *légèreté*? . . . When one has grown old in corruption, one can no longer be healed, and when the maladies are at their height, the sick man shudders at the sight of the doctor. So, *messeigneurs*, abandon the present generation.”<sup>81</sup>

This radical critique of the national character undoubtedly expressed French reactions to the paralysis and eventual collapse of the state, and also, as Edmond

<sup>74</sup> [Claude-François Xavier Millot], *Discours sur le patriotisme français* (Lyons, 1762), 26, 34.

<sup>75</sup> Clément-Alexandre de Brie-Serrant, *Ecrit adressé à l'Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne*, 15.

<sup>76</sup> Antoine-Léonard Thomas, *Essai sur les éloges* (Paris, 1829), 508.

<sup>77</sup> See Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, Charlotte Mandell, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 1–25, 133–56. See also on this subject, Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’homme nouveau”; and Zizek, “Politics and Poetics of History.”

<sup>78</sup> Maille Dussausoy, *Le citoyen désintéressé, ou diverses idées patriotiques, concernant quelques établissemens et embellissemens utiles à la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1767), 114.

<sup>79</sup> Bouquier quoted in Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la formation de l’homme nouveau,” 134; *Discours sur le patriotisme* (n.p., 1788), 40; “Sur l’influence des mots et le pouvoir de l’usage,” by “C.B., homme libre,” in *Mercur national et révolutions de l’europe, journal démocratique* 47 (December 14, 1789): 1813; *Citoyens français*, quoted in de Baecque, *Body Politic*, 143; *De l’égalité des représentans, et de la forme des délibérations aux Etats-Généraux de 1789* (n.p., 1789), 3; Boissy d’Anglas, quoted in Elisabeth Liris, “Eduquer l’homme nouveau,” in Josiane Boulad-Ayoub, ed., *Former un nouveau peuple? Pouvoir, éducation, révolution* (Quebec, 1996), 303.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in de Baecque, *Body Politic*, 138.

<sup>81</sup> J. Villier, *Nouveau plan d’éducation et d’instruction publique dédié à l’Assemblée nationale dans lequel on substitue aux universités, séminaires et collèges des établissemens plus raisonnables, plus utiles, plus dignes d’une grande nation* (Angers, 1789), vi–viii.

Dziembowski has recently emphasized, anxieties over France's dramatic loss of geo-political status following its defeat by Britain in the Seven Years' War.<sup>82</sup> Yet the form in which it was expressed derived largely from a different source: the growing influence of classical republican thought in France. As a good deal of recent historical work has shown, this venerable tradition held a fascination for French elites in the last decades before the revolution. From the writings of Rousseau and Mably, to the neo-classical paintings of Jacques-Louis David, to the court speeches and printed briefs of barristers denouncing corruption and injustice, reverent images of the ancient republics proliferated, along with praise for political systems in which free, independent, and equal citizens, effortlessly resistant to the blandishments of luxury and *amour propre*, joined together in governing and in defense of the commonwealth.<sup>83</sup>

In strictly political terms, it is true, this republicanism remained detached from day-to-day political argument, for until the very end of the Old Regime, serious constitutional change seemed utterly unimaginable to most French observers. But as a result, French republicanism under the Old Regime tended to express itself less as a political blueprint than as a radical moral critique of *moeurs* and national character. Furthermore, it derived its polemical energy in large part from the contrast it set up between properly organized polities, where male citizens dominated the public arena and women remained in the private, domestic realm of the home, and corrupt polities, where these gender lines became hopelessly blurred.<sup>84</sup> Republican writers consistently argued that the first step toward the establishment of republican male liberty in France lay not in any change of the government, but in restricting the liberty of women. The novelist Jean-Louis Castilhon put the matter most starkly in 1769, in a republican rewriting of d'Espiard's earlier study of nations: "it seems to me that it is through social intercourse with women that the French have lost . . . the qualities which form the republican character . . . Just as there can be no monarchy without nobility, so I do not think there can be a republic with women, or at least where women dominate."<sup>85</sup>

Seen through the prism of republican thought, in other words, the traits of sociability, refinement, and *légèreté*, which, cultivated by women, made up the French national character, had little to recommend them. They kept French men from developing a proper sense of independence, blinded them with vain and

<sup>82</sup> Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme*.

<sup>83</sup> See Franco Venturi, "From Montesquieu to the Revolution," in *Utopia and Reform in the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1971), 70–94; Johnson Kent Wright, *A Classical Republican in Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Thought of Mably* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); Keith Michael Baker, "Transformation of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001): 32–53.

<sup>84</sup> See notably Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Sarah Maza, "Response to Daniel Gordon and David Bell," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 3 (1992): 935–53. In general, on the ways that conceptions of private life influenced political ideas, see Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993); and Hunt, *Family Romance*.

<sup>85</sup> Jean-Louis Castilhon, *Considérations sur les causes physiques et morales de la diversité du génie des mœurs, et du gouvernement des nations* (Bouillon, 1770), 2: 212–13. This book, the first edition of which appeared in 1769, was largely plagiarized from d'Espiard's *L'esprit des nations*.

ephemeral pleasures, distracted them from their civic duties, and made it impossible for them to develop the sense of stern civic virtue, of patriotic devotion, that characterized citizens of a properly organized republic. It is no surprise that the French thinker most clearly indebted to classical republicanism, Abbé de Mably, specifically attributed the French failure to establish a free government to what he termed a servile “national character” shaped by geography and history.<sup>86</sup> *Légèreté* was a deceptively agreeable symptom of deadly disease, the mark of a people on the brink of senile collapse. The only hope lay in a complete transformation of the national character—a reconstruction of the nation.

WE THEREFORE RETURN TO THE PARADOX with which this essay opened. In the eighteenth century, the French came increasingly to see themselves not as a kingdom that took shape solely through the person of the king, nor as a part of a greater Christian commonwealth, but as a freestanding, autonomous nation. The concept became central to French political culture and cultural politics, to the extent that the founding acts and documents of the French revolutionary state invoked the sovereignty of the nation as the highest political principle. And yet, at the very same historical moment, the identity of the French nation was called into radical doubt. The juridical, historical narratives that had defined it were rejected, and the national character that two generations of writers had sketched out in such detail—and contrasted favorably to the English variety—was condemned as corrupt and unsuitable. Therefore, even as the concept of the nation became, symbolically, the foundation stone of the French polity, it was declared not even truly to exist, or, at the very least, to stand in urgent need of reconstruction.

The questions remained as to what form this reconstruction would take and how it would be accomplished, and they elicited many different answers. Some revolutionaries thought the key lay in recovering a pure and virtuous national past that had vanished under the corrupt accretions of absolutism and the court society. This past was located, depending on the authors, in the Renaissance with Henri IV, in the heyday of medieval chivalry, in the days of the Franks, or even with the Gauls before Christ and Caesar.<sup>87</sup> Pierre Pithou’s *Le triomphe des parisiens*, published after the fall of the Bastille, proclaimed: “Frenchmen, you have reconquered your liberty, that liberty of which the first Franks, your ancestors, were jealous; you will again become like them, strong and healthy, like them you will let your beard grow, and you will wear the long hair that they favored.”<sup>88</sup> A curious pamphlet from 1793 actually demanded, in the name of Gaulish liberty, that the country reject the name of France and call itself Gaul once again.<sup>89</sup> Even when no specific historical era was adduced, the language of *recovery*, *reconstruction*, and *rebirth* appeared reflexively

<sup>86</sup> In Abbé de Mably, *Observations sur l’histoire de France* (1765). See Wright, *Classical Republican*, 152–53.

<sup>87</sup> See, for instance, Dussausoy, *Le citoyen désintéressé*, 114; Bertrand Barère, quoted in *Le moniteur*, August 17, 1793; *Pétition pour rendre à la France son véritable nom* (n.p., n.d.). The pamphlet is signed “par Dupin et Lagrange, républicains gaulois.” See Bibliothèque de la Société de Port-Royal, Fonds Révolution 120, no. 45.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in de Baecque, *Body Politic*, 142.

<sup>89</sup> *Pétition pour rendre à la France son véritable nom*.

in nearly all political writing, and the concept of "regeneration," of spurring new growth in old or corrupt tissue, became a touchstone of revolutionary political language.<sup>90</sup> Yet, at the same time, calls were also heard for France to break with its own past entirely and to leap into the future. As Robespierre famously declared, far from returning to the days of the Franks or Gauls, the revolution had put the French two thousand years ahead of the rest of the human race, so that "one is tempted to see them . . . as a different species."<sup>91</sup>

In addition, as both Mona Ozouf and Lynn Hunt have emphasized, the process of construction or regeneration was envisaged in two very different ways. Either it would involve a great and sudden effusion of will, capable, almost miraculously, of blowing down all resistance, or it would take a slow, laborious process of education, of the sort needed to change engrained habits of thought and even the very language people used to express themselves.<sup>92</sup> Particularly under the First Republic, the Jacobins proposed hugely elaborate educational projects aimed at "forming Frenchmen" in primary schools and special language classes, not to mention in patriotic festivals, theatrical productions, and public sessions of the Jacobin clubs, and through books and newspapers.<sup>93</sup>

In the French Revolution itself, the differences over the means and ends of constructing the nation remained largely a difference of rhetorical tropes on the revolutionary left. The same speakers might well invoke both the language of a return to the past *and* a break with the past, of both an effusion of will and of laborious, state-guided change, depending on the circumstances.<sup>94</sup> Rapidly shifting political alignments, and the constraints imposed by government insolvency and external and civil war, made it impossible for stable political programs of nation-building to emerge, or for policies to take shape and be implemented in a coherent manner. Most of the Jacobin projects never even got off the drawing board.

In the nineteenth century, however, as nation-building became a matter of organized party politics and of systematic educational policy, the differences adumbrated at the time of the revolution became more and more significant. The questions of which portions of the French past should be recovered, and how, of the

<sup>90</sup> See Mona Ozouf, "Régénération," in François Furet and Ozouf, eds., *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1988), 821–31; de Baecque, *Body Politic*, 131–56; and Alyssa R. Sepinwall, "Regenerating France, Regenerating the World: The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution, 1750–1831" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1998).

<sup>91</sup> Maximilien Robespierre, *Rapport fait au nom du Comité de Salut Public: Sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et les fêtes nationales* (Paris, 1794), 4.

<sup>92</sup> See Ozouf, "La Révolution française et la formation de l'homme nouveau"; Ozouf, "Régénération"; and Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 72–74.

<sup>93</sup> A comprehensive history of revolutionary cultural policies remains to be written. In the meantime, see Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class*; and Antoine de Baecque and Françoise Mélonio, *Histoire culturelle de la France*, vol. 3 (*Lumières et liberté*) (Paris, 1998). On revolutionary educational policies, see Boulad-Ayoub, *Former un nouveau peuple?*; Dominique Julia, *Les trois couleurs du tableau noir: La Révolution* (Paris, 1981); Bronislaw Baczko, *Une éducation pour la démocratie: Textes et projets de l'époque révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1982); Robert R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s* (New York, 1993), 163–222.

<sup>94</sup> See Ozouf, "La formation de l'homme nouveau," for a particularly acute analysis of this phenomenon.



proper means of integrating peasants into the national whole, and of which values and principles should be inculcated in the process of “forming Frenchmen” became sources of powerful and lasting political divisions.<sup>95</sup> They are differences that continue down to the present day, in which Jean-Marie Le Pen’s National Front parades behind images of Joan of Arc and argues for a program of national reconstruction centered on the expulsion of unwanted aliens, while on the left, the national past invoked is the revolution itself, and nation-building is linked to images of multi-cultural exchange. Between them, a new movement of self-proclaimed “national republicans” harkens back to the Third Republic of the late nineteenth century, and calls sternly for a reimposition of uniform “republican values” on a fragmented and disillusioned population.<sup>96</sup> In short, while the revolutionary era posed the problem of “nation-building” for the first time, and thus opened the era of nationalism in France, it did not thereby point the way toward anything like a national consensus or a stable “national identity.” In France, as elsewhere, the modern nation is what Kathleen Wilson has nicely called a “continuously contested terrain,” while nationalism has proven a doctrine that divides even as it unites.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, when Chénier spoke of “forming Frenchmen” and giving the French nation “its own, unique physiognomy,” just as when d’Azeglio spoke of “making Italians,” he was not so much solving a problem as creating one, and opening a debate about what form the nation should take, which has remained unresolved ever since.

<sup>95</sup> On nineteenth-century French nation-building, see above all Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France* (Stanford, Calif., 1976); Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); James Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1995); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient la France: L'exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique* (Paris, 1997); Jean-François Chanet, *L'Ecole républicaine et les petites patries* (Paris, 1996); Stéphane Gerson, “Parisian Litterateurs, Provincial Journeys and the Construction of National Unity in Post-revolutionary France,” *Past and Present* 151 (1996): 141–73.

<sup>96</sup> See David A. Bell, “The French Republicans,” *Correspondence*, no. 5 (2000): 21.

<sup>97</sup> Kathleen Wilson, “The Island Race: Captain Cook, Protestant Evangelicalism and the Construction of English National Identity, 1760–1800,” in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1999), 265–90, at 268.

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*AHR Forum*  
The English Problem of Identity in the  
American Revolution

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DROR WAHRMAN

IN EARLY 1776, TWO ENGLISH CLERGYMEN had an argument over tea. The first was Richard Price, the pro-American Dissenting minister whose *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* was one of the most influential pamphlets in the run up to the American Revolution. In arguing the case of the colonists, Price commented on their struggles against the tax on tea; "and at BOSTON," he reminded his readers in passing, "some persons in disguise buried it in the sea."<sup>1</sup> Our second interlocutor was the founder of Methodism, John Wesley, who penned one of the most influential responses to Price. Writing with the angry zeal of a recent convert to the anti-American campaign, Wesley could not let such a quick and neutral reference to what became known as "The Boston Tea Party" go by. This event, he stormed indignantly, was an "eminent instance" of the colonists' pernicious fraudulence. "The famous Mr. John Hancock, some time since, brought into Boston, a ship-load of smuggled tea . . . All Europe knows what was done: 'Some persons in disguise,' Doctor Price tells us, 'buried the English tea in the sea.' It was not so commonly known, who employed them, or paid them for their labour: To be sure, good Mr. Hancock knew no more of it than the child unborn!"<sup>2</sup>

How predictable: what one pamphleteering minister accepted as part of a patriotic ideological struggle, his adversary highlighted as a cowardly, self-interested act of fraud. More striking, perhaps, is what this exchange left conspicuously unsaid. As any American child who has ever enacted this originary moment of national mythology in a school play knows, the colonists were disguised as Mohawk Indians: a fact that has since assumed considerable significance in the narrative of American self-fashioning. To cite one recent example, Philip Deloria has described the "powerful imputation of Indian identity" at the Boston Tea Party as "a catalytic moment . . . through which Americans redefined themselves as something other than British Colonists."<sup>3</sup> On our two British commentators, however, this power-

For comments and suggestions, I am grateful to Donna Andrew, David Armitage, Eitan Bar-Yosef, David Bell, Ian Burney, Christopher Clark, Seth Denbo, Rebecca Earle, Jim Epstein, Eliga Gould, Colin Jones, Sarah Knott, and Kathleen Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* . . . , 3d edn. (London, 1776), 64.

<sup>2</sup> John Wesley, *Some Observations on Liberty: Occasioned by a Late Tract* (London, 1776), 6–7.

<sup>3</sup> Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 2, 6; followed by Alfred F. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party* (Boston, 1999), 103–04. Compare, among many, Edward Countryman, *Americans: A Collision of Histories* (New York, 1996), 42–43.

fully catalytic significance of the Indian masquerade seems to have been unglamorously lost. Rather, both chose to convey the meaning of this event by referring simply to its participants being “in disguise,” be that disguise what it may.

On the part of anti-revolutionary English writers, at least, this apparent omission (which was repeated by others<sup>4</sup>) may well have had something to do with an attempt to conjure up a familiar legal analog: one possible frame of reference for interpreting the actions of the Bostonians was that of the Black Act, which made the very act of disguise under such circumstances into a capital offense.<sup>5</sup> But perhaps we can take the explanation further, to the particular significance and resonance of notions of disguise in the English perspective on the events in America during the mid-1770s, significance and resonance that go, I would suggest, to the heart of the ways in which Britons in the second half of the eighteenth century were forced to confront what was probably the most traumatic national crisis of their lives. That the notion of disguise was indeed at the core of these accounts of the Boston Tea Party can perhaps be inferred also from what Wesley did with the story when he came back to it a year later, after the Americans had declared independence. “The Bostonians,” Wesley now wrote, “under the auspices of Mr. Hancock . . . scorning to do any thing secretly, paraded the town at noon-day, with colours flying, and bravely threw the English tea into the sea. This was the first plain overt act of Rebellion.” In this retelling, not only was the disguise of the Bostonians gone, it was replaced by its precise opposite—by absolute transparency, aided by the midday sun (never mind that the actual event had begun at dusk), ensuring that nothing would be done in secrecy. This new perspective proved key to Wesley’s second pamphlet: in declaring independence, he stated, the colonists “wholly threw off the mask,” and showed their true colors “without any disguise, or reserve.”<sup>6</sup> Now that the Americans revealed their true intentions that had formerly been hidden, the Tea Party came to stand metonymically for the whole of the great American fraud. But even as Wesley reversed the narrative of the events in Boston in order to achieve this effect, his repeated recourse to the language of disguise and masquerade only grew stronger and more loaded. By the end of this essay, we may have a better sense why.

In order to get there, what follows suggests that a key subtext of the American war, as experienced by the English, had to do with the realization of the limits and inadequacies of prevalent identity categories, precisely the kind of realization conjured up by such images of disguise and masquerade. In making this assertion,

<sup>4</sup> Compare another response to Price, which likewise recounted how “a small part of the people had separated from the rest in order to disguise themselves; and, being so disguised, entered all the ships, hoisted out the tea, and cast it into the sea.” *Experience Preferable to Theory: An Answer to Dr. Price’s Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* . . . (London, 1776), 64–65. In castigating the Bostonians for “being so disguised,” this writer, too, did not deem any further detail necessary. This repeated oversight is even more significant, given that for writers of Wesley’s frame of mind the association of the colonists with Indians might have become another potentially effective weapon of denigration. For one more example, see *Sagittarius’s Letters and Political Speculations, Extracted from the Public Ledger* (Boston, 1775), 18.

<sup>5</sup> This, for instance, was how the issue was discussed in the House of Commons: *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, vol. 17, 1771–1774 (London, 1813), cols. 1185–86. This omission, moreover, was not due to lack of information—compare col. 940, where the report of the Boston events appears complete, Mohawk disguises and all.

<sup>6</sup> John Wesley, *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England* (London, 1777), 10–13.

as will become clear, my use of "identity" is rather different from the recent excellent scholarship on the effects of the American revolutionary war in Britain (a salutary trend in itself, after many years in which it had been overshadowed by the study of the effects of the French Revolution).<sup>7</sup> This body of work has illuminated "identity" in two primary ways, linked directly to the nature of the event. First, scholars have been taking a closer look at the *political* identities assumed by Britons during this conflict—the making and meaning of their loyalism, radicalism, or self-declared patriotism when faced with the American constitutional crisis that then evolved into the longest colonial war in modern British history. It will be seen, however, that political identities made but little difference to Britons' experiences of the problem of identity categories as discussed in this essay. Second, following the trail blazed by Linda Colley's *Britons*, scholars have reexamined the consequences of the American war for the development of British *national* identity within a reconfigured empire. In what follows, however, despite the importance of the boundaries of the nation to the argument, the focus is not primarily on collective, national identity but rather on those categories that together help constitute individual, *personal* identity. The effect of the revolutionary war to which I want to draw attention, therefore, exceeded the political or military reverberations of the war itself, with meanings and ramifications that were independent of it and that were to assume lives of their own. Indeed, we shall see that this particular effect of the war touched a longstanding raw nerve, a nerve placed under increasing strain decades before the American issue had become even a glint on the horizon, and without which this particular aspect of the crisis could not have been as meaningful as I would like to suggest it was.

In a nutshell, this essay tries to pursue the significance of the fact that, in contrast to other wars in recent memory, the American war was irreducible to any reliable map of "us" and "them" based on a stable criterion of difference. Instead, the tension between sameness and difference—resulting, as we shall see, from the lack of clarity about who the Americans were, enemies or brethren—returned inescapably to undermine and destabilize the rhetoric of all sides. Crucial, therefore, to the way the English experienced the fraught years before and after the declaration of American independence was the fundamental inability to draw clear lines demarcating who was against whom in this national crisis.<sup>8</sup> And this was not for lack of

<sup>7</sup> Key contributions to this burgeoning literature, going beyond the former focus on high politics, policymaking, and constitutional thought (shaped, most notably, by Sir Lewis Namier), include James E. Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the Crown, and Public Opinion* (Macon, Ga., 1986); John Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots: London Supporters of Revolutionary America, 1769–1782* (Montreal, 1987); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Jonathan C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660–1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge, 1994); Peter N. Miller, *Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1994); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), chap. 5; H. T. Dickinson, "The Friends of America: British Sympathy with the American Revolution," in Michael T. Davis, ed., *Radicalism and Revolution in Britain, 1775–1848: Essays in Honour of Malcolm I. Thomis* (Basingstoke, 2000); Eliga H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Americans, for their part, also partook of these unsettling experiences, albeit from their own distinctive angle on the threshold of the new republic. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786–1789," *Journal of American History* 79 (1992):

trying—we shall see observers of all political stripes imposing virtually every identity category imaginable on the American conflict, in repeated and often desperate attempts to create order out of chaos. But these attempts were time and again baffled by the actual complexities of the situation, complexities that exceeded any conceptual tools available for dealing with them.

The consequences of this configuration, to repeat again, went beyond the direct political context. They led to intense pressures on received understandings of identity and to an insistent preoccupation with its constitution: its inherent versus contingent traits, its natural foundations, its boundaries and their possible permeabilities. (Such concerns about the unreliability of identities were precisely what made the idea of “disguise” so beguiling and resonant.) Ultimately, this situation created a sense of an urgent need to counteract the ever-more-apparent inadequacies of familiar notions of identity with new, more reliable ways of conceptualizing differences between people. In short, if the American war pushed the colonists toward a new and largely exhilarating sense of identity, it at the same time forced the English toward a new and largely angst-ridden sense of what identity was really all about to begin with.

SO WHY THE AMERICAN WAR? This war, as so many commentators did not tire from pointing out, was perceived to be at bottom a civil war—what one pamphleteer (anti-American) dubbed “the second civil war” and another (pro-American), “the American civil war.”<sup>9</sup> It is hard to convey—but impossible to miss—the density of such references anywhere one looks in the mid-to-late 1770s, as writers of all sorts competed with each other on detailing the horrors of such an internecine war. “It is not our natural enemy, it is not French or Spaniards, nor rebel Scots, that we are contending with,” exclaimed an anguished American sympathizer; “it is our friends, our brethren, with whom we have this unhappy and unnatural contest.” “The present War,” declared a relentless critic of the Americans, “is of all Wars the most unnatural,” because it is an “unwarrantable civil War.” As the political divergence of these few examples suggests, the many hundreds of similar utterances that one could marshal here came from across the political board, supporters and opponents alike.<sup>10</sup>

This situation has, of course, been noted often by historians, but its ramifications

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841–73; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997). The interesting differences between the American and English experiences cannot be further pursued here. Also, it should be noted that the nature of the evidence used below has limited the focus of this essay to primarily English—rather than more inclusively British—developments.

<sup>9</sup> *Remarks on Dr. Price's Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, &c.* (London, 1776), 34; *Civil War: A Poem, Written in the Year 1775* (n.p., [1775]), 3.

<sup>10</sup> *London Evening Post*, no. 8391 (December 30, 1775–January 2, 1776): 4; *Independency the Object of the Congress in America: or, An Appeal to Facts* (London, 1776), 6, 18. For a quick sample of such utterances on the pro-American side, see the petitions reproduced in Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England*, appendix 1. And see Philip Lawson, “Anatomy of a Civil War: New Perspectives on England in the Age of the American Revolution 1767–82,” *Parliamentary History* 8 (1989): 142–52; Colley, *Britons*, 137; Clark, *Language of Liberty*, 296–303; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, chap. 5; and Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, 184–85.



merit a further look. Inevitably, seeing the conflict as a civil war forced people to reflect—often with considerable apprehension—on their understandings of identity. The “evils of civil war” force us away from being “true to ourselves”; it is particularly pernicious in that “it confounds those distinctions among men which God and nature have established”; it “confound[s] all the social ties of blood.”<sup>11</sup> And so it went on and on: internal strife destabilized the most basic distinctions of “us” and “them,” the good guys and the bad guys, friends and foes. In this war “rag[ing] among brethren!” a fictional figure in a novel subtitled “The Miseries of Civil War” exclaimed with ungrammatical urgency, “whom are *we* . . . to consider them as enemy, and whom as friend?”<sup>12</sup> After all, the supposed enemy was, in the eyes of many, literally the Englishmen’s “brethren”: in relation to the English, the Americans were “of the same language, the same religion, the same manners and customs, sprung from the same nation, intermixed by relation and consanguinity.” And again: “The Americans are properly Britons. They have the manners, habits, and ideas of Britons”; they have in common “the same laws, the same religion, the same constitution, the same feelings, sentiments and habits.” Indeed, summarized one frustrated observer, either the Americans were English, “or they are fallen out of the clouds, or started up in America like mushrooms.”<sup>13</sup> These speakers—and countless more—all shared the strong and painful sense that the Americans and the English were fundamentally the same.

And yet, against each assertion of sameness, one can counterpose an assertion of difference. The particular geographic and political circumstances of this “civil war” allowed many others to deny that it was in fact a civil war at all, and to dispute every aspect of the supposed common ground between Americans and Englishmen. Richard Price himself complained that every Englishman had strong opinions about America, “though perhaps *he does not know what colour they are of, or what language they talk.*”<sup>14</sup> The London physician John Fothergill echoed this assertion of difference: “I soon perceived when the confusion begun,” he wrote, that all sides in the debate in England “were almost total strangers to AMERICA, to the Country, and to its Inhabitants: many, to such a degree, as to be ignorant whence the people sprung; what language they spoke; what religion they professed; nay, of what

<sup>11</sup> *The Delusive and Dangerous Principles of the Minority, Exposed and Refuted, in a Letter to Lord North, by a Friend to the Public* (London, 1778), iii, v; Samuel Stennett, *National Calamities the Effect of Divine Displeasure, A Sermon . . . on Occasion of the General Fast, February 21, 1781* (London, [1781]), 8; *The Complaint: or, Britannia Lamenting the Loss of Her Children; An Elegy, Inscribed to . . . Benjamin Franklin* (London, [1776?]), 2.

<sup>12</sup> [Samuel Jackson Pratt], *Emma Corbett: or, The Miseries of Civil War, Founded on Some Recent Circumstances Which Happened in America* (Dublin, 1780), 173.

<sup>13</sup> In this sample, it may be worth noting once again, some voices were for the American cause and some against it, and for our present purpose it does not really matter which was which. *Observations on American Independency* (n.p., [1779]), 6; *The True Interest of America Impartially Stated, in Certain Strictures on a Pamphlet Intituled Common Sense, By an American*, 2d edn. (Philadelphia, 1776), 52; [Arthur Lee], *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain*, 4th edn. (London, 1776), [3]; *Licentiousness Unmask'd: or, Liberty Explained* (London, [1776]), 40. These assertions were echoing formulations that had been repeated for years, ever since the American crisis had begun to unfold: see Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, 66, 119 and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty . . .*, 8th edn. (Edinburgh, 1776), 22, my emphasis. And see an exasperated response to this observation in *Remarks on Dr. Price's Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, 16.

complexion they were.”<sup>15</sup> Tom Paine’s *Common Sense*, the single most influential pamphlet of the American Revolution, took the argument even further. “The phrase *parent* or *mother country*”—describing England’s relationship to the colonies—masked quite a different truth: “Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America,” since its population consisted of immigrants “from *every part* of Europe.” The arguments based on common ancestry and national identity, according to Paine, foundered against the simple observation that “not one third of the inhabitants . . . are of English descent.” And one royalist pushed this line to a racialized extreme: unlike the loyalists, who displayed “no variety in their appearance, [being] all of one colour—*white*,” those favoring independence were “of all sizes and of all hues! red skins, yellow-skins, green-skins, grey-skins, bay-skins, black-skins, blue-skins!” The colonists, it turned out, were not simply different, they were the embodiment of difference itself.<sup>16</sup>

Little wonder, then, that Fothergill encapsulated the conflict with the words “when the confusion begun.” By the end of such assertions of difference, it turned out that the Americans were strangers to the English in terms of ancestry, religion, complexion, even language. So what common ground did remain, to justify the simultaneous representation of the very same conflict, as both Fothergill and Price found themselves doing, as a civil war involving the “sheath[ing] [of] our swords in the bowels of our brethren”?<sup>17</sup> It is crucial for the argument here that this question did not have, could not have, a stable answer. The fundamental tension between assertions of sameness and difference irrepressibly surfaced and resurfaced, self-contradictory and unresolvable, to destabilize each supposedly well-demarked superimposition of identity categories on the alignments of the American crisis. This, again, was true across the political board: neither side in the conflict had a necessary affinity with one pole or the other of the sameness-difference dyad. Those in favor of American independence could highlight *difference* in order to justify their separation from the mother country, but also *sameness* in order to expose how unnatural was the war waged against them and how truly English their political demands really were.<sup>18</sup> Their opponents, in reverse, could highlight

<sup>15</sup> John Fothergill, *An English Freeholder’s Address, to His Countrymen* (London, 1780), 2; and compare his letter of 1768 cited in P. J. Marshall, “A Nation Defined by Empire, 1755–1776,” in Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London, 1995), 220.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* [1776], in *The Thomas Paine Reader*, Michael Foot and Isaac Kramnick, eds. (Harmondsworth, 1987), 81–82; *A Triumph of the Whigs: or, t’Other Congress Convened* (New York, 1775), 4. For more examples, on both sides of the political divide, see *The Farmer Refuted: or, A More Impartial and Comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies . . .* (New York, 1775), 19; *The Honor of the University of Oxford Defended, against the Illiberal Aspersions of E—d B—e Esq. . .* (London, [1781?]), 27. And compare Colley, *Britons*, 134; Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, 192.

<sup>17</sup> Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, 39; compare Fothergill, *English Freeholder’s Address*, 14.

<sup>18</sup> As has often been pointed out, American radicals and their sympathizers repeatedly presented the Americans as the “undegenerated descendants of their British ancestors,” therefore “desir[ing] a Constitution perfectly English”: [Arthur Lee], *A Speech, Intended to Have Been Delivered in the House of Commons, in Support of the Petition from the General Congress at Philadelphia* (London, 1775), 4; *Morning Post*, no. 707 (February 1, 1774): 4. On the revolution as fueled by Americans’ insistence on their claim for the rights of Englishmen, see John M. Murrin, “A Roof without Walls: The Dilemma of American National Identity,” in Richard Beeman, et al., eds., *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987), 333–48; Jack P. Greene,

*sameness* in order to expose the ungrateful and unnatural essence of the American rebellion, but also *difference* in order to justify the resort to bellicose actions. Even as a civil war, then, this conflict was not stable; whether it was a “civil war” or “the struggle . . . of a nation against a nation” (both formulations were used by Abbé Raynal within a page of each other) depended, again, on the answer to that question that was a key part of what the whole confrontation was about, namely, who the Americans were. Nothing, perhaps, encapsulated this problem more eloquently than the scheme that the *Lady's Magazine* adopted for printing news during this crisis, under three distinct headings: “foreign news,” “home news,” and—evidently impossible to accommodate in either—“America.”<sup>19</sup>

The irreconcilable tensions between assertions of sameness and difference, moreover, were undermining the internal coherence and logical consistency of interventions on both sides. Take, for instance, Matthew Robinson-Morris, the second baron Rokeby. In a passage that evidently influenced Paine's *Common Sense*, Rokeby, too, denied that England was “the parent country” to the Americans. “The fact is very different,” he wrote; the Americans were “hardly our cousins' cousins, and no man knows how far we might mount towards Adam or Noah to settle the real relation between us.” Given this emphasis on almost primordial distance, then, one may be excused the confusion when a few pages later one reads: “We are one nation with the same language, the same manners, and the same religion.” So much for a coherent vision of difference, even within one single text. Another pamphlet of 1774 was no less incongruous: on the one hand, it described “our injured American brethren” as “people, descended from the same stock, governed by the same constitution, laws, religion, and wrapt up in the same common interest,” but on the other hand, it also claimed that “the inhabitants of America are chiefly made up of emigrants from all Europe,” and that they “are a people of a very different complexion from the natives of this island.” So which was it to be? And which was it to be for the anti-American writer who similarly dismissed “the Provincials” as “a Medley of people composed of English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Swedes, Dutch, French and Indians, . . . opposite in manners, religion, and political opinions,” only to end up with a hope for reconciliation, entreating “every American to be a Briton, and every Briton to be an American”?<sup>20</sup>

And yet the point of these observations is surely not simply to catch contemporaries in contradictions, as it were, in some weakness that supposedly invalidated

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“Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution,” in P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. 2: *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), esp. 227–29. As the revolution progressed, however, American assertions of difference naturally grew stronger than those denying this difference.

<sup>19</sup> Abbé [Guillaume] Raynal, *The Revolution in America* (London, 1781), 29–30; *Lady's Magazine*, 1775 and subsequent years. And note the revealingly oxymoronic reference of one M.P., without the least sense of irony, to “a civil war with America”: *Parliamentary History of England*, 18: 186. The dual nature of the American war is captured in the aptly awkward phrase used by P. J. Marshall, “Nation Defined by Empire,” 222, “the war of Britishnesses.”

<sup>20</sup> [Matthew Robinson-Morris, Second Baron Rokeby], *Considerations on the Measures Carrying on with Respect to the British Colonies in North America* (London, 1774); in *English Defenders of American Freedoms 1774–1778: Six Pamphlets Attacking British Policy*, Paul H. Smith, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1972), 64, 81; *America Vindicated from the High Charge of Ingratitude and Rebellion: . . . By a Friend to Both Countries* (Devizes, 1774), 9–10, 22, 24; [John Knox], *The American Crisis, by a Citizen of the World: Inscribed to Those Members of the Community, Vulgarly Named Patriots* (London, 1777), 19, 26.

their positions. This would hardly do as a historical methodology, or as an effective analysis of any political rhetoric in an actual lived debate.<sup>21</sup> Rather, the point is to underscore the inescapable recurrence throughout the rhetoric surrounding the American crisis of such contradictory impulses in irresolvable tension with each other. And far from it being the case that the conflict neatly lined up one party rooting for Anglo-American sameness against another party rooting for Anglo-American difference, in fact each side was rent with this basic tension from within.

Faced with these unsettling pressures, therefore, contemporaries employed various strategies in attempts to get around them—strategies aiming at the wishful reconfiguration of the war along more familiar and tangible lines of difference, lines that could help explain why this war was taking place at all. As we shall see, however, these efforts were doomed to fail, at least during the earlier stages of the conflict. It was precisely this muddle that made the American war such a source of unease about the inadequacies of the notion of identity itself.

AMONG THE LINES OF DIFFERENCE predicated on seemingly clear-cut categories of identity that could serve to disentangle this messy situation, few presented themselves more readily than that of religion. Consider the efforts of the veteran high-Tory political hack John Shebbeare: on the one hand, Shebbeare asserted the common identity of Americans and Englishmen with a shared “*national* mind, if the expression may be allowed me.” On the other hand, Shebbeare explained the “vile and unnatural” rebellion of the colonists in their origins in the Dissenting religious sects that had fled England (including “*a religious sect called Witches*”): “in these dissenters . . . rebellion is as innate and natural, as stealing poultry is in a fox, or killing lambs in a wolf.” This was a radical change of tack: instead of essentializing common national identity, Shebbeare was now essentializing religious difference (a long favorite of his), by declaring Dissenting rebelliousness “innate and natural” like an animal instinct. And the effect could hardly have been more blatant: rebutting Price’s appeal on behalf of “our [American] brethren,” Shebbeare disdainfully asserted (using the words of Jonathan Swift) that they were “our brethren . . . in no other sense, than nature / Has made a rat our fellow creature.”<sup>22</sup> So much for the most common cliché of affinity with the Americans, “our brethren.” So much, indeed, for a vision of a shared political and national identity, which was suddenly metamorphosed into one of innate difference grounded in religion.

<sup>21</sup> Contemporaries, on the other hand, often drew attention to “such contradictory arguments” in the rhetoric of their adversaries, though they typically preferred to see in them proof of the opposition’s cynicism and deception rather than consider the possibility that the problem was perhaps inherent in the conflict itself, affecting all sides. For examples, see David Hartley, *An Address to the Committee of the County of York, on the State of Public Affairs* (London, 1781), 28–29 (quoted); Caleb Evans, *A Reply to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher’s Vindication of Mr. Wesley’s Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (Bristol, [1776]), 26; [Josiah Tucker], *A Series of Answers to Certain Popular Objections, against Separating from the Rebellious Colonies, and Discarding Them Entirely . . .* (Gloucester, 1776), 55; [Tucker], *Tract V: The Respective Pleas and Arguments of the Mother Country, and of the Colonies, Distinctly Set Forth . . .* (Gloucester, 1775), vi.

<sup>22</sup> J[ohn] Shebbeare, *An Essay on the Origin, Progress and Establishment of National Society, in which the Principles of . . . Dr. Price’s Observations, &c. Are . . . Fully Refuted . . .* (London, 1776), 21, 91, 93, 108, 119, 135. Shebbeare’s notoriously splenetic views had been rewarded by a government pension.



From the other corner of the religious arena, consider the Scottish Presbyterian minister John Erskine, in a jeremiad against this “calamitous civil war” against “our own countrymen, connected with us by birth, alliance, or commercial interest, so that we cannot hurt them without injuring ourselves.” Continuing in a similar vein until the final two pages, Erskine suddenly shifted the discussion to an assignation of blame, placing it rather surprisingly on the pernicious proliferation of popery in England. This “truly alarming” development—leading to the increasing demands for toleration—was driven by artifice and subterfuge, not least by “many who would pass for good Protestants.” And thus the connection with the American crisis, however tenuous, was brought in: “the disaffected party on the other side of the water, were particularly active in sending over priests in disguise.”<sup>23</sup> It was on this note that the text ended, leaving the reader who had expected an analysis of the American crisis with the distinct sense that the furtive progress of Catholicism was its real cause. Moreover, not only did Erskine thus shift the line of conflict from the blurred distinctions of an “unnatural” civil war among Britons to the clear and comfortably familiar demarcation between Protestants and Catholics, he also projected its disturbing anxieties from the former to the latter: the problem of unknowable or indeterminable identities—that key problematic of this crisis—was now relocated to the Catholics, those whose cunning artifice would lead them to “pass for good Protestants” and to send “priests in disguise.”

Both Shebbeare and Erskine, then, complicated their emphasis on the natural affinity between the two sides in the American conflict with a shared conviction that religious difference was a key—the key—to making sense of there being two hostile sides to begin with. Not only were these assertions in tension with the affirmations of sameness with which they were coupled, they were also in tension with each other: whereas Erskine explained the war with the aid of the line dividing Catholics from Protestants, Shebbeare focused on that dividing the Church of England from Dissent.<sup>24</sup> Both, indeed, represented familiar positions reproduced by many other speakers as well. Nor were the possibilities here exhausted: the English-born missionary Charles Inglis, for instance, who was similarly convinced that “the present is a *Religious War*,” blamed the crisis—as did Erskine—on the progress of popery, but in reverse: in his own recasting of the conflict, it was the Americans who were under pernicious Catholic influence, not the English.<sup>25</sup> So again, which was it

<sup>23</sup> John Erskine, *Shall I Go to War with My American Brethren? A Discourse Addressed to All Concerned in Determining That Important Question* . . . (Edinburgh, 1776), [iii], 7, 18–19.

<sup>24</sup> The emphasis on the Dissenting descent of the colonists often turned (as it did for Shebbeare) into claims of congenital sedition and republicanism: they were “the offspring of [a] turbulent and bloody race,” and had “an hereditary disaffection to the English constitution.” Indeed, for one such penny geneticist, these “innate principles” rendered the “general character” of the colonists as a nation “so opposite to the noble and generous character of Britons” that the war became immediately comprehensible. *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, no. 711 (February 6, 1775): [1]; Myles Cooper, *National Humiliation and Repentance Recommended, and the Causes of the Present Rebellion in America* . . . (Oxford, 1777), 13; *Considerations on the American War, Addressed to the People of England* (London, 1776), 3–5.

<sup>25</sup> [Charles Inglis], *Letters of Papinian: In Which the Conduct, Present State, and Prospects of the American Congress Are Examined* (New York and London, 1779), 71–73, 78. Compare also *Hypocrisy Unmasked: or, A Short Inquiry into the Religious Complaints of Our American Colonies*, 3d edn. (London, 1776); and *A Short Appeal to the People of Great Britain: Upon the Unavoidable Necessity of the Present War with Our Disaffected Colonies*, 2d edn. (London, 1776). The Quebec Act of 1774 was often put forth as evidence for the charge of ministerial crypto-Catholicism. The latter, moreover, was readily linked



to be—which side was in fact crypto-papist? In the end, no amount of tossing and turning could confer on this contest the crystalline clarity that characterized most of the wars of the eighteenth century, in which unblemished British Protestantism was pitted against the black powers of Catholicism.<sup>26</sup> This particular war was jumbled shades of gray, not black and white.

Now it goes without saying that calling names is part and parcel of every conflict, and thus in and of itself is not much of a step forward in understanding the dynamics of the American one. Rather, the point of this quick taste of the uses of religious distinctions in interpretations of the American conflict is to show the difficulties in coming up with a conceptual map that could fix the differences between the warring sides within a stable categorical scheme. The very fact that contemporaries found themselves resorting to virtually every imaginable permutation of religious demarcations in their attempts to make sense of the conflict—Protestants versus Catholics, Catholics versus Protestants, orthodox versus heterodox Protestants—is in itself eloquent testimony to the basic *lack* of clarity in figuring out who was against whom and why. Moreover, whatever scheme one chose, the ineradicable tension between assertions of sameness and difference came back to undermine its coherence: at the same time that religion was claimed to be a splitting wedge separating Americans from Englishmen, it was also seen as a unifying bond pulling them together—“our Protestant Brethren.” The bottom line, then: religious identity, in any shape or form, did not prove capable of becoming the sword that could cut through the American war’s Gordian knot.<sup>27</sup>

AS THE WAR BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICANS continued to unfold, another strategy of establishing distance from one’s adversaries presented itself through the invocation of the so-far silent participants in this drama, namely the North American Indians. To describe this section as dealing with “racial” identity categories is of course anachronistic, since eighteenth-century Anglo-Americans were still undecided as to whether human differences like those distinguishing Europeans from Indians were innate and congenital (what today would be described as racial), climatic and assumable (which can therefore affect people who move from one geographical zone to another), or historical and developmental (thus placing Indians and Europeans on different points in the chronological continuum from barbarity to civilization). But we should not assume that the lack of conceptual clarity made the arguments delineating difference through such

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to that of *Scottish* influence—another line of distinction between people that some used to make sense of the American war, in ways that cannot be pursued here.

<sup>26</sup> Of course, as Eliga Gould reminds us, *Persistence of Empire*, 7, in truth these earlier eighteenth-century wars were not really all that clear cut in terms of their religious alignments, with Britain often finding itself joining forces with Catholic allies (like the devoutly Catholic queen Maria Theresa in the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s). But these earlier conflicts had been readily *representable* as following unambiguous religious lines, a feat that proved much more elusive for the American war.

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Clark, *Language of Liberty*, 305, has claimed the American war to have been “the last great war of religion in the western world.” Perhaps. But what the present argument suggests—and what Clark may have failed to appreciate sufficiently—is that many people had a pressing stake in trying to portray it in just this way.

categories any less effective. On the contrary, this lack of clarity facilitated attempts on both sides to deflect the anxieties incumbent upon an unnatural civil war by associating and even conflating the enemy with the savage if not unnatural barbarity of the Indians. Such rhetorical moves were triggered by the repeated appeals to the Indians by both the English and the Americans for military support.

On the pro-American side, nobody made the case more sensationally than Edmund Burke, who was infuriated by British efforts to recruit "every Class of savages and Cannibals the most cruel and ferocious." Burke illustrated "their way of making war, which was so horrible," with memorable, graphic scenes of Indians torturing, scalping, and cannibalizing. Even better than Shebbeare's witches, there was nothing like cannibals to establish ultimate and unbridgeable difference. And from here it was but a short step for others to accuse the British themselves, associating with those "*unnatural and savage*" Indian allies, of "Cruelties (O! Shame to Britain) unknown to the most Savage Nations."<sup>28</sup>

The other side was equally melodramatic. The Americans, too, were repeatedly denounced for mobilizing "the wild Indians, those tawny savage beings, who resemble Devils more than men . . . against the King's troops." A reputed incident at Lexington, "a tale so shocking to humanity," when two wounded British soldiers were allegedly "scalped by the savage Provincials," clinched the case: having "throw[n] off the mask," the colonists themselves were turning "savage" like their Indian allies (and thus, needless to say, distinctly different from the British).<sup>29</sup> To be sure, when one Tory claimed that the rebels' rhetoric revealed them as "*Indian chiefs*," savages whose "*Os frontis*," according to "the observation of a learned physiognomist," was "uncommonly flat," his tongue was firmly in cheek. But even if the Americans were not coming to resemble the Indians physically (although a writer for the *London Evening Post*, for one, clearly believed in the possibility of mistaking an Indian for an American), they could readily be depicted as choosing to be like them. After all, their actions betrayed a predilection—in the words of Wesley's friend and disciple John Fletcher—for "the lawless liberty of a *savage*, who lives under no sort of government" instead of "the lawful liberty of a *subject*, who is protected by a civil government."<sup>30</sup> The Americans, quipped another, "Prefer their Mohawks, and their Creeks, / To Romans, Britons, Swiss, or Greeks." In their active preference for "the native unrestrained Freedom of a Savage" over "being Men," the Americans chose to shed their European identity and shade into an

<sup>28</sup> Edmund Burke, Speech on the Use of Indians, February 6, 1778 ("universally thought the very best [speech] Mr. Burke had ever delivered"), in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, W. M. Eofson and J. A. Woods, eds. (Oxford, 1996), 3: 356, 361; Burke, Draft Petition on Use of Indians [1775; never used], p. 180 (and compare his Address to the King and his Address to the Colonists, both of January 1777, pp. 267, 281–82). *The Crisis*, no. 21 (June 10, 1775): 135; no. 49 (December 23, 1775): 322. Compare also Thomas Day, *Reflexions upon the Present State of England, and the Independence of America* (London, 1782), 25.

<sup>29</sup> *London Evening Post*, no. 8393 (January 4–6, 1776): 3; *An Address to the People on the Subject of the Contest between Great-Britain and America* (London, 1776), 10; [John Lind], *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* (London, 1776), 56, 102.

<sup>30</sup> *London Evening Post*, no. 8509 (October 1–3, 1776): 2; Thomas Bolton, as cited in Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif., 1993), 75; [John] Fletcher, *American Patriotism Farther Confronted with Reason, Scripture, and the Constitution* . . . (Shrewsbury, 1776), 62. For a denial of the alleged affinity between Americans and Indians, claiming that they were "totally distinct," see [Lee], *Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain*, 15.

Indian one. The ensuing unreliability of identity categories was further signaled by the phrases that this last writer chose to characterize the American rebels: "men disguis'd," "Ambiguous Things," and "men undefin'd, by any Rules."<sup>31</sup>

It was even better to transport the troubling unease about unreliable distinctions between people still further away, to the Indians themselves. Perhaps the most common trope in describing "the merciless Indian Savages" was their "known rule of warfare [which] is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." "Their way of making war is well known. They spare neither age nor sex."<sup>32</sup> The characterization of the Indians as blind to these fundamental distinctions between people was repeated endlessly and even made it into the Declaration of Independence. More than scalping or cannibalizing, it became *the* formulaic hallmark of barbarity, on the opposite pole to civilization; and as such, we can find both sides trying to taint their adversaries with this sign of savagery, as if it rubbed off on them from their Indian allies.<sup>33</sup> The key point here, again, is that the inability to maintain clear distinctions, that inability haunting this conflict, was now projected onto the Indians, and thus as far from one's own domain as possible. In the most explicit projection, the Indians were declared unable to distinguish *friend from foe*—precisely the formulation that captured so resonantly the problematic of this civil war. The Indians, Burke roared, "murder man woman and child—friend and foe in one promiscuous carnage." Their "most barbarous acts of cruelty" were "without discrimination of friend or foe," echoed another. This latter enunciation was provoked by the incident that most famously provided tangible proof of this seeming inability of the Indians to discriminate between people. This sombre event was the death of Jane M'Crea: a young Tory woman who was engaged to one of General Burgoyne's lieutenants, but on the eve of her wedding she was shot and scalped by Indians siding with the British, who had mistaken her for a rebel.<sup>34</sup>

The Indians, then, turned out to be unable to tell apart a white friend from a white foe: the ultimate demonstration, in the hands of Burke and so many others, of how different they actually were. Only that, by now, what seemed at first a strategy of distancing the enemy, and thus of clarifying the muddled mapping of who was against whom in this conflict, doubled back to achieve precisely the

<sup>31</sup> *The Patriots of North-America: A Sketch, with Explanatory Notes* (New York, 1775), 3, 12, 18, 27, 33, 39n (this pamphlet was prefaced with the assertion that it was written for English as well as American readers). On the other side, note Edward Long's apologetic assertion that England's Indian alliances did not turn them into cannibalistic savages: Long, *English Humanity No Paradox: or, An Attempt to Prove, That the English Are Not a Nation of Savages* (London, 1778), 82.

<sup>32</sup> [Lind], *Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*, 106; *London Evening Post*, no. 8475 (July 16, 1776): 4. These two examples, again, came from the opposite sides of the political spectrum.

<sup>33</sup> For examples of the Americans as unable to distinguish men, women, and children, see "Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Lieutenant-General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth," in *Gentleman's Magazine* 45 (September 1775): 446; William Allen, *The American Crisis: A Letter, Addressed by Permission to the Earl Gower . . . on the Present Alarming Disturbances in the Colonies . . .* (London, 1774), 13 (here associated with the practice of slavery). For examples on the opposite side, see *The Conquerors, A Poem Displaying the Glorious Campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777, &c. &c.* (London, [1778]), 56, 58; and Burke's sarcasm of General Burgoyne's speech to the Indians in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, 3: 361. Also compare Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, 196–97.

<sup>34</sup> Burke, draft of the Speech on the Use of Indians, February 6, 1778, in *Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, 3: 366; *Boston Gazette*, as cited in Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1982), 138, and see 137–39 for the story of Jane M'Crea.

opposite. When the earl of Chatham painted for the House of Lords a graphic image of “the massacres of the Indian scalping knife, [and] the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!”—when he wallowed in the poignancy of these images, he was in fact using the unbridgeable distance from the Indians to shore up his anger at a war leveled against people who were *not* substantially different from the English. It is impossible to justify, he exclaimed, “turn[ing] loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion.” And if these alleged barbarities involved the “indiscriminate murder” of “any white person, whether European or American” (as former Governor of Massachusetts Thomas Pownall put it to the House of Commons), or the inability to tell which side Jane M’Crea was on, was it really because the Indians were simply indiscriminate savages, or because this situation did not offer them any stable distinctions between the warring parties to hold onto?<sup>35</sup>

The same niggling question was raised also by other invocations of the Indians, focusing not on their presumed cruelty but rather on their natural sagacity. Many stories circulated about Indians who reacted to the American war in words similar to those of the Oneida chiefs and warriors: “we cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers, the quarrel seems unnatural . . . The present situation of you two brothers is new and strange to us.”<sup>36</sup> Invoking the Indian presence, then, rather than somehow helping in sorting out the distinctions underlying the American war, achieved the reverse. Whether it was the image of the ravaging Indians killing the indistinguishable Jane M’Crea or of the puzzled Indians watching an incomprehensible war, the outcome did little to alleviate those difficulties in pinning down categories of identity that could have dispersed the cloud of confusion surrounding this conflict.

A COUPLE OF CONTEMPORARY COMMENTS in the previous section—those invoking the American penchant for the “savage” state of nature—gestured toward an aspect of the conflict that has hitherto been missing from this discussion: the ideology of the American Revolution. But, of course, the egalitarian ethos permeating the rhetoric of the revolution, and its appeal to original natural rights, fed—at least for some—directly into the broader anxieties about the threat to familiar distinctions between people. Thus imagine, for instance, the possible reactions of the Cambridge audience of Richard Watson, the Whiggish future bishop of Llandaff, to a sermon in 1776, which he opened with the following words: “Mankind may be considered as one great aggregate of equal and independent individuals, whom various natural and moral causes have been contributing for above four thousand years to disperse over the surface of the earth . . . God, as an impartial parent, has

<sup>35</sup> *Genuine Abstracts from Two Speeches of the Late Earl of Chatham* . . . (London, 1779), 55–57 (and compare 39). Pownall’s speech, of February 6, 1778, is cited in *A View of the History of Great-Britain, during the Administration of Lord North* . . . in Two Parts (London, 1782), 293n.

<sup>36</sup> *London Evening Post*, no. 8463 (June 15–18, 1776): 4; and compare no. 8244 (January 26–28, 1775): 4. Other examples include *General Evening Post*, no. 6587 (March 12–14, 1776): 3; Raynal, *Revolution in America*, 128–29.



put us all upon a level; we are all sprung from the same stock, born into the world under the same natural advantages." Watson continued with his discourse on equality for awhile and summed it up as a natural law: "An inferiority of one Species of Beings to another, and an equality of individuals in the same Species, are general Laws of nature, which pervade the whole System."<sup>37</sup> The natural distinction between species was for Watson a backdrop for the denial of the naturalness of any distinctions between humans: and one could readily see such language as a potential threat to the received map of categories with which people made sense of others around them. Even Burke, close as he was to the American revolutionaries, saw the danger: "it is this very rage for equality, which has blown up the Flames of this present cursed War in America. I am, for one, entirely satisfied, that the inequality, which grows out of the *nature of things* by time, custom, succession, accumulation, permutation, and improvement of property, is much nearer that true equality, which is the foundation of equity and just policy." Alarmed by the possible implications of the American case, Burke was asserting here (as he was to do many times subsequently) that it is the social distinctions themselves—rather than their erasure—that have an essential basis in "the nature of things."<sup>38</sup>

Critics of the Americans, therefore, were quick to point out the subversive implications of their position for maintaining the fundamental distinctions between people. One common trope—feeding also on the well-known truncated social structure of the colonies—was that of the cobbler-turned-prince and vice versa. American pretensions and insubordination, suggested Adam Ferguson, were encouraged when "one man is brought from behind the counter, to be member of a sovereign Congress; . . . [and] another from a barber to be a colonel." American republicanism, asserted "Integer," "turns cobblers into kings, and gentlemen into pedlars." Upon American independence, "all ranks and distinctions will fall to the ground," echoed a third; "Men of fortune"—the words of a fourth—will "place themselves, and their Wives and Children, on a Footing with the meanest Peasants."<sup>39</sup> For some anti-American writers—though not too many—this vision of subversion of social boundaries was conveniently joined with a clear-cut mapping of the conflict along the lines of social divisions. The generality of the rebels, Henry Hunter explained dismissively, "have not much property of their own," and indulge in this rebellious act with the hope of appropriating that of their neighbors. "Every man of property" supports the government, affirmed another; while those who oppose it are "those who have neither *property* nor *character* to lose." The revolution was basically easy to make sense of if it could be seen as a war of the propertyless against the propertied.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Richard Watson, *The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated: In a Sermon Preached before the University of Cambridge, on Wednesday, May 29, 1776* (Cambridge, 1776), 1–4.

<sup>38</sup> Edmund Burke to John Bourke [November 1777], in *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, G. H. Guttridge, ed., vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1961), 403.

<sup>39</sup> [Adam Ferguson], *Remarks on a Pamphlet Lately Published by Dr. Price, Intituled, Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty . . .* (London, 1776), 42; *Letters to the High and Mighty United States of America, by Integer . . .* (New York and London, [1780]), 47; *A Letter to Lord North, on His Re-election into the House of Commons, by a Member of Parliament* (London, 1780), 34; *Independency the Object of the Congress in America*, 44.

<sup>40</sup> [Henry Hunter], *A National Change in Morals, in Measures, and in Politics Necessary to National Prosperity: A Discourse Preached on . . . the Day Appointed for a General Fast* (London, 1780), 37; Letter



Such observations on the dangers of leveling are of course a familiar outcome of the debate on natural equality in the American Revolution. But the perspective of the present essay allows us perhaps to see them from a different angle. Arguably, their resonance should be seen, at least on the British side, against the backdrop of the more diffuse and less articulated unease generated by this crisis, unease that both increased the emotional charge of this intellectual debate and was in turn fueled by it. At the same time that these were commentaries on the potential subversion of social hierarchy entailed by ideas of natural rights and natural equality, they were also ways of talking about the danger that colored how Britons experienced this conflict from the start—namely, the unsettling of those categories of identity that had previously been comfortably reliable.

To see this different angle, let us take a second look at some of the examples just quoted. “Integer,” for instance, did not limit the vision of the consequences of American actions only to the subversion of social distinctions: “we may therefore justly expect to have, in a little time, a black assembly, a black council, a black governor, and a black Common Wealth; so that we shall soon be ‘black and all black.’” Not only social distinctions but also racial ones were under threat. Likewise, the anonymous writer who predicted that men of fortune in America would end up “on a footing with the meanest Peasants” also foresaw in the same breath that American society would be reduced to “*Whites, Indians and Blacks*, promiscuously cutting each others Throats,” thus again linking the commingling of social categories with that of racial ones. And Henry Hunter, who tried to portray the revolution as a well-defined act of the propertyless against the propertied, ended up losing his confidence in this supposedly clear demarcation, admitting that the only way to restore satisfactory clarity to this war—a war unlike any other—was by physically separating all the supporters of America and persuading them to undertake “voluntary exile.” In all these cases, the critique of the social implications of the revolution was inseparable from the by-now-familiar unease about the broader threat it posed to the integrity of identity itself.<sup>41</sup>

It would not be difficult to carry on this exercise for many pages. The ideology of the American Revolution could be—and was—associated with the subversion of every basic identity category, thus shading easily into the concerns about the inadequateness of these categories. As John Fletcher put it succinctly, “to attempt to bring about a representation equal *in every respect*, is as absurd as to attempt making all our fellow-subjects of one size, one age, one sex, one country, one revenue, one rank, and one capacity.”<sup>42</sup> But we may wonder whether the ideology of the revolution could, in and of itself, do the extensive cultural work necessary to produce these concerns in so many different forms. Rather, it may be suggested that it was the wider context of the American crisis, within which these aspects of the revolutionary ideology unfolded, that infused them with an additional powerful

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to Lord North in *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, no. 708 (February 2, 1775): 1. Compare *The Voice of God: Being Serious Thoughts on the Present Alarming Crisis* . . . (London, 1775), 10.

<sup>41</sup> *Letters to the High and Mighty United States of America*, by Integer, 29, 76; *Independency the Object of the Congress in America*, 47; [Hunter], *National Change in Morals*, iv, 21–22, 40.

<sup>42</sup> Fletcher, *American Patriotism Farther Confronted with Reason*, 27. Compare Fletcher, *Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Wesley’s “Calm Address to Our American Colonies,”* 61–62.

charge. The subversion of social distinctions could be used metonymically to talk about the more general problem haunting this war, that of the indeterminacy of identity. The same—*vide* Fletcher—was true when possible fault lines within *any* category of identity were brought up: which brings us to one further category that was peculiarly well suited to convey all these elements together—that of gender.

IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, GENDER DISTINCTIONS WERE introduced into the American revolutionary debate as further blows—indeed, for some, the coup de grace—to colonial notions of equality and representation. John Fletcher, quoted in the previous paragraph with regard to the leveling of all categories of distinction, was in fact preoccupied to the greatest (not to say obsessive) extent with that of gender: namely, with the absurd inducement given by the American position to women to stop obeying their husbands and demand the vote themselves, a position no more sensible than recommending “for all the women who have freeholds in England, to change their sex.” In this, Fletcher was echoing the repeated barbs of his mentor, John Wesley (“by what right . . . do you exclude women, any more than men, from chusing thei[r] own governors?”), as well as many other anti-independence writers who warned against the imminent collapse of gender distinctions and matrimonial order. On one level, then, such arguments offered gender subversion as another example of the undermining of accepted identity distinctions that was projected onto the Americans; to this extent, they had the same rhetorical effect as pointing out that American ideas will bring votes to blacks or Indians.<sup>43</sup> But beyond this direct, explicit link to the immediate political consequences of undermining gender distinctions, gender appears to have performed a broader function in this debate: namely, in providing a convenient way of talking about the bigger issues of identity categories and their threatening inadequacies as they were raised by this crisis.

Once we begin looking, instances of gender distinctions introduced in this fashion into the rhetoric surrounding the American Revolution prove remarkably thick on the ground. Often, the indirect role of such references is signaled by the seemingly gratuitous manner in which they were grafted onto the argument. Take, for instance, a pamphlet of John Cartwright’s that concluded a discussion of the American crisis (a discussion strewn throughout with references to natural identity categories and the dangers of their subversion) with an unexpected four-page-long analogy of the British-American relationship to that of a courtship, involving a manly, protective suitor and a demure, tearful, feminine virgin; a lovely couple whose properly constituted marriage will resolve all. Carried far beyond what was required to make a rather simple political point, this analogy allowed Cartwright to

<sup>43</sup> Fletcher, *Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Wesley’s “Calm Address to Our American Colonies,”* 16–17; Fletcher, *American Patriotism Farther Confronted with Reason*, 25, 60–63; Wesley, *Some Observations on Liberty*, 12–16. And see the heated argument over which side was preparing the ground “for what, in vulgar phrase, is styled *petticoat government*” between Evans, *Reply to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher’s Vindication of Mr. Wesley’s Calm Address*, 74–75, and Fletcher’s *American Patriotism Farther Confronted with Reason*, 36–37. Other examples include *Opposition Mornings: With Betty’s Remarks* (London, 1779), 11–12; [David Williams], *The Morality of a Citizen: In a Visitation Sermon . . .* (London, 1776), 9–10. For a warning that the American ideology will lead to votes for Indians, see John Martin, *Familiar Dialogues between Americus and Britannicus . . .* (London, 1776), 57–59.

wax sentimental, in a seemingly superfluous digression, on the meaning of gender distinctions and proper gender roles in marriage, as a roundabout commentary on what was going wrong in current events.<sup>44</sup>

The examples of American-war-related comments that seemed to make similar moves are too numerous to reproduce here. To give but a flavor of a few, they included a bizarrely disconnected association of the British side with a “hermaphrodite ass, [who] would not be without its use, if it had but a sex”; an anti-American outburst that conjured up not only Catharine Macaulay’s “Amazonian fire” (she did, after all, intervene in the debate) but also a completely gratuitous image of “Woffingtons in breeches” (Woffington being an early eighteenth-century actress, long dead, who had made her reputation in male “breeches parts”); an American war novel subtitled “The Miseries of Civil War,” which combined heavy-handed depictions of unnatural family disruption with another disruption of nature in the shape of a woman forced—against her nature, of course, but also against the narrative logic of the novel—to dress as a man; and even a mock report of a “trial” of the sexually ambiguous castrati singers, who had formerly been much in vogue, resulting in the suggestion that their expulsion to America would be “the most effectual way of putting an end to all our intestine broils and disturbances.” No less.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps even richer in such allusions was the flurry of publications at this time—one might be tempted to call them a mini-genre—of allegorical visions and topical flights of fancy: among those, indeed, it may take some effort to find one that does *not* introduce subverted gender boundaries into its commentary on current events. Many revolved around the contrast between unfeminine women (“Begirt, bebooted, and bebuckler’d”) and feminized men (“Betrim’d, beribbon’d, and belac’d”) or, similarly, between manly, unnatural women and properly feminine, maternal ones. Others conjured up allegorical villains characterized by gender transgression, like the Tory vision that portrayed the Americans being led astray by a double-sexed seducer, maid by day and rake by night, joined later by Lady Discord, herself a disgusting, unfeminine Amazon.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> [John Cartwright], *A Letter to Edmund Burke, Esq: Controverting the Principles of American Government, Laid Down in His Lately Published Speech on American Taxation* . . . (London, 1775), 25–28. The same simile, to the same purpose, is repeated in *A Letter to Those Ladies Whose Husbands Possess a Seat in Either House of Parliament* (London, 1775), 7–9.

<sup>45</sup> *An English Green Box: or, The Green Box of the R—t H—e E—D L—D Churllow* . . . (London, 1779), 92 (and note the imputation of social and racial indistinctiveness to Lord Thurlow in 100–01). *Liberty and Patriotism: A Miscellaneous Ode, with Explanatory Notes, and Anecdotes* (London, 1778), 2, 11 (and note the subversion of social boundaries invoked there as well). [Pratt], *Emma Corbett: or, The Miseries of Civil War*; for a reading of this novel along these lines, see my “Percy’s Prologue: From Gender Play to Gender Panic in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Past and Present* 159 (1998): 156–59. *The Remarkable Trial of the Queen of the Quavers, and Her Associates* . . . (London, 1778), quoted, 147 (and see J. P. Carson, “Commodification and the Figure of the Castrato in Smollett’s *Humphry Clinker*,” *The Eighteenth Century* 33 [1992]: 37). To this aspect of the debate, we may also link the curious rumor that George Washington, the father of the new American nation, was in truth a woman: see *Daily Advertiser*, January 25, 1783, in D’Eon MSS, Brotherton Library, Leeds University, England, second volume of newspaper cuttings.

<sup>46</sup> *XSMWPDRI BVNWLYX: or, The Sauce Pan* (London, 1781), quoted 41, 55; *The Patriots: or, An Evening Prospect on the Atlantic* . . . (London, 1777). Other examples include *An Epistle from a Young Lady to an Ensign in the Guards, upon His Being Ordered to America* (London, 1779); *Matrimonial Overtures, from an Enamour’d Lady, to Lord G— G—rm—ne* (London, 1778); *The Castle of Infamy: A Poetical Vision in Two Parts* (London, 1780); [Joseph Peart], *A Continuation of Hudibras in Two Cantos, Written in the Time of the Unhappy Contest between Great Britain and America, in 1777 and 1778*

Furthermore, subverted gender roles and boundaries not only provided a convenient way of talking about instabilities of identities, they also had more specific overtones in the particular imagery surrounding this “unnatural” civil war. We have seen the war conceptualized as an unnatural family affair or domestic strife; in fact, it has long since been suggested that the language of disrupted family relations was “the very lingua franca of the revolution.” In itself, this fact is hardly surprising. But its consequences are relevant: for it was but a short step from the anxiety about a malfunctioning family to that about proper gender roles on which the family is predicated, be they in the aforementioned relationship between husband and wife or that between parent—especially mother—and child. Was Great Britain a caring or an unnatural—and unfeminine—mother to the colonies? Was King George an unnatural father? This was a question, as Jay Fliegelman has brilliantly shown, that reverberated with considerable consequences throughout the American crisis.<sup>47</sup> One satirical attack on the king gendered him as feminine, “Queen Georgiana,” in order to be able to describe him as an “unnatural” mother who “threw off the gauze covering of ceremony, renounced her natural feelings,” and went to war against her own son. A government supporter, by contrast, stressed, perhaps over-literally, that Britain-as-mother was “more than equal to any of her sex,” in contrast to her main detractor, Dr. Price, who was a bachelor, and therefore “knows but little . . . of the tender feelings of a parent.”<sup>48</sup> Such references to family relationships and their disruptions were also clear and immediate references to proper gender roles and adequate gender identities.

The impact of this preoccupation with subverted gender boundaries as a metonymic representation of the problem of the American war, however, appears to have gone far beyond the context of the political debate, and thus requires a wider perspective on its late 1770s English context. These very years, it turns out, witnessed a far-reaching shift in cultural attitudes toward gender categories and their possible limitations. Elsewhere, I have suggested that from the 1780s onward we can see a sharp increase in anxieties about the potential fault lines of gender categories and an increasing unwillingness to contemplate that they may prove

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(London, 1778); *The Family In-Compact, Contrasted with the Family Compact* . . . (London, 1778); *Heroick Epistle from Hamet the Moor, Slipper-Maker in London, to the Emperor of Morocco* . . . (London, 1780). To be sure, gender concerns turned up in the context of other wars as well—think of the critiques of effeminacy during the Seven Years’ War. But in the case of the American war, these concerns went far beyond the predictable comments on the war as a test (whether failed or successful) of manliness against womanish opponents, becoming a conspicuous and multifaceted subtext that cannot be subsumed under the familiar patterns of wartime machismo.

<sup>47</sup> E. G. Burrows and M. Wallace, “The American Revolution: The Ideology and Psychology of National Liberation,” *Perspectives in American History* 6 (1972), quoted, 168; Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*. See also Winthrop D. Jordan, “Familial Politics: Thomas Paine and the Killing of the King, 1776,” *Journal of American History* 60 (1973), esp. 299–301. The common “metaphoric transfer of civil war from an external, political realm to inner conflict over sexual choice and the proper gender roles” is discussed in Margaret R. Higdonnet, “Civil Wars and Sexual Territories,” in Helen M. Cooper, et al., eds., *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), quoted, 87; and compare also the analogous argument about the effects of the intra-Grecian Peloponnesian War in Page duBois, *Centaur and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982).

<sup>48</sup> *The Annals of Administration, Containing the Genuine History of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Colonius Her Son: A Biographical Fragment* . . . (London, 1775), 14, 16, 19; Martin, *Familiar Dialogues between Americus and Britannicus*, 5, 40.



porous or inadequate, even in extraordinary circumstances. This shift, which I have labeled “gender panic,” can be seen across a wide array of cultural indicators, all of which point to a conspicuous distance between late eighteenth-century English understandings of gender and those of the earlier decades, characterized as they had been by considerable tolerance toward precisely those kinds of gender elasticities that later came to be seen as so threatening. Figures that embodied the limitations of gender categories—the female warrior, the macaroni, the Amazon, the lachrymose man of feeling, the female politician—had been acknowledged throughout most of the eighteenth century as possible and at times even seductive alternatives to prevailing norms of masculinity and femininity. But in the last couple of decades of the century, they all became culturally unintelligible, socially unacceptable, and allegedly unimaginable.<sup>49</sup>

In fact, a closer look at the chronology of these developments during the late 1770s and early 1780s shows a double movement: first, an intensified preoccupation with those markers of gender play that had been stock themes throughout the previous decades, and then an anxious reaction, resulting in the repression of those same themes. The former phase was apparent, for instance, in the spate of dramatic pieces spawned by the American war with self-explanatory if repetitive titles, such as *The Female Officer* (1778), *The Female Chevalier* (1778), *The Female Captain* (1779), and *The Female Warriors* (1780), not to mention the dozens of female soldiers strutting about in numerous representations of the military camps of these years, often drawn in sharp contrast to their languishing effeminate male inhabitants.<sup>50</sup> The heightened preoccupation with gender boundaries, moreover, was also expressed in cultural forms and events that had, on the face of it, little or nothing to do with the war. These included the universal fascination in 1777–1778 with the chevalier D’Eon, whose story of sexual masquerade—having been declared (erroneously) to have been throughout his military and diplomatic career a cross-dressed woman—conveniently broke out just at the right time to crystallize this general interest, or—in what was perhaps the most baroque manifestation of this interest (as well as its swan song)—George Colman’s eccentric production of John Gay’s *Beggar’s Opera* with all characters gender-reversed (1781).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See Wahrman, “Percy’s Prologue”; and Dror Wahrman, “Gender in Translation: How the English Wrote Their Juvenal, 1644–1815,” *Representations* 65 (Winter 1999): 1–41. The full case is presented in my forthcoming *The Making of the Modern Self* (tentative title), New Haven, Conn., chaps. 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> Examples of dramatic productions involving female soldiers include Robert Ashton, *The Battle of Aughrim: or, The Fall of Monsieur St. Ruth, a Tragedy* . . . (Dublin, 1777); Richard Sheridan, *The Camp* [1778], in *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, C. Price, ed. (Oxford, 1973); Frederick Pilon, *The Liverpool Prize: A Farce* . . . (London, 1779); *Buthred: A Tragedy* . . . (London, 1779), epilogue; [Edward Neville], *Plymouth in an Uproar* [1779], Larpent MSS, Huntington Library, no. 493; [George Downing], *The Volunteers: or, Taylors, to Arms! A Comedy* . . . (London, 1780); [Elizabeth Craven], *The Miniature Picture: A Comedy* . . . (London, 1781), epilogue; [John Scawen], *The Girl in Stile* [1786] (but written earlier), Larpent MSS, no. 749. The expectation, which such representations reinforced, for women of “a masculine nature” in the military camps was interestingly revealed and queried in a letter from Cambridge, New England, November 20, 1777; in [Thomas Anburey], *Travels through the Interior Parts of America, in a Series of Letters, by an Officer* (London, 1789), 2: 39–40. And see Robert W. Jones, “Notes on *The Camp*: Women, Effeminacy and the Military in Late Eighteenth-Century Literature,” *Textual Practice* 11, no. 3 (1997): 463–76.

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed discussion of these developments, see my “Percy’s Prologue.” I have drawn attention there to David Garrick’s prologue to Hannah More’s sentimental tragedy *Percy*, which wallowed in gender transgression in numerous forms, as a convenient epitome of this interest at this particular



Overall, then, allowing for a short time lag between the political debate and the broader cultural scene, it is at least very suggestive to see both the surge of intense interest in the limits of gender categories in the late 1770s and the intense discomfort with which these limits were met from the early 1780s as two sides of the same coin, directly linked to the specter of unreliable identities that the American war had raised in such a loaded manner. On the one hand, the broader cultural context can help us understand the topicality and resonance of those often gratuitous invocations of markers of gender subversion that we have seen introduced into the American debate. Catharine Macaulay's "Amazonian fire," the gratuitous image of "Woffingtons in breeches," unfeminine women, female warriors, delicate feminized men—the significance of all these images, and many more, can only be appreciated against the backdrop of this wider contemporary preoccupation with the types and stereotypes on which they were drawing. On the other hand, it is the specific political context of the American conflict, which generated the unease about the limitations of identity categories explored in this essay, that may help us account for the puzzling cultural shift that seems to have abruptly overtaken British understandings of gender during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

BEFORE MOVING ON to the concluding sections of this essay, let us take stock of the argument thus far. But rather than simply retracing our steps, we can follow the insightful analysis of Allan Ramsay, the former portrait painter to George III, which he put forth in 1775 with remarkable self-confidence as "the single light" that will dispel "the sophistry of the American Pamphleteers." Ramsay explained at length why the Americans found such sophistry necessary. "The English Nation has hitherto divided the whole human race into two classes only, viz. Foreigners, who are always supposed to be, at bottom, enemies; and Englishmen, who are always supposed to be, at bottom, friends to England." But this simplicity, "not ill founded in the nature of things," was now gone: "unfortunately, there has lately started up to view in America a new class of men, who will be found upon examination to belong to neither of those two classes." Their very existence will "give great perplexity" to the people of England "till their true nature, and their true relation to Great Britain is accurately known." By proclaiming the same descent, language, laws, customs, and religion as Englishmen, Ramsay continued, and by "the practice of calling themselves *Englishmen*, and us *brethren*, they have artfully persuaded the people of England that they are their fellow-citizens, and Englishmen like themselves, to all intents and purposes." This was the familiar argument for sameness of Americans and Englishmen, that sameness belied so blatantly by the present conflict. But Ramsay was a court propagandist, not a disinterested observer: his whole point—which would restore the clarity of a "single light"—was that "this

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juncture. What can be added now to that analysis is the American-war-related topicality of the play itself, which focused on the tragic consequences of war and violence within a family group: a poignant red flag when raised in 1777–1778. On these connotations of the tragedy *Percy*, see Katherine Newey, "Women and War on Stage: Revolution and Nation," unpublished paper (I am grateful to Kate Newey for sharing this paper with me).

[was] altogether a fallacy." The truth was, an American Englishman was hardly different from a "Frenchified Englishman" who chose to live in France and become assimilated there; "politically speaking," Ramsay asserted, Americans were *not* Englishmen.<sup>52</sup>

However, the Americans have made every effort to obscure this simple fact, by "avail[ing] themselves of every ambiguity in our language." Ramsay explained: "They have called themselves our *Fellow Subjects*, knowing, all the while, that they acknowledge themselves to be such, only from a circumstance which belongs to them in common with the people of Hanover. They have talked constantly of their *Mother Country*, and have founded their absurd pretensions on their British descent; when they know, that there are thousands amongst them who join in those demands upon their *Mother Country* who were born in Westphalia . . . , and they have lately talked to us, in the tragic strain, about the horrors of a *civil war*, when they know, that . . . there will no true Englishman fall in it, except he be from amongst those brave men who have lately sailed from England." Here was the whole problem of the American war in a nutshell: whether this was a civil war among Englishmen or a war with aliens (many of whom—recall Tom Paine—were not even of British descent) masking themselves as Englishmen, with the aid of linguistic ambiguity and confusing representations. This, Ramsay asserted, was the problem that will "ever continue to perplex" Englishmen until the "true nature" of the identities underlying these contradicting claims of sameness and difference was unequivocally clarified.

And indeed, we have seen the diverse ways in which this problem did perplex Britons of all shades and stripes, as they struggled to make sense of the American war through some reliable map of lines of differentiation. Eighteenth-century wars, as Linda Colley has so memorably pointed out, had typically been glorious nationally formative experiences that played a key role in shoring up a common national identity.<sup>53</sup> But in this perhaps civil war, when national identity as such was more the problem than the cure, contemporaries mobilized practically every category of difference imaginable—religion, race, class, gender, even the human/animal distinction—in more plausible or less plausible attempts to stabilize, to explain, to grasp a conflict that so many believed was an unprecedentedly momentous one.<sup>54</sup> But we have also seen how these attempts repeatedly floundered: the American war, to use a fashionable formulation, was a war without a

<sup>52</sup> [Allan Ramsay], *Letters on the Present Disturbances in Great Britain and Her American Provinces* (London, 1777), 16–24, originally published in the *Public Advertiser* early in 1775.

<sup>53</sup> Colley, *Britons*. Colley notes the peculiarities of the American war but in the end incorporates it within her broader narrative together with other eighteenth-century conflicts, in part by focusing predominantly on the final defeat. T. H. Breen has taken her argument further, suggesting that "the aggressive assertion of national sentiment that Linda Colley traces so masterfully in *Britons* defined colonial Americans as 'other,' as not fully English," and that this mid-century exclusion was a precondition for the American investment in independence. But on the part of the English, at least, this picture of prerevolutionary self-confident nationalism, excluding the colonists as outsiders, may underestimate how complicated, contested, and far-from-settled this issue was even during the revolution itself. T. H. Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions *Once More* in Need of Revising," *Journal of American History* 84 (June 1997): 28.

<sup>54</sup> It should also be noted that, unlike their seventeenth-century predecessors during their own civil war, eighteenth-century Britons did not appear to find in the political issues themselves sufficient basis for enduring and significant lines of demarcation. In a development that cannot be discussed here further, politics in and of itself did not constitute at this juncture a plausible primary category of

stable "other." As a consequence, the very adequacy, and thus usefulness, of prevalent notions of identity was put in doubt. They were now in urgent need of reconstruction, with a more solid foundation in what Ramsay called their "true nature." Small wonder, therefore, that we can find Paine laying in *Common Sense* a bedrock of reliable categories—"Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinctions of heaven"—as a reassuring (and necessary) Archimedean point from which to begin, or that another commentator on the events of these years, who had variously noted the destabilization of distinctions between Indians and whites, men and women, Catholics and Protestants, Americans and Britons, admitted even more forthrightly the need for the institution of newly anchored, essential, invariably dependable categories of identification. "The times," this writer declared, "render it necessary *that new distinctions should take place*, not as badges of petulance and illwill, . . . but such distinctions as must in their very nature discriminate between the lover of the country, and the betrayer of it."<sup>55</sup> Wishful thinking indeed.

"THE TIMES," THEN, "RENDER[ED] IT NECESSARY" that change should take place: a phrase that referred clearly, in the passage just quoted, to the political circumstances that have framed this essay so far. Indeed, the above pages have followed this writer in creating the impression that the American war was like the waving of a magic wand that suddenly cast a transformative spell on an unsuspecting nation. But this is not the whole story: surely, "the times" can stand for different scales of chronological frameworks, some of which stretch much longer than a few years. Rather, as is often the case with traumatic events that exceed the political realm to become major national quakes, the American war brought to a cataclysmic head trends that had long been developing gradually and imperceptibly beneath the surface, turning them from tentative potentialities to overbearing actualities. This observation, in fact, was already Edmund Burke's. "Many things have been long operating towards a gradual change in our principles," he declared in April 1777, "But this American war has done more in a few years than all the other causes could have effected in a century."<sup>56</sup>

None of "all the other causes" that Burke must have had in mind as having been

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identity but was, rather, understood as one that needed to be anchored in and explicated through other, prior identifications.

<sup>55</sup> Paine, *Common Sense*, 72; *View of the History of Great-Britain, during the Administration of Lord North*, 397, my emphasis. The immediate context that prompted this plea was the disappearance of any meaningful boundary or distinction between Whigs and Tories. For the boundaries between Indians and whites, see 334–35, between men and women, 336, Catholics and Protestants, 304, Americans and Britons, 123, 226, 245, 293. Note also Eliga Gould's argument for the long-term effects of the American war on British notions of empire, shifting from an emphasis on empire-wide Anglicized similarity to one on diversity within the empire. While Gould pins this shift mostly on the British defeat, arguably this development could also be linked to the developments in understandings of sameness and difference as outlined here. Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, 209–11; and Eliga H. Gould, "A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution," *AHR* 104 (April 1999): 476–89.

<sup>56</sup> Edmund Burke, *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, April 3, 1777, in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, 3: 329. The possible cataclysmic effects of such disjunctive, nationally transformative events have recently been helpfully elucidated by William Sewall in "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society* 25 (1996): 841–81.

long transforming England was more important, probably, than the long-term commercialization of society. Most certainly, none was more important for our story here. Although a detailed discussion will have to be taken up elsewhere, it is crucial to note the consequences of the emergence of commercial society for the issues central to this discussion: namely, the gradual erosion of confidence in traditional notions of identity and the increasing preoccupation with the plasticity and deceptiveness of appearances. As Jean-Christophe Agnew has wonderfully pointed out, a key axis for the ways that commercial society was experienced—whether to be embraced or resisted—was that of transparency versus artifice. As the concreteness of pre-modern commodity exchange in the marketplace gave way to monetized market relations based on anonymous exchange, they lost their former transparency and accountability. They became more opaque, more mediated, more dependent on representations—a development pushed further by new mediums of exchange that were strictly representational, culminating in the worst bugbear of all, paper money.<sup>57</sup> As representation and its validation came to the center of market relations, the ensuing doubts became increasingly analogous to those that have long been associated with the theater, that ultimate arena of mutable identities. Meanwhile, in a parallel development at the same time (a development that has been discussed by various scholars, from Richard Sennett to John Brewer), the “consumer revolution” of this period presented Britons with a baffling array of goods, goods that used to be important signifiers of social distinctions. In this case, it may be suggested, it was the nervous discourse on *fashion* (rather than theater), often grounded in the ubiquitous critiques of luxury, that came to embody the concern with the mutability and transience of forms, and in particular those forms that affected people’s signs of identity, now available for anyone willing to pay the price.<sup>58</sup>

In the confines of the present essay, these telegraphic comments are intended simply to flag the underlying long-term pressures that characterized the decades preceding the American crisis and that fed the potential unease about the possibility that identities can prove to be mutable, unreliable, and ultimately unknowable. It is against the background of this longstanding cultural undercurrent that we should understand the resonant pitch of the agitation generated by the American war: here was the nightmare come true. The stakes changed almost overnight. The problem of unreliable identities turned from the uneasiness of moralizers, pontificators, and doomsayers, alarmed by the fashionable conse-

<sup>57</sup> The issue of paper money—“these *American Fictions of Transubstantiation*”—was itself a loaded one during the American conflict, often coupled with the unreliability of identities. For examples, see [Tucker], *Tract V: The Respective Pleas and Arguments of the Mother Country, and of the Colonies*, ix–x (quoted, x); [Ambrose Serle], *Americans against Liberty: or, An Essay on the Nature and Principles of True Freedom . . .* (London, 1775), 53; *The History of the Old Fring’d Petticoat: A Fragment . . . with an Epistle and Dedication to Lord N—* (London, 1775), 22–23. This link between instabilities of paper money and identities in the American Revolution is noted in Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*.

<sup>58</sup> Discussions of these developments include Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1977); Neil McKendrick, et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982); Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 1986); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997).



quences of commercial society, into a disturbing, inescapable underpinning of the conflict that was threatening to pull the British nation and empire apart. Moreover, if there was one part of that world that could be expected to deliver this final blow to traditional notions of identity, America may well have been it. In another long-term development that contributed to the gradual build-up of such pressures, the New World experiences of uprooting emigration and encounters with different racial, social, and gender configurations had long been chafing away at the confidence in received categorizations, thus making America a particularly apt context for this problem to erupt.<sup>59</sup>

And to round up these adumbrated pointers toward an argument that must be developed more fully elsewhere, the language that throughout the eighteenth century captured much of this unease was that of artifice and dissimulation, masking and disguise. As Rousseau famously put it in *Emile*: "The man of the world is entirely covered with a mask; he is so accustomed to disguise, that if, at any time he is obliged for a moment to assume his natural character his uneasiness and constraint are palpably obvious . . . Reality is no part of his concern, he aims at nothing more than appearance."<sup>60</sup> Think of the masquerade: not for nothing did the masquerade become for the eighteenth century both a quintessential cultural institution and a potent symbol for all that was good and bad in society.<sup>61</sup> So if one is looking for signs of contemporary nervousness about the contingency and unreliability of identities, the language of masking and disguise would be a good place to start.

Which brings us back to the American revolutionary crisis. For if the language of disrupted family relations was the lingua franca of the revolution, then the language of masking and disguise was a not-too-distant second. This language has already been with us variously in the above pages: recurring in Erskine's Catholic "priests in disguise," in the unnatural motherhood of "Queen Georgiana" revealed as s/he "threw off the gauze covering," in the savage nature of the scalping Americans that was supposedly revealed once they, too, have "throw[n] off the mask," or in their characterization as "men disguis'd." In fact, these are but a few random soundings of the pervasive recourse to this language throughout the American debate. At

<sup>59</sup> This seems to be the thrust of much recent work in this field. In Greg Denning's recent summary, "Early America was a place of thresholds, margins, boundaries. It was a place of ambivalence and unset definition. The search for identity in that place was multivalent and unending": in Ronald Hoffman, *et al.*, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 2 (and see in this volume the contributions of James H. Merrell and Mary Beth Norton). Other discussions of the pressures on European notions of identity in the colonial American setting include Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: Unease in Eden," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 115–57; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Brown, "'Changed . . . into the Fashion of Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," in Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie, eds., *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South* (New York, 1997), 39–56 ("the ambiguous and tentative identities of English peoples recently settled in the New World," 51); Greene, "Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution," esp. 220–21.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, 241.

<sup>61</sup> The best discussion of this institution is in Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, Calif., 1986).



times, it was invoked quite literally: as in stories about Americans disguised as Indians in pursuit of their savage war, or of gentlemen disguised as rabble, or of women disguised as men.<sup>62</sup> More generally, few formulations were hurled more frequently (and inconsistently) at the Americans and their supporters than the accusation that they were falsely wearing “the mask of patriotism” and “put[ting] on every Disguise,” but also that they “have boldly thrown off the mask” (in the words of George III) to reveal their true intentions. On the other side, Jay Fliegelman has already noted how Americans repeatedly identified Britain with artifice, dissimulation, and theatricality.<sup>63</sup> The sustained recourse to this language was not at all partisan. Its capacity to synthesize the problem of identity categories and their limits at this juncture is nicely illustrated in what may well qualify as one of the most convoluted charges ever raised against a politician for being unfaithful to his true self: “your lordship,” *The Crisis* accused Chatham when it suspected him of reneging on his pro-American support, “has at last thrown off your *American* mask, and not only resumed the *Englishman*, but commenced a *ministerial* man; . . . If your lordship will not now confess yourself an *American* once more, I must tell you that you are unworthy to be called an *Englishman*.”<sup>64</sup> The mask here stood at the epicenter of what was so clearly—almost to a comic effect—an unresolvable muddle.

Moreover, just as we have seen the anxieties about gender boundaries transcend the political debate into a wider cultural sphere, the same was also true of the intensified preoccupation at this very juncture with disguise and masquerading. From all corners came the urgent warnings against what Henry Hunter (whom we have already met) pronounced as the present “criminal” penchant for “Disguise and Dissimulation.” “Beware of counterfeits,” another writer admonished, “for such are abroad.” The plague of the present times was the ubiquity of “impostors,” who threaten “people in every part of the world.” And just as the chevalier D’Eon was such a convenient peg on which to hang the peak of interest in gender blurring, so did the events of these years produce a fortuitous case for the crystallization of the English preoccupation with artifice, dissimulation, and unreliable identities, in

<sup>62</sup> For disguises as Indians, see *An Answer to the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq., One of the Representatives of the City of Bristol, to the Sheriffs of That City* (London, 1777), 43–44, 52; *View of the History of Great-Britain, during the Administration of Lord North*, 335–36. For disguised gentlemen, [Cincinnatus], *The Patriotic Mirror: or, The Salvation of Great Britain in Embryo* (London, 1781), 48; [James Macpherson], *A Short History of the Opposition during the Last Session of Parliament*, 3d edn. (London, 1779), 18. For disguise undermining religious distinctions, see Theophilus Stephens, John Williams, and Charles Thompson, *The Fall of Britain*, no. 6 (December 14, 1776): 36; [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], *The Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of Our Political Confusions* . . . (New York, 1774), 22.

<sup>63</sup> [Joseph Cawthorne], *The False Alarm* (London, 1782), 26; Josiah Tucker, *An Humble Address and Earnest Appeal* . . . (Gloucester, 1775), 86; *The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to 1783*, J. Fortescue, ed. (London, 1928), 3: 48 (no. 1361, memoranda by the king, 1773?); and compare also p. 86 (no. 1427, King to Lord North, March 25, 1774). Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence*, 90. The American preoccupation with disguise and artifice during the revolution is also central to Thomas Gustafson, *Representative Words: Politics, Literature, and the American Language, 1776–1865* (Cambridge, 1992), although his focus is solely on linguistic artifice, rather than on disguise more broadly. And note also Gordon S. Wood, “Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 401–41; Jeffrey H. Richards, *Theater Enough: American Culture and the Metaphor of the World Stage, 1607–1789* (Durham, N.C., 1991), chaps. 9–11.

<sup>64</sup> *The Crisis*, no. 65 (April 13, 1776): 414–15.

the shape of the notorious impostor Mrs. Rudd and her (indistinguishable!) twin brother accomplices. Their complex forgery-cum-masquerade swindle that led the latter two to the scaffold in the winter of 1776 captured the public imagination, as Donna Andrew and Randall McGowen point out, with an “immense energy” (often overshadowing even the reports of events in America) that can only be explained within a broader context of “a growing uneasiness about the unreliability of appearances in social and economic life.”<sup>65</sup> Theirs was a key metaphor for the ills of the times: “But as mankind in general seem to act the impostor, I think we may with equal propriety compare human life to our modern masquerade.” Indeed, the masquerade itself went in the late eighteenth century into a sudden, precipitous decline—nothing short of “a kind of cultural amnesia,” in the words of its best-informed student, Terry Castle—a decline that Castle finds inexplicable (“a historical enigma”) but that may begin to make sense within the framework of the contemporary concern about the treacherousness of identities, as signaled by disguise, masking, and dissimulation.<sup>66</sup>

So finally, having gone a long and circuitous route, we are ready to get back to the exchange between Wesley and Price that opened this essay. Both, we may recall, fixed their attention—and that of their readers—on the use of *disguise* in the Boston Tea Party, without further consideration of what that disguise might have been (namely, the Indian costumes). This was an emphasis reinforced in Wesley’s subsequent retelling of the story, which did away with the actual disguise altogether but still represented the event through the same lens of transparency versus dissimulation. However unself-conscious these selective representations of the Boston events may have been, by now we can begin to see the depth of the overtones conjured up by their focus on disguise. The language of disguise and masquerade, reverberating with the echoes of endless repetitions, signaled the problem of the potential inadequacy and unreliability of identities—a problem that was an endemic, loaded, and inescapable preoccupation of Britons of all political stripes as they strove to make sense of their own experiences of the American crisis.<sup>67</sup> The questions of whether the colonists were brethren or enemies, whether American identity had evolved far enough to make this a foreign rather than a civil war, whether one could put forth *any* stable category of identity to clarify who was against whom in this conflict and why, whether identity categories could now be trusted at all—the faint palimpsest of all these questions could be read in the tea leaves that got Price and Wesley into an argument in that fateful spring of 1776.

<sup>65</sup> [Hunter], *National Change in Morals*, iv, 21–22; *Morning Post*, no. 713 (February 8, 1775): [1] (letter from “Candidus”); no. 739 (March 10, 1775): [4]; no. 744 (March 16, 1775): [4]; *The Hypocrite Unmasked* 1 (November 1, 1780): 3; Donna T. Andrew and Randall McGowen, *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). I am very grateful to the authors for the opportunity to read this fascinating book in manuscript. See also Sarah Bakewell, *The Smart: The True Story of Margaret Caroline Rudd and the Unfortunate Perreau Brothers* (London, 2001).

<sup>66</sup> *St. James’s Magazine; or, Memoirs of Our Own Times* 1 (October 1774): 444; Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 98–99.

<sup>67</sup> It is therefore apt that Wesley himself was the object of an attack that leveled the same accusation against him in turn. Penned by a pseudonymous “Patrick Bull,” *A Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing: or, An Old Jesuit Unmasked . . . in the Form of the Rev. John Wesley . . .* (London, [1775]) linked Wesley’s supposed masquerade with his inconsistent references to the Americans as “brethren” even as he recommended harsh measures against them, leading to “civil dissension” (p. 11).

THIS ESSAY STILL REQUIRES A SHORT POSTSCRIPT. On the one hand, the consequences of the crisis of confidence in categories of difference, a crisis long in the making and now brought to a head by the American war, were arguably long-term ones, feeding into a re-anchoring of notions of identity in what may be seen as more “modern,” essentializing foundations.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, however, the actual cause of this crisis of confidence disappeared from view as swiftly as it had begun. The turning point, of course, was the entry of the French (and the Spanish) into the war, a development that despite its gravity released an audible national sigh of relief as Britons now rallied to a war against their perennial, natural foes. From now on, the war could make sense, even in defeat. Historians have commented before on the surprisingly swift and radical excision of the trauma of the American civil war from British national consciousness.<sup>69</sup> It is only such a national effort at erasure that can explain how Joseph Cawthorne, in 1782, could write with a straight face about the mistake of “an *unnatural internal war*” in America, and turn out to have meant *not* that heavy, disconcerting weight that these very same words had carried with them only a few years back but rather the simple strategic mistake of choosing to fight “an internal perilous war, in an enemy’s country (for so we may call it) against nature”—rather, that is, than picking a more advantageous battleground.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, it is perhaps only such a concerted national effort at collective forgetting that can explain why, when King George III continued to bemoan the loss of the American colonies throughout the 1780s in terms that were little more than replications of those widespread apocalyptic formulations of the 1770s, his refusal to partake of the national amnesia was taken to be a clear sign that the king was, indeed, downright mad.

<sup>68</sup> The full argument for this far-reaching late eighteenth-century transformation—cultural revolution may be a better phrase—is laid down in my forthcoming *Making of the Modern Self*. And see more briefly my “On Queen Bees and Being Queens: A Late-Eighteenth-Century Cultural Revolution?” in Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, eds., *The Age of Cultural Revolutions* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 251–80.

<sup>69</sup> For a contemporary reminiscing on how the “passionate zeal” aroused by the American conflict gave way immediately afterward to a radical collective forgetting, “as much as if [people] had lost all sense of personal identity” (!), see Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times 1741–1814* (Edinburgh, 1861), 185.

<sup>70</sup> [Cawthorne], *False Alarm*, 12–13, 16.

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“Look on This Picture . . . And on This!” Nationalism,  
Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the  
United States, 1787–1820

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ANDREW W. ROBERTSON

IN APRIL 1789, GEORGE WASHINGTON made his way from Mount Vernon to New York for his inauguration as the first president under the Constitution. Nearly every town on his journey north turned out to honor the man who was hailed in newspapers across the republic as the “Father of his Country.” As Washington passed over Assumpink Creek near Trenton, New Jersey, which he had held against a British onslaught in 1777, young women in costume strewed garlands of flowers in his path and sang an ode in his honor. A triumphal arch, entwined with laurel, was raised across the creek. “His Excellency” passed under the arch, which bore the inscription: “The Defender of the Mothers Will Be the Protector of the Daughters.”<sup>1</sup>

A dozen years later, a very different sort of celebration in Philadelphia marked Thomas Jefferson’s inauguration in Washington, D.C. “On Wednesday last, a strange concourse of men and Boys, of various colours, and different nations, were seen passing though certain streets in this City,” declared the *Federalist Gazette of the United States*. “Amidst this motley group,” the *Gazette* sneered, was “a savage, leading his *Tribes*.” “Some of this throng carried guns, others sticks and others nothing . . . [O]n enquiry, we find that their object was to *honor* the President, yea, to *honor* him!!!!!!”<sup>2</sup>

The first celebration evoked a sense of national unity by appropriating ancient and monarchical traditions long used to welcome kings and conquering heroes. Newspapers across the country carried virtually identical accounts. The second celebration, by contrast, more closely resembled the urban anti-British protests of the 1760s. Led by a tanner turned justice of the peace (a “currier of hides turned

The author gratefully acknowledges the research support from the Research Foundation of the City University of New York. Special thanks are due to Joyce Appleby, T. H. Breen, Linda Colley, Philip Lampi, Edward Muir, Jeffrey Pasley, J. R. Pole, David Waldstreicher, and the editors and anonymous readers of the *AHR*. I am especially indebted to my spouse, Wendy L. Wall, for her extraordinary scholarly and editorial assistance.

<sup>1</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, April 29, 1789. On the role of women in political ritual, see Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998), 215–47.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, March 7, 1801. For an insightful discussion of “Indian-ness” and later party politics, see Reeve Huston, *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New York* (New York, 2000), 116–29.

currier of cases"), the youthful male revelers carried guns and cudgels. While Republican newspapers hailed Jefferson's inauguration as a triumph of popular will, the *Gazette* and other Federalist papers cast the new president's supporters as decidedly "other": as "motley" foreigners, "savages" of various hues, and portenders of mob rule.

These contrasting rites and reports shed light on two key questions that have recently engaged historians of the early republic. First, what shape did nationalism take in the years following the American Revolution? Second, how can we understand the fierce and often violent partisanship of the 1790s and early 1800s? By considering voting, political rhetoric, newspaper accounts, and mass rituals associated with politics in the early American republic, we can gain a better understanding of the ways in which Americans conceived of themselves and the priority they attached to their national, local, and political identities. The period between 1794 and 1800 saw the emergence of two partisan "nationalisms": each partisan community was local in origin and practice but international in orientation. As America's tenuous postcolonial identity fractured, it was supplanted by two antithetical identities, constructed around two political parties, the Republicans and the Federalists. Both Federalists and Republicans constructed themselves through contrast with an internal "other": members of the opposing party. Both claimed to embody "Americanism," while denying that identity to their opponents. Over the next twenty years, Americans, both men and women, constructed new identities that arose more from partisan loyalties than from attachment to national institutions. Their primary frame of reference was the parties—and the ideologies and personalities associated with them, even above the Constitution itself.<sup>3</sup> Men and women saw themselves as Americans *and* Federalists or as Americans *and* Republicans; these conceptions were twinned and, for a time, inextricable in the minds of their beholders.<sup>4</sup> Partisan loyalties, while national, actually enlisted concrete local affinities as well as imagined national allegiance in their construction.<sup>5</sup> As party identity overtook and eventually subsumed a unified postcolonial identity, political celebrations, and eventually all public gatherings, became staging grounds for partisan warfare.

American historians have recently paid close attention to the Atlantic context in which American political culture was formed. Building on the work of Linda Colley and other historians of eighteenth-century Britain, these American historians have argued that, between the 1760s and 1790s, Britishness provided a template against which all things American were measured.<sup>6</sup> J. R. Pole and Jack Greene have pointed out that American colonists saw themselves in an Atlantic world that

<sup>3</sup> Saul Cornell argues that Jeffersonian thought "owed an enormous debt to Anti-Federalism." Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1838* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 2, see esp. 1–15.

<sup>4</sup> Rosemarie Zagarri, "Gender and the First Party System," in *The Federalists Reconsidered*, Doron Ben-Atar and Barbara B. Oberg, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1998), 118–34.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York, 1973), 269–72.

<sup>6</sup> For the British context, see, for example, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York, 2000).



included not only England but the “offshore colonies” of the West Indies, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Nova Scotia.<sup>7</sup> John Murrin has described the parallels between the earlier constitutional struggles of seventeenth-century England and the American Revolution.<sup>8</sup> T. H. Breen has argued that after 1765 Americans constructed their identity against a British “other.”<sup>9</sup>

While very insightful, the accounts of these Atlantic historians focus mainly on the decades immediately surrounding America’s successful attainment of independence. These historians have described the early attempts to construct a revolutionary sense of identity, but they do not carry their work into the 1790s or account for the deep fracturing of national identity that occurred toward the end of that decade. Intellectual and ideological historians, by contrast, have described this polarization, but until recently they have framed this divergence with reference to republicanism and liberalism. For Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, high politics generated the split that polarized the country in the 1790s. It emanated directly from the Court and Country party rivalry that J. G. A. Pocock described in early Hanoverian England. Gordon Wood perceives the divisions that beset the United States in the 1790s in a more nuanced fashion, developing from social conflict, from the interplay of newly liberated economic, political, and religious “interests” that arose unexpectedly and jostled for recognition. These newly emergent “interests,” Wood believes, were not at all the settled forces that James Madison envisioned in the *Federalist Papers*. Their energy and competitiveness, Wood argues, brought “a spirit of locality” that undermined “the aggregate interests of the community.” According to Wood, when the old constraints of monarchy, hierarchy, and paternalism fell away, the contentiousness that had arisen in political and commercial activity poured out in urban rioting, in “street tavern and theater rowdiness,” labor strikes, and ethnic conflicts.<sup>10</sup> Joyce Appleby, on the other hand, views the contentious spirit of the 1790s and early 1800s more positively, portraying it as the consequence of democratization and of economic liberalization. In her most recent work, Appleby says that the “no-holds-barred conflicts” of the “first generation” of new Americans undermined the moral authority of the old political elite and allowed new voices to help shape the emerging debate in civil society. “The democratization of American society,” says Appleby, “supplied the passion, the issues, and the discourses necessary for detaching the country from its monarchical roots.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), xii–xvi.

<sup>8</sup> John Murrin, “The Great Inversion, or Court versus Country: A Comparison of the Revolution Settlements in England (1688–1721) and America (1776–1816),” in J. G. A. Pocock, ed., *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 368–453.

<sup>9</sup> T. H. Breen, “Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions Once More in Need of Revising,” *Journal of American History* 84 (1997): 13–39.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1991), 309. He is referring to Federalist Paper 10.

<sup>11</sup> Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 55. An older group of political historians, writing between the 1950s and 1970s, took stock of the political divisions in the early republic and framed them in terms of party formation, legislative bloc cohesion, the articulation of party organizations, and mass voting behavior. Historians such as Joseph Charles, William N. Chambers, and Noble E. Cunningham described the Federalists and Republicans as the “first party system.” See Joseph Charles, *Origins of the Party System* (New York, 1961); William

Recently, a group of insightful younger scholars have examined the popular construction of American nationalism. David Waldstreicher, Len Travers, and Simon Newman have explored the construction of Americanism through a close examination of language and ritual in the postrevolutionary era and on into the early nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Drawing on the work of Linda Colley, Lynn Hunt, Natalie Zemon Davis, Victor Turner, and Benedict Anderson, these new scholars of nationalism have paid close attention to language and ritual and the way that a sense of nationhood was constructed in word, thought, and deed by ordinary Americans.<sup>13</sup> The new historians of nationalism, however, have not directed their attention to the puzzling events that made expressions of American nationalism in the late 1790s more fractious and tenuous than they had been a decade earlier.

This article describes America's unified postcolonial identity, explains why it proved fragile, and sketches the parallel partisan identities that emerged to replace it. In the process, it highlights developments that may be relevant to understanding other areas of the globe as well. Studying Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in the 1960s, Clifford Geertz suggested that such polarization was a frequent by-product of incipient nationalism. Geertz argued that the tribalism, racialism, and religious strife that emerged in much of the developing world in the 1960s was "not so much the heritage of colonial divide-and-rule policies as . . . part and parcel of the very process of the creation of a new polity and a new citizenship." In Ceylon, Geertz wrote, "[t]he institution of universal suffrage made the temptation to court the masses by appealing to traditional loyalties virtually irresistible."<sup>14</sup> The very process of creating what Benedict Anderson has called the "imagined community" almost necessarily requires a concomitant appeal to traditional, local identities.<sup>15</sup> As David Kertzer observes, "the creation of a new nation requires a massive effort at symbolic construction." That massive effort enlists, exploits, and, in most postcolonial nations, subverts local identity and loyalty, reconstructing and replacing them with national identity.<sup>16</sup> Local identity and national identity are frequently at war, and recalcitrant localism is often co-opted or crushed by militant nationalism, as in Scotland or the Vendée in the eighteenth century, Kurdistan and Kosovo in the late

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Nisbet Chambers, *The First Party System* (New York, 1972); Noble E. Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1957); *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801–1809* (Chapel Hill, 1963). Ronald P. Formisano questioned whether this first party "system" resembled the national mass-based party organizations that followed it. Formisano, *The Transformation of American Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790–1840* (New York, 1983); "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–87; and, more recently, "The American 'Party Period' Revisited," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 93–120, esp. 93–94.

<sup>12</sup> David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst, Mass., 1997); Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> Colley, *Britons*; Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif., 1975); Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn. (London, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Geertz, "Integrative Revolution," 271–72.

<sup>15</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, see esp. 47–65.

<sup>16</sup> David Kertzer, "The Virtues of Ambiguity," in Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), 66–76.

twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> In the United States, local identity did not become an immediate impediment to national identity in this way because the political parties helped to enlist local loyalties into rival and oppositional versions of American nationalism.

A close examination of the political culture of the early American republic also suggests that our understanding of the unequivocal role ritual plays in fomenting nationalism may require some reevaluation. In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Emile Durkheim proposed that ritual has a solidary function, and his argument has achieved wide acceptance.<sup>18</sup> In the case of Sri Lanka in the 1960s, however, or in Steven Lukes's account of Orange parades in Ulster in the 1970s, political ritual often abetted polarization, not solidarity.<sup>19</sup> In the early American republic, participants did not engage for the most part in the kind of highly provocative behavior described by Natalie Davis as "rites of violence."<sup>20</sup> Unlike the Catholics and Protestants of sixteenth-century France, America's first political parties commemorated the same dates and recognized the same symbols, but both sought to appropriate and monopolize these festivals and symbols to their own ends. Republicans and Federalists held separate Fourth of July orations, commemorations of revolutionary battles, and celebrations of revolutionary heroism, and favored their own selections from America's sacred texts. (For the Republicans, the preferred text was most often the Declaration of Independence; for the Federalists, it was typically the Constitution.) In the dozen years that separated the inaugurations of Washington and Jefferson, Americans developed two parallel imagined communities, proclaiming themselves in print, celebrating the same rituals, appropriating the same symbols, but inhabiting the same space. Each, however, denied the legitimacy of the other.

FROM THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE, and for a generation thereafter, Americans were engaged in a quest for unity, reinforced by their awareness that they lived under a cloud of uncertainty. They had established a new republic conceived in a case of mistaken identity: they were true Britons who had overthrown their king. T. H. Breen argues that America's identity during this period—what might be called its "postcolonial" identity—was first ultra-British and then turned anti-British, first imitating and then opposing a British "other."<sup>21</sup> The very uncertainty associated with the initial stages of American nationhood made it seem tenuous: in the space

<sup>17</sup> David Luebke observes of local/national conflicts in the Black Forest of Germany that "state authorities waxed as local autonomies waned." David Martin Luebke, *His Majesty's Rebels: Communities, Factions and Rural Revolt in the Black Forest, 1725–1745* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 2.

<sup>18</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Joseph Swain, trans. (1915; rpt. edn., Glencoe, Ill., 1974).

<sup>19</sup> Steven Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," *Sociology* 9 (1975): 289–308.

<sup>20</sup> Natalie Z. Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present* 59 (1973): 51–91.

<sup>21</sup> Breen argues that Americans believed they were more purely British than their former countrymen across the Atlantic: more Protestant, more prosperous, and possessing greater liberty than even their fellow Britons. Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism," 13–39. The sequence he describes—from ultra-British to anti-British—is the reverse of the sequence Colley describes, which led Celts in Scotland and Wales to redefine themselves as part of a larger British identity. See Colley, *Britons*, 11–146.

of a dozen years, from 1776 to 1788, Americans had overthrown the king and then toppled their first republic.

After the revolution but before the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, Americans successfully put aside many of their ideological, regional, religious, and class differences. Commemorative rituals in the early 1780s, such as Independence Day celebrations, emphasized the unity of all Americans. In the years preceding the Philadelphia Convention, however, appeals to unity seemed to have less effect. Urban and frontier politicians grew more assertive in articulating their grievances in the state assemblies. Conservatives began to grow wary of the leveling tendencies implicit in revolutionary rhetoric. The rites and rhetoric associated with the revolution reinvoked the need for unity and often called for the preservation of hierarchy. Electioneering speeches often celebrated the divisions in the polity between rulers and ruled.<sup>22</sup>

In the late 1780s, however, postcolonial unity seemed genuinely under threat. The imperative of reviving a declining economy caused by the severe trade crisis of the late 1780s created deep social and political divisions to appear in the once-unified republic. In many states, there was sharp debate over the issuance of paper money. In 1786, farmers in western Massachusetts, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, rebelled against the authorities in Boston over their mounting debt. Moreover, fierce conflict soon erupted over ratification of the Constitution. This made the sense of unity that had developed since the end of the revolution seem much more tenuous.<sup>23</sup>

Those in the political elite supporting the Constitution took great pains after ratification to restore unity. To do this, they often resorted to older, prerevolutionary traditions. Ironically, Americans, needing to sustain a sense of "national pride," invoked the very monarchical ritual apparatus they had earlier overthrown. In part, this was the result of the very newness of the nation. Americans of all persuasions agreed that the nation lacked a distinct sense of "character." As "The Tablet" observed in 1789, Americans "have yet given very partial displays of national pride." Were Americans independent in their "laws, opinions, manners, and fashions?" In none "of those respects have we yet formed a distinct national character." Without "a peculiar national character," said "The Tablet," Americans could not "efficiently feel national pride."<sup>24</sup>

Patriotic festivities and elections marked occasions for constructing a sense of pride; instilling it, however, often meant a reversion to older colonial traditions. The processions and other such activities of the early Constitutional period commemorated the struggle for independence but reached back to the monarchical traditions of early modern Europe. Public celebrations tended to occupy the center space in the community and space associated with the revolution. Processions followed a route that occupied the entire community—the docks and the market-

<sup>22</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 53–85; Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 31–68; John Zvesper, *Political Philosophy and Rhetoric: A Study of the Origins of American Party Politics* (Cambridge, 1977), 19–38.

<sup>23</sup> Cornell, *Other Founders*, 16–18.

<sup>24</sup> "The Tablet," no. 5, *Gazette of the United States*, April 29, 1789.

places, the elite and the poorer quarters, the center and the periphery of the towns and cities.<sup>25</sup>

Ironically, in efforts to promote unity during the ratification of the Constitution, the proponents encouraged expansive participation in these celebrations by workingmen, women, and even free people of color.<sup>26</sup> This effort to create unity led to processions and appeals to specific occupations and interests in pro-ratification processions. Public processions asserting a multiplicity of "interests" now offered an opportunity for the elite and the urban artisans and workingmen to make common cause. The symbol around which Americans rallied was the figure of George Washington.

As David Kertzer observes, the rites of new nations "often revolve around the image of the heroic figure leading his people to the promised land."<sup>27</sup> "Naive monarchism" can be a potent rallying symbol for rebels as well as conservatives.<sup>28</sup> Washington had the advantage of simultaneously symbolizing king and conquering hero. His long journey from Virginia to New York was a reinvented monarchical tradition, with Washington "capturing" and occupying the civic centers of each of the towns he visited on his journey. When he arrived at New York, he was drawn across the river to a thunderous naval salute, to the Battery, where the statue of King George III had once stood. Washington was personally connected to the sacrifices and memorable spectacles of the American Revolution; he had witnessed his men's suffering and death to secure its principles. Now they would be peacefully maintained by the new president under the Constitution for the interest of all. As the *New-Jersey Journal* observed, "Americans have gloriously, by his aid, shaken off dependence upon the tools of a monarch—idolaters of gorgeous palaces, and splendid equipage."<sup>29</sup> Washington had become for his countrymen the anti-monarchical monarch. Like the monarchical figures supported by the Jacobites in Scotland and the *Saltpetrish* rebels in the Black Forest of Germany, Washington symbolized unity in resistance.<sup>30</sup> In America, unlike eighteenth-century Scotland or Germany, the rebellion incorporated resistance to monarchy. That did not prevent Washington, however, from "kingly tyranny." In order to help secure the new republic, the political elite borrowed back some of those very monarchical tools to convey enduring significance on Washington's (and the Constitution's) inauguration.<sup>31</sup> Edmond Doutté wrote that, "while creeds change, rite persists as the fossils of those extinct mollusks which serve to date geological epochs for us."<sup>32</sup> These monarchical rituals persisted because the Americans had need of them at the end of Constitutional debates.

<sup>25</sup> See Newman, *Parades and Politics of the Street*, 11–43; Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 69–106; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).

<sup>26</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 55; Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 284–325. For the constraints on women confined to a "performative" political role, see Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), esp. 15–16.

<sup>27</sup> Kertzer, "Legitimacy and Mystification," 49.

<sup>28</sup> Luebke, *His Majesty's Rebels*, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth-Town *New-Jersey Journal*, May 9, 1789.

<sup>30</sup> The reference to the Salt peter Wars comes from Luebke, *His Majesty's Rebels*, 6–10.

<sup>31</sup> Letter to the Editor, *Gazette of the United States*, dated April 19, 1789, published April 29, 1789.

<sup>32</sup> Edmond Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909), quoted in Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, Conn., 1946), 24; also see Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 67.



AMERICA'S SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY survived the battles over ratification of the Constitution only to confront a different sort of polarizing event from across the Atlantic: the French Revolution. The French Revolution and the crisis in American foreign policy that followed from war in Europe generated irreconcilable differences among the members of Washington's cabinet and within the Congress in Philadelphia. These events ultimately catalyzed the formation of America's first political parties and convulsed the republic in a noisy and at times violent squabble.

The French Revolution transformed social and political relations in the Atlantic world in ways that the American Revolution never did, profoundly threatening the established order in both Britain and the United States for nearly a generation. The French revolutionaries' proclamation of universal rights, their challenge to traditional sources of justice, and their fomenting of mob action gave many friends of the established order in Britain and the United States cause for concern. The execution of the king and queen in 1793, the institution of the Terror, and the revolutionaries' perceived hostility to Christianity alarmed conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, some American radicals hailed this turn in the French Revolution. Urban democrats, émigré intellectuals from Great Britain and Ireland, and anti-clericals supported the attempts of the French to institute egalitarianism and a religion of reason.<sup>33</sup>

Deep and longstanding cultural antipathies played into the hostility some Americans felt for things French. For most of the eighteenth century, the world as American colonists had known it had been divided between Britain and France, between Protestantism and popery. The revolution realigned loyalties to some degree, but to many conservative Americans the "otherness" of their erstwhile French allies seemed far more evident than the "otherness" of the British. The French Revolution rekindled these fears, which had never entirely disappeared. To the established order in New England, the French seemed, as they had in colonial times, far more threatening even than the British; the Congregational ministry found the anti-clericalism of the new order even more dangerous than the Catholicism of the *ancien régime*. Paris mobs bent on destruction of property seemed dangerous to merchants in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Charleston.<sup>34</sup> Large planters in the Low Country of South Carolina viewed with deep concern the effect of French egalitarian rhetoric on the slaves of Saint Domingue. As this revolution sought to export itself beyond France—and as vocal defenders of the French Revolution appeared in American cities—all things French seemed subversive to those Federalists threatened by the upheaval in the social order.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Ruth Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800* (New York, 1985), 150–201; Albrecht Koschnik, "The Democratic Societies of Philadelphia and the Limits of the American Public Sphere, 1793–1795," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 58 (July 2001): 615–36; David Brion Davis, *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 306–26; Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies* (1942; rpt. edn., New York, 1973); R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolutions: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1959–64); also Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York, 1993), 303–73.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence, Kans., 1997); David A. Wilson, *Paine and Cobbett: The Transatlantic Connection* (Kingston, Ont., 1988).

<sup>35</sup> Douglas R. Egerton, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993).

Meanwhile, Jefferson and his political allies were more fearful of a restoration of Anglo-American entente than what they saw as libertarian excesses of the French Revolution. Jefferson and other Republicans seemed genuinely afraid that some of their Federalist opponents would willingly surrender their hard-won independence from Britain for security against republican France. As international relations during the Washington and Adams administrations moved closer to Britain and further from France, those with a political or personal affinity to France—or, like Jefferson, with a particular antipathy to Britain—interpreted these moves as American “Toryism,” a betrayal of the American Revolution.

Although such tensions began emerging in the early 1790s, they came to a head only in 1795 during the controversy over the Jay Treaty with Britain. John Jay returned to the United States from London with a treaty that was widely condemned as humiliating to American sovereignty; critics charged that it did little to address American slaveholders’ claims against Britain, and that it betrayed the French allies who had helped win American independence. The bitter conflict over ratification of the Jay Treaty may have done more to create permanent political parties, the Federalists and the Republicans, than any other event.<sup>36</sup>

If Republicans thought the United States had been humiliated by Britain in the Jay Treaty, the Federalists reacted with equal indignation in 1798 to what they saw as U.S. humiliation at the hands of the French in the XYZ Affair. French Foreign Minister Talleyrand’s demand for American bribes before a treaty negotiation provoked widespread outrage, and the unofficial naval war generated a surge in anti-French sentiment. Arch-Federalists responded by passing the Alien and Sedition Acts, which President John Adams then signed into law; the acts provided for the deportation of foreign nationals, prohibited criticism of federal government officials, and led to the arrest and incarceration of some Republicans. Jefferson and Madison responded by secretly sponsoring the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which nullified the Alien and Sedition Acts as contrary to the Constitution; the Federalists interpreted nullification as a recipe for anarchy. Barely a decade after the ratification of the Constitution, the republic was imperiled by war, federally sanctioned repression, and state-sponsored nullification.<sup>37</sup>

While this polarization emerged first among American elites, two other developments in the political arena soon carried these debates to the public as a whole. Between 1790 and 1800, the universe of voters experienced a “big bang”: in the early 1790s, the typical turnout level in even the most politically competitive states rarely exceeded 35 percent of adult white males; by the early 1800s, turnout levels for adult white males reached 70 percent or higher in states as different as New Hampshire and North Carolina. Suffrage continued at these high levels until 1816,

<sup>36</sup> Elkins and McKittrick, *Age of Federalism*, 303–73; James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 113–37; Charles, *Origins of the Party System*.

<sup>37</sup> Elkins and McKittrick, *Age of Federalism*, 303–73; Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic*, 163–225; Jeffrey A. Pasley, “The Tyranny of Printers”: *Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000), 105–06, 118–24; James Morton Smith, *Freedom’s Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956).

and in some cases the expansion in voter turnout actually preceded a legal change eliminating suffrage restrictions.<sup>38</sup>

In an effort to court the new voters, both parties dramatically expanded their network of partisan newspapers.<sup>39</sup> In the 1790s, the Federalists set up an elaborate system of political subsidies to sustain their press organs. After Jefferson's inauguration in 1801, the Republicans inherited this federal patronage machine, and as Jefferson's secretary of state, Madison set to work expanding the Republican press network in the South and West.<sup>40</sup> The Federalists, meanwhile, relied increasingly on revenues from advertising. Such efforts meant that between 1790 and 1820, the number of newspapers in the United States expanded five-fold.

The partisan press soon found that one of the most effective means of generating and nourishing public support for the fledgling political parties was to describe them in antithetical, but symmetrical, fashion.<sup>41</sup> To do this, editors exploited both nationalism and existing international antagonisms—the Federalists' fear of French revolutionaries and the Republicans' antagonism toward the British. Federalist newspapers cast their readers as "Americans" in contrast to the French (and Jeffersonian) "Jacobins." Republican editors counterposed their party's "American" values to the values held by British (and Federalist) monarchists.

Beginning with the election of 1796, the press personalized their attacks on the opposition in order to make their antithetical contrasts more vivid. That year, for instance, the *Aurora*, a Philadelphia Republican newspaper, accused John Adams of plotting to set up hereditary government in the United States.<sup>42</sup> The Federalist *Gazette of the United States* meanwhile accused Thomas Jefferson of atheism.<sup>43</sup> Both charges contained a measure of truth: Adams had written in praise of British hereditary institutions in his *Defence of the Constitutions*, and in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson had voiced anti-clerical opinions that could be interpreted as anti-religious.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the coverage was noteworthy for its hyperbole.

During the election of 1800, the partisan press extended these charges, creating a set of binary oppositions for the two parties. Federalist newspapers hailed their party as the party of strong government, Christianity, and order. They supported

<sup>38</sup> Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *AHR* 65 (1960): 258–301; see also J. R. Pole's findings on turnout, summarized in *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic* (London, 1966), 544–64. For more comprehensive information on turnout, see the Philip J. Lampi Voting Data Collection, First Democracy Project, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. On the surge in turnout and the elimination of property restrictions, see J. R. Pole, "Historians and the Problem of Early American Democracy," in Pole, *Paths to the American Past* (New York, 1979).

<sup>39</sup> Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York, 1937), 32, 60.

<sup>40</sup> Pasley, *Tyranny of Printers*, 200–16; Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875* (Athens, Ga., 1977), 47–48; Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

<sup>41</sup> Jeffrey A. Pasley has argued that the newspapers came to "embody" the political parties of the early republic; see Pasley, "The Two National Gazettes: Newspapers and the Embodiment of American Political Parties," *Early American Literature* 35 (2000): 51–86; also *Tyranny of Printers*, 11–13, 50, 189, 216–17, 378.

<sup>42</sup> Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, October 29, 1796.

<sup>43</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, October 8, 1796.

<sup>44</sup> John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787; microform rpt., Worcester, Mass., 1955–83); Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787; rpt. edn., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972).

the Bank of the United States, favored a strong military and naval presence against the French, and encouraged protective restrictions on trade. They favored a pro-British foreign policy and state church establishments where they existed. To the Federalists, the Republicans were Jacobins, atheists, democrats, "savages," and "foreigners": they advocated mob rule and the dominance of France, and favored a weak defense policy and unrealistic trade sanctions.

The Republicans, by contrast, proclaimed themselves to be in favor of minimal government. They favored a frugal military and naval policy and a pro-French foreign policy. They advocated free trade and opposed a national bank. They declared their hostility to the impositions of a state-supported church or federal restrictions on speech and immigration. They opposed increased federal taxation and a "ruinous expensive government." The Federalists, according to the Republicans, were "Tories," "aristocrats," and "monocrats": they were "traitors," "tyrants," and advocates of subservience to the British.

In constructing these opposing images, the contending partisans clearly listened to one another. Both Federalists and Republicans sometimes turned the charges of the other party on their head by repeating them ironically. For instance, the Republican *Aurora* reported on a pageant in Richmond, Virginia, that celebrated Jefferson's election to the presidency. "Liberty," the paper reported, was portrayed as a "beautiful virgin," who was "benevolent and melancholy." "Liberty" was surrounded by a group, including a fool with a crown on his head, a bishop, a soldier with a bayonet, a "statesman," and an "orator." The "orator" shouted to the audience that Liberty was "a Jacobin—a disorganizer—a friend to France [and] an atheist." The "friends of order—true Americans—lovers of religion," should avenge the deity for Liberty's impiety, "annihilate this only source of civil discord." Confide instead "in a king—a bishop—a soldier—a statesman—and an orator—and you will exchange your absurd equality of rights for the beautiful equality of balances."<sup>45</sup> Often, newspaper editors would introduce a contrast of the two parties with the admonition, "Look on this Picture . . . And on This!" borrowing a familiar line from *Hamlet*.<sup>46</sup> Such contrasts indicated that the editors of the party press were in conversation with one another, reading and copying one another and making the best case possible for their own cause.<sup>47</sup>

Federalists constructed a confessional, tribal, traditional identity, and Republicans forged a secular, ideational, cosmopolitan identity. These clashing outlooks, originating in the eighteenth century, were first described by John Higham.<sup>48</sup> Federalists generated a traditional Anglo-American identity that located its origins in the British nationalism Colley describes.<sup>49</sup> The Republicans, on the other hand, adopted an Enlightenment-influenced identity based on "citizenship" that, like

<sup>45</sup> Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 3, 1801.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, *Boston Gazette*, September 2, 1802. The quote is from *Hamlet*, 3.4.53–54. Hamlet addresses his mother the queen after killing Polonius. He is comparing his father and his uncle: "Look here upon this picture, and on this, / The counterfeit presentment of two brothers."

<sup>47</sup> Pasley, *Tyranny of Printers*, 50, 171–75, 208–09, 331.

<sup>48</sup> John Higham, "The Immigrant in American History," in *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America* (Baltimore, 1975), 3.

<sup>49</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 11–146; see also Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism," 13–39.

emerging French republican nationalism, took inspiration from the ideas of liberty, equality, and natural rights as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.<sup>50</sup>

The partisan press enlisted local interests in party conflicts, externalizing the opposition. In 1808, for instance, President Jefferson instituted an embargo on all transatlantic commerce as a way to promote American neutral rights in trade. The Federalist *New-York Evening Post* appealed to New York merchants by accusing the Republicans of a "Jacobin" plot to ruin the trade with Britain.<sup>51</sup> In the same year, the Philadelphia *Aurora* appealed to Quakers' pacifist sympathies by charging that Federalist "Tories" aspired to make war on France. The *Aurora* argued that Jefferson's foreign policy was consistent with Quaker principles of peaceful solutions to foreign conflicts.<sup>52</sup> Four years later, after the United States had gone to war with Britain, Federalists in Pennsylvania opposing "Mr. Madison's War" proclaimed themselves the "Friends of Peace," making a double entendre of the Quaker name and the antiwar sentiment.<sup>53</sup>

Each party claimed for itself the entire legacy of the revolution and the benefits of Constitutional republicanism.<sup>54</sup> Each tried to connect its opponent to all those things that threatened the safety and stability of the government. This rhetorical "othering" continued long after actual Jacobins and real Tories had ceased to exist on American soil in any politically significant way. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the French Empire had replaced the First Republic, and self-proclaimed "Jacobins" in France, Britain, and the United States had become rare indeed.<sup>55</sup> American loyalists were mostly politically quiescent, and many of those who had proclaimed their British loyalty too loudly had departed for Canada, Britain, or other colonies. Yet these imagined "others" lived on in partisan rhetoric until the War of 1812. Federalist and Republican papers linked the opposition party to an externalized Atlantic world of bipolar enmities and increasingly translated domestic policy conflicts and local rivalries into a framework of international conflict.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, America's political partisans could no longer agree on whether they were part of the same nation or even whether they had fought a revolution for a common cause. This growing rhetorical divide was increasingly mirrored in the use of public space. Between 1800 and 1815, adherents of America's two political parties lived in parallel, but separate, communities. During the election celebration of 1800 and during the Fourth of July celebrations that followed, Republicans and Federalists met in different quarters of the nation's

<sup>50</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, esp. 37–39.

<sup>51</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, September 25, 1808.

<sup>52</sup> *Aurora*, September 29, 1808.

<sup>53</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1965), 201–26. See also Formisano, *Transformation of Political Culture*, 5–20. These religious and local alignments had much to do with longstanding conflicts between "core" and "periphery" that Formisano and others have discussed.

<sup>54</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 177–293; Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 69–106. See also Albrecht Koschnik, "Political Conflict and Public Contest: Rituals of National Celebration in Philadelphia, 1788–1815," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 118 (1994): 209–48.

<sup>55</sup> James Epstein, "'Our Real Constitution': Trial Defense and Radical Memory in the Age of Revolution," in James Vernon, ed., *Re-reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England's Long Nineteenth-Century History* (Cambridge, 1996), 22–51; "The 'Unwashed Infidelity': Thomas Paine and Early New York City Labor History," *Labor History* 27 (1986): 385–409.



cities, held their orations in different public settings, attended different churches, and paraded in different neighborhoods.<sup>56</sup> In the rituals of partisanship that followed, the opposing parties held for each other the invidious role that the British king had held in constructions of national identity during the Revolutionary Era. After both the election of 1800 and the outbreak of war in 1812, the Republicans celebrated, while the Federalists held mock funerals. Republicans declared themselves the “votaries of liberty,” while Federalists derided the “majesty of the mob.”<sup>57</sup>

The energy devoted to these parallel rites suggests that many ordinary Americans cared deeply about the differing visions of national identity offered by the two opposing parties. So does the fact that, again and again during this period, Federalist and Republican partisans came to blows.<sup>58</sup> The simmering party conflict revived a type of violent “politics out of doors” that had existed in the colonies prior to the revolution but that had largely disappeared thereafter.<sup>59</sup> Particularly in the larger towns and cities, crowds of opposing partisans would engage in mock violence, such as burning in effigy, or real violence, such as beatings or tar and feathering. Elections provided one catalyst for such violence. Events such as the 1808 Embargo and the War of 1812 offered another.

Federalists and Republicans also attacked their opponents in street battles. In New York City, on July 27, 1798, the Federalists marched up Broadway and began singing songs like “God Save the King” and “Hail Columbia” that were bound to antagonize the Republicans. They referred to a Republican congressman as a “Jacobin,” a “Frenchman,” and a “democrat.”<sup>60</sup> A group of young Republicans followed their Federalist antagonists to the Battery, where a “singing contest” ensued, with the Republicans singing French revolutionary songs. There was a brawl, and the following night the Federalist Friends of Order sang “Hail Columbia,” while marching around their Republican opponents.<sup>61</sup> Reporting on another New York election riot in 1804, a Federalist newspaper declared, “Jacobin treachery detected.”<sup>62</sup>

Fanned initially by newspapers, this “politics out of doors” moved back onto the printed page. The press attempted to replicate in print the excitement, the emphatic language, the very presence of street politics. The century year marks an intersec-

<sup>56</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 177–245; Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 155–190.

<sup>57</sup> *Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 3, 1801; *Gazette of the United States*, March 9, 1801.

<sup>58</sup> We should consider how this happened, and why. As David Waldstreicher has pointed out, “The invention of the American nation involved the mixing of rites of assent with apparently rebellious rituals of opposition, thereby preparing Americans to practice an active and popular politics while celebrating their national Revolution. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 52.

<sup>59</sup> The earlier contentiousness that had characterized crowd action had largely disappeared. Pope’s Day, which had been a day of contestation for space, and the Stamp Act protests gave way to public commemorations of a different sort. Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Peter Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). During the revolution, New York had seen the statue of George III pulled down from its pedestal on the Battery, and in Philadelphia workingmen and merchants had clashed in the Fort Wilson Riot of 1779. Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987); Koschnick, “Political Conflict and Public Contest,” 209–48.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Time-Piece*, July 30, 1798, August 1, 1798; *New York Spectator*, August 1, 1798.

<sup>61</sup> *New York Time-Piece*, August 1, 1798; *New York Spectator*, August 3, 1798.

<sup>62</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, May 7, 1804.

tion between print politics and street politics. The burgeoning press coverage of participatory politics lent an immediacy and simplicity to the voting ritual. The act of voting was no longer a form of obeisance to community; instead, it became a defiant act of affiliation: it marks the primacy of individual opinion over community approval, of policy, as opposed to personality, of politics as future promise rather than past conduct.<sup>63</sup>

At the very moment when suffrage and the boundaries of participation were being extended to unpropertied white males, partisans increasingly equated their opponents with those who, by virtue of race or ethnicity or gender, were now more visibly excluded. Thus Federalists likened Republican "out-of-doors" politics not only to the excesses of the French Revolution but also increasingly to the "savagery" of Native Americans. The *Evening Post* compared an attack by a Republican crowd in 1810 to "a host of savages, who long to embrue their hands in the blood of those who dare to follow the principles of Washington."<sup>64</sup> Playing on both the image of "savagery" and the Native American connection with the Association of "St. Tammany" with the Republicans, the *Commercial Advertiser* said, "judging from their conduct, [they] would, if in their power make New-York a wigwam and the federal inhabitants victims of the tomahawk."<sup>65</sup>

Very often, participants in opposing rituals were decried as "foreigners": French if they were Republicans, English if they were Federalists. The *Gazette of the United States* denounced the toasts offered on the eve of Jefferson's inauguration as "truly Jacobinical, and such as might be relished by any United Irishmen, French Jacobins, and fugitive members of the English Corresponding Society. Their music was Ça ira, The Rights of Man, Marseilles hymn, &c."<sup>66</sup> Ten years later, the *New-York Evening Post* denounced "the Robespierians [*sic*] and Dantons, who lately strolled our streets at midnight, committing outrages on our citizens."<sup>67</sup>

Connections to the Irish were contrasted with "true Americanism" by the Federalists; these were also given prominent play by the Federalist newspapers. During Jefferson's inauguration in 1801, the *Gazette of the United States* reported in Philadelphia that "an *United Irishman*, who was charged with treason against his own government played a prominent role in the festivities of celebration." "*Such are the men who call themselves the American people.*"<sup>68</sup>

Thanks in part to the burgeoning party press, for the voters this was not a mere pageant: the voters *believed* the worst about the other party. Federalist voters in Connecticut buried their Bibles in 1800 in fear that they would face a Jacobin tribunal and the guillotine for their professions of Christianity if Jefferson were elected president.<sup>69</sup> Some Republicans believed that John Adams intended to

<sup>63</sup> Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin make a rather different argument about Jacksonian-era politics, which they see as an era of "engaged disbelief." Altschuler and Blumin, "Limits of Political Engagement in Antebellum America: A New Look at the Golden Age of Participatory Democracy," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997): 855–85.

<sup>64</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, May 12, 1810.

<sup>65</sup> *New York Commercial Advertiser*, April 28, 1810. See also Huston, *Land and Freedom*, 116–29.

<sup>66</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, March 7, 1801.

<sup>67</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, April 30, 1810.

<sup>68</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, March 9, 1801.

<sup>69</sup> Noble E. Cunningham, "Election of 1800," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Fred L. Israel, eds., *History of American Presidential Elections* (New York, 1971), 101–34.

destroy the American republic and marry his son to the daughter of George III to create a North American Adams dynasty.<sup>70</sup> Year after year, in county after county, in state after state, voters trooped to the polls registering their solid identification with one party. There were few variations in the party vote and very few conversions of voters from one party to the other.<sup>71</sup> A party identity was linked to both local and national attachments. It exploited both local and national antagonisms. Party identification thus avoided the classic problem of democratization identified by Geertz: the rivalry between national and local loyalties.

This period of polarization between 1795 and 1815 we might think of as the time of "binary pluralism." As long as American identity was focused on the idea that Americans were anti-British or ultra-British, national identity was secure. As soon as anti-French, anti-atheist, anti-Jacobin identity became more salient for the more conservative portion of the nation, a unitary national identity was no longer possible.

At other times in American history, partisans have thrown epithets of "foreignism" at each other. What makes this period unique is the symmetry of these binary opposites. Cries of "Tory" are matched to those of "Jacobin"; "British tyranny" is paralleled to French "atheism." The world of early republican partisanship displays a "beautiful equality of balances": in the symmetrical charges and counter-charges, in the antithetical policy positions published in table form just below the newspaper masthead.

Binary symmetry permitted the construction of both an imaginary partisan community and an imaginary, antithetical "other." This imagined construction in fact required symmetry and balance in order to make loyalty possible. Binary symmetry made it possible to project local, internal rivalries externally, and, rendered thus, they were far more frightening than if they had been portrayed as internal divisions. As long as the Federalists were simply stand-ins for the British, and the Republicans were merely proxies for the French, lingering anti-foreign animosities could be enlisted and built on to solicit the partisan identity needed to combat the external foe.

The very fact that these binary polarities were created and sustained even after French Jacobins and American "Tories" had ceased to exist indicates their persuasive psychological power going even beyond the generation that came of age in the late eighteenth century. Binary opposition persisted in the minds of partisans: the world was divided into Francophile Jeffersonians and Anglomane Hamiltonians well into the time when factions among the Republicans coalesced with the Federalists, or when intra-party conflicts became as fierce a struggle as earlier contention between the Federalists and Republicans had been. The newspapers explained out-of-doors politics to their readers not in terms of factional or non-political squabbles but in terms of Tory treachery or Jacobin mob rule. Political

<sup>70</sup> James Thomson Callender, *The Prospect before Us* (1800; rpt. microform edn., Worcester, Mass., 1964).

<sup>71</sup> Philip J. Lampi, "Election of 1800 Revisited," paper delivered at the American Historical Association Meeting, Chicago, Ill., January 8, 2000. See also Lampi, Voting Data Collection, First Democracy Project, American Antiquarian Society; Formisano, *Transformation of American Political Culture*, 348–54.

loyalties remained consistent among the parties' voting base even as the loyalties of their officeholders weakened.

These internal divisions were rendered more significant by their projection onto an Atlantic stage. At the same time, local divisions were rendered less divisive by the fact that they could also be enlisted in rival partisan identities without surrendering local identity to national identity. This is the difference between the United States and most other imagined nation-states. Most other states create for themselves a national identity that must then establish its supremacy over earlier, deeply rooted local loyalties. The result is lingering local-national animosity, as in postrevolutionary France, as in the *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck's Germany, or in the civil wars of Ireland, Sri Lanka, India/Pakistan, and Nigeria. Americans, by being partisans foremost, could be Virginians and Republicans, New Englanders and Federalists. Their partisan identity they recognized as the "true" American identity. Regionalism need not be surrendered to national loyalty, because the "true" American identity is both locally vested and at the same time extended to all likeminded souls across the republic. Binary loyalties could be based on policy, ideology, or religious scruples, and at different times they were each of these.

Americans living in the early republic had failed to do two things most states have found necessary in creating a viable national identity. They had failed to establish a unitary, or "received," definition of what it meant to be an American. With the failure of the Federalists to secure their tribal definition of American nationalism, the possibilities for national definition became even more pluralistic. Moreover, no single region, or dialect, or religious denomination became at this critical early stage the "received" definition of Americanism the way the Anglican religion, High German language, or Tuscan regional identity became the template for other countries' sense of nationhood. Americans struggled along with a plural, ideological, intellectualized version of loyalty for the better part of two generations. This gave Americans plenty of reason to vote and to debate policy and ideology, without the need yet for the ethnocultural definitions of partisanship that emerged in Jacksonian and antebellum politics.<sup>72</sup>

Binary symmetry allowed for a better informed discussion of policy, better selection of candidates, and fewer appeals to religious sectarianism and regional rivalries than would ever again be the case in American politics. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, ordinary Americans had been invited to deliberate on questions of foreign policy, military preparedness, trade issues, banking and debt funding, separation of church and state, freedom of speech and of the press, and internal improvements. Americans then made rational choices constructed, in part, on imagined loyalties and irrational fears: this was the consummate benefit of the "paranoid style" in American politics.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, William G. Shade, *Democratizing the Old Dominion: Virginia and the Second Party System, 1824–1861* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996).

<sup>73</sup> Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1965). For an insightful alternative view, see Richard D. Brown, *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1850* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR OF 1812, a sense of "national feeling" reemerged, and the definitions of national identity held by Republicans and Federalists once again converged. Americans of all regions, religions, and classes had experienced war with Britain, and this left them with a greater sense of unity. Being American no longer meant being simply anti-British or anti-French, however. The war left Americans with a greater sense of antagonism toward the British than toward the French. Federalists could no longer rally their supporters by raising the cry of Jacobinism, which seemed far less real than the recent memories of British attacks on American soil. On the other hand, the American victories at the end of the war and afterward gave all Americans cause for celebration. While the Republicans were quick to accuse all Federalists of supporting a "treasonable" peace settlement, even previously antiwar Federalists were quick to disavow any treasonable connections. Federalists, like Republicans, wrapped themselves in the glow of "victory," even if the war had not really constituted a victory for the United States.<sup>74</sup>

Partisan polarization disappeared for another reason: the war emergency had required of the Madison administration an activist federal government more in keeping with the economic policies of Federalists than it was with Jeffersonian Republicanism. At the end of the war, Madison supported the re-charter of a Bank of the United States and a protective tariff. Even Madison, the former strict constructionist, looked somewhat favorably on road, river, and harbor improvements as long as an enabling Constitutional amendment was passed. Many of the younger Republicans, including the later champion of states' rights, John C. Calhoun, favored these activist policies. The "Era of Good Feelings" acclaimed the personalities of the Virginia Dynasty even as it adopted the policies of the Hamiltonian Federalists. The political elite in both parties had much to appreciate in this restoration settlement. The immediate task before them was reconciling a people whose first loyalties lay in principle, policy, and ideology rather than in expediency.

Just three months after he was inaugurated president, James Monroe embarked on a triumphal tour of the Middle and New England states. The parallels between Monroe's tour and the previous triumphalist procession of George Washington were remarked upon by many contemporaries. The monarchical trappings associated with Monroe's visit were also a cause for observation, but no obvious alarm, in the Federalist press. The irony was too rich for many Federalists to let pass that Monroe, once the most radical of the Virginia Republicans, was now the beneficiary of rites associated with the welcome of medieval monarchs.

At the beginning of Monroe's tour, the president passed through Baltimore to commemorate that city's resistance to the British siege. The *New-York Evening Post* remarked that he was met "with all the 'pomp and circumstance' suitable to the great occasion." The committee appointed to greet him "waited upon him and made a speech suitable to the occasion, according to the ancient customs in France, whenever the grand monarch visited different parts of his kingdom."<sup>75</sup>

Like Washington, Monroe was hailed at Trenton, where "his approach was

<sup>74</sup> Seth Cotlar, "In Paine's Absence: The Trans-Atlantic Dynamics of American Popular Political Thought, 1789–1803" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2000); James M. Banner, *To the Hartford Convention: Federalists and Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815* (New York, 1970).

<sup>75</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, June 5, 1817.



announced by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells.”<sup>76</sup> Monroe, like Washington, had fought in the Battle of Trenton. In Elizabeth-Town, New Jersey, the *Newark Centinel of Freedom*, a Republican journal, drew both a parallel and a contrast between Monroe’s tour and royal processions. “Unarmed, unguarded, he can traverse the Union without personal injury, cheered by the plaudits and good wishes of almost innumerable freemen—while the prince regent of England can scarcely stick his nose out of the door without being ‘stoned or fired upon.’”<sup>77</sup>

In Boston, Monroe was celebrated in a manner that truly echoed the festivities for Washington. On the Fourth of July, he was rowed across Boston Harbor to the *U.S.S. Independence* by a fourteen-oared barge. After the ships in the harbor, large and small, saluted, he returned to land at Charlestown to inspect the revolutionary battle sites at Bunker Hill. In the center of Charlestown, a “Civic Arch” had been erected with garlands of flowers and “unions of roses red and white together” to symbolize reconciliation. One side of the arch was inscribed “17th June 1775,” commemorating the battle. On the other side of the arch were the words “National Prosperity.”<sup>78</sup> As the *New Haven Herald* observed, “The demon of party for a time departed, and gave place for a general burst of NATIONAL FEELING.”<sup>79</sup>

The Battle of Bunker Hill had been, in fact, a defeat for the American revolutionaries. It seemed the dubious “victories” of Bunker Hill and the War of 1812 had defeated the earlier partisan rivalry that had enlivened the activism of ordinary Americans. Prosperity had overcome the divisions that had beset the Union for three decades; popular participation in the midst of political vacuousness withered into apathy lasting another decade. When Americans again found themselves enlisted in politics during the 1820s, they would be encouraged to pay far more attention to their ethnic, religious, and regional rivalries.

The binary symmetry of the early republic had created time and opportunity for local and national identity to coexist, until a final bloody resolution two generations later. Yet, even in the very midst of national reconciliation, the first hints emerged of the terrible consequences of the unresolved rivalry between local and national loyalties. The partisanship of the early republic fueled a smoldering fire that would later consume the Union.

<sup>76</sup> *Newark Centinel of Freedom*, June 10, 1817.

<sup>77</sup> *Newark Centinel of Freedom*, June 10, 1817.

<sup>78</sup> *Boston Columbian Centinel*, July 7, 1817.

<sup>79</sup> *New Haven Herald*, July 7, 1817; rpt. in *Niles Weekly Register*, July 12, 1817.

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To What Can Late Eighteenth-Century French, British, and  
American Anxieties Be Compared? Comment on  
Three Papers

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BENEDICT ANDERSON

THE PECULIARITY OF NATIONS AND NATIONALISMS is that they are never alone, and never original. They live by comparison and seriality, which is why we think of the United Nations as perfectly normal and would find a United Religions, a United Races, or a United Ethnicities bizarre if not grotesque. Accordingly, specific studies of any particular nationalism necessarily exist in a complex comparative field, both practical and theoretical. In the comment that follows on three first-class articles dealing with the discursive politics of "England," "America," and "France" during the last third of the eighteenth century, and the opening of the nineteenth, I will try to set in a somewhat wider comparative frame some of the questions the authors raise, in the hope of thereby opening up further discussion. The first section compares the ambiguous identities of "Americans" and "English" in the 1770s, so finely detailed in Dror Wahrman's article "The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution," with the no less ambiguous identities of contemporary Taiwanese, Mainland Chinese, and Singaporeans, within the broad subset of "settler" or "creole" nationalisms. The next section responds to David A. Bell's lucid examination of the anxieties of French intellectuals about "the French" in the period immediately before and during the revolution, by considering the long positional "world war" between Legitimacy and Nationalism that began in 1776–1789 and ended in 1918, as well as the implications of the shift from the "royal we" to "We The People." The third section focuses primarily on Andrew W. Robertson's engaging inspection of the oscillations between national solidarity and vituperative factionalism during the first decades of America's independence, in his "Look on This Picture . . . And on This!" An attempt is made to expand our understanding of these oscillations by situating them against the background of the First Cold War (1793–1815), in which America appears rather like Australia in the Second, and by comparing them with the postrevolutionary crises of ex-Spanish America.

Over the past two or three years, people who happen to visit electronic chat-rooms frequented by male students from the Chinese People's Republic have noted something curious. On the one hand, there are plenty of brutal messages

insisting that the Taiwanese are not really and truly Chinese. They are said to be the ultimate products of sexual relations, violent or consensual, between local women and Japanese men during the fifty years of Japanese colonization of the island (1895–1945). It is their mongrel (shall we say *mestizo*?) racial-ethnic identity that explains their treasonable demands for Formosan independence and their obsequious dependence on America and Japan. It appears, however, that all may not be entirely lost. Chatters have urged their countrymen to invade Taiwan and violate all Taiwanese women, thereby putting some honest mainland spermatozoa into them, out of which more genuinely Chinese children will be produced. Some even propose that Taiwanese men be raped, to put some mainland manliness into their effete, westernized, Japanified bodies. On the other hand, the chatters also typically insist that “Taiwan” is Chinese, even if the Taiwanese are only residually so. The Place belongs to the *ci-devant* Middle Kingdom and its descendants, even if perhaps the People do not.

The ugliness of these conversations need not be taken too seriously, since they are evidently an expression of the sexual frustration many mainland male students suffer on American campuses and the jealousy they feel toward their suaver, richer, more Americanized, less patriarchal Taiwanese competitors. But the anxiety about “who” the Taiwanese are is palpable and fascinating. This anxiety has increased to the degree that the post-1949 hostility between Peking and Taipei can no longer be easily understood as one between right-wing (Kuomintang) and left-wing (Communist) Chinese fighting for control of “China.” A bloody civil war was perhaps easier to deal with psychologically than what has succeeded it.

On Taiwan itself, there are also plenty of anxieties about identity. A powerful minority of mainlanders (and their children) who fled to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek in 1949, and dominated the “Republic of China” until the end of the 1990s, stick to their Chineseness and their “civil war” view of the hostility and suspicion across the Taiwan Straits. But time and tide are running against them, and more and more a Taiwanese “national identity” and Taiwanese nationalism are gaining strength. Broadcasts in the Taiwanese language (basically, Hokkien) are growing steadily at the expense of Mandarin. The small communities of aborigines (related to the peoples of the Philippines and Indonesia) once regarded as “savages” are being repositioned as Native Taiwanese, along the lines of Native Americans, treated more generously in everyday practice and more romantically in everyday popular culture. Mixed (*mestizo*) descent can have its own chic. The early European name for the island, Formosa (“Beautiful” in Latin), more and more crops up in advertising and popular magazines. Yet there are also plenty of Taiwanese patriots who revere the “Chinese classics,” Confucian morality, and so on. And everyone reads the “written Chinese” that is read on the mainland.

Furthermore, not that far over the horizon, there is the *soi-disant* nation-state of Singapore, with a population overwhelmingly “Chinese” (originally from the mainland’s Southeast littoral) but declaring itself Singaporean/Not Chinese. The mainland seems to have no difficulty in dealing with these “Chinese” as if they belonged to another nation. But the durable dictatorship of Lee Kuan-yew’s People’s Action Party (1957 to the present) has shown interesting anxieties. For

several decades, "Chinese-language schools" were repressed in favor of English-language schools, not least because the violently anti-Communist regime had started life with the idea that Singapore, too, was another battlefield in the Chinese civil war, as well as in the larger Cold War. During the 1980s, however, angered and perhaps worried by Western criticism of its repressive practices and the growing influence of American culture on local youth, the regime re-stressed the importance of Mandarin and developed an elaborate (and ultimately futile) program to revive and deepen Confucianism as a core "Asian Value."

If, in these sketchy notes on Taiwan, mainland China (or just China?), and Singapore, there are clear and strong resonances with major themes in the articles of Wahrman and Robertson, we should not really be surprised. Colonists from the mainland arrived (spontaneously) in significant numbers in the same seventeenth century that saw the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers and their epigones on the northeast coast of the Atlantic. The rise of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty after 1644 eventually brought Formosa under notional imperial rule (perhaps like the United States' various Pacific "possessions"). At various times and places, Japanese, Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards established outposts and created limited zones of control. Aboriginal inhabitants were increasingly marginalized and mistreated. Imperial administration, such as it was, grew more rapacious and corrupt as time passed. But the island only became formally a "regular" province of the empire toward the end of the nineteenth century. Not long afterward, the (first) Sino-Japanese War broke out, Peking was defeated, and had to cede Taiwan to Tokyo (1895). This cession did not cause a great deal of pain in China, because it occurred in a monarchical-imperial world-era in which state borders waxed and waned with military success or failure and diplomatic horsetrading. (Nothing offers a greater contrast to this era than our own, where national borders are sacred. The United States "acquired" Alaska by deal and purchase only thirty years before Japan "acquired" Taiwan by deal and force, but selling it has long since become literally inconceivable.)

The resonances between contemporary Taiwan-China and the Thirteen Colonies–United Kingdom of the late eighteenth century suggest a broader comparative framework for some kinds of historical and theoretical investigation. This framework would allow us to think about "settler" or, more clearly, "creole" communities right across the Americas from Argentina and Chile, through Mexico and the United States as far as Anglo-Canada and French Canada, as well as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Taiwan, and Singapore. All came into being in the era of High Monarchy. All were created by maritime expansion of the imperial core, often over vast distances. All experienced mestization of one kind or another (out of sexual relations with aborigines, imported slaves, natives, or Europeans originating outside the empire). All, at different times and to different degrees, felt themselves slighted and misruled by the metropole's political, military, and/or ecclesiastical emissaries. In the historical era of nationalism, all faced/face the ambiguities of their "mongrel origins," as Daniel Defoe would have said.

In later eighteenth-century Spain, "pureblood" Spanish creoles from, say, Argentina and Mexico were called, disparagingly, *americanos* in Madrid and

Salamanca. This adjective did not exactly mean that they were not Spanish at all but rather a degenerate, morally dubious, uncouth “sort-of” Spanish. In London, until fairly recently, “Australian” and “New Zealander” had exactly the same disparaging “poor cousin with a shady past” connotation. (This scorn was usually returned in kind, in such anti-metropolitan epithets as *maturrango* and “pommie.”) Conversely, there were always plenty of creoles and mestizos for whom the allure of the metropole and its high civilization engendered substantial loyalties, even in the gravest crises. The long war for American independence and the far longer and more devastating wars for the independence of the Spanish colonies are surely inexplicable without these loyalties. Australia still hesitates to declare itself a republic. Settler New Zealanders are only now toying with the idea of calling themselves *pakeha* according to the Maori idiom. And the grandchildren of Kuomintang “settlers” are self-consciously “trying to become Taiwanese.”

If in this transhistorical frame, we can line up all the creoles/mestizos together: English, Scottish, German in the United States, Spanish in Spanish America, French in Canada, Portuguese in Brazil, English and Irish in Australia, Dutch and English in South Africa, Chinese in Taiwan and Singapore (should one add English and Scots in Ireland?)—still, that transhistoricity conceals or can conceal some important distinctions. Wahrman’s “English Problem with Identity” strikingly underscores one of these: the absence of any well-understood and accepted idea of “normal nationalism” in the 1770s and 1780s. The (American) Declaration of Independence was made in the name of a People who still had no name. The situation was not too different in Spanish America. When José Francisco de San Martín, marching in from Argentina, destroyed the last citadel of imperial Spanish power in the viceroyalty of Peru, he had, as it were, to baptize its residents as *peruanos*, including the “Indian” communities speaking nothing but Aymara and Quechua. Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Ecuador—these states did not come into being instantly, without tergiversations, and free from flats, fantasy, and firepower.

After the French Revolution, which only became “French” by a sort of unconscious *esprit d’escalier*, nationalism gradually developed into a normative international framing. It did not become hegemonic until the formation of the League of Nations after The Great War and almost a century and a half after George Washington’s triumph. Nonetheless, as time passed, people more and more knew what they had to do and what they had to “look like.” The Philippine Revolution against Spain in the 1890s worked from by-then well-established models of nationness, with which the Liberator was not blessed. But even its great hero, José Rizal, of part Spanish, Tagalog, Chinese, and perhaps Japanese descent, wrote his astounding nationalist novels in Spanish, not his native language, Tagalog, partly because he wanted to be read in Spain. And it took him almost a decade to abandon the imagery of Spain as an indifferent, cruel Mother.

FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT, the roughly 150 years that elapsed between the American Declaration of Independence and the formation of the League of Nations ought to



be read also as the period of a tenacious, defensive war of position on the part of nationalism's early enemy: Legitimacy—marvelously understood as the opposite of nationalism's lowercase legitimacy.

If one considers the Declaration of Independence, for example, eighteen of its twenty-three paragraphs (one of these has nine subparagraphs each beginning with "For") commence accusingly with the word "He," and only two commence with "We." The enemy is George III, King of Great Britain, not of the English nor of Linda Colley's British, who are never in fact referred to. One does not get any sense that this language is merely a tactical ruse, designed to win sympathy in the metropole, in the way that, in our time, Argentineans could tactically denounce "Thatcher's War in the Malvinas" to left-wing English reporters. The eighteen chanted He's of Thomas Jefferson's text show us two simple things: the first is that it is partly an anachronism to write about the transatlantic crisis of the 1770s in terms of conflicts between two nations, and therefore ambiguities about who the Americans or the British were were not simply "identitarian questions" such as are familiar to us today but were deeply connected to the quagmire of changing ideas about fealty. George III was the monarch of many territories in Europe, the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia, and the fealty he required was to his person, not at all to any function as the "representative" of a nation. (Even today, many patriotic Australians feel loyal to Elizabeth II but not in the least to Tony Blair or Great Britain.) The fact that George III's grandfather George I knew almost no English, and his father, George II, not a great deal more, was a matter of general indifference. Indeed, the House of Hanover did not bother to anglicize itself to House of Windsor until the middle of the Great War!

It has not been sufficiently noticed that far the largest part of Europe's extra-European empires (to say nothing of intra-European ones such as Austro-Hungary) were accumulated under the sign of Legitimacy. This is plainly true of Britain, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Russia. The Netherlands acquired the "Netherlands East Indies" at the same moment that it acquired for the first time a monarchy (1815). France might appear to be the exception, but the great "French" expansions in India, North America, and the Caribbean took place under the *ancien régime*. French Algeria, Cambodia, Vietnam, Guinea, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and Djibouti were all projects of Charles X, Louis-Philippe, and Louis Napoléon. The conquests of 1880–1905, mainly in Africa, were essentially logical extensions of what had previously been achieved under Legitimacy.

The peculiarity of High Monarchy (Empire in the classical sense) was that it had no permanent boundaries: these could collapse completely and even disappear (the Kingdom of Poland or Burgundy) or could expand seemingly without limit. It did not absolutely require a permanent capital. (The most powerful ruler of early sixteenth-century Europe, Charles V, was on the move almost all his life.) It was not until quite late that the "big" monarchs were understood as mere "representatives" of national or ethnic groups. This is why Victoria was unembarrassed related to every ruling house in Europe, why Wittelbachs ruled in Athens and Munich, Hohenzollerns in Bucharest and Berlin, Habsburgs in Vienna and Madrid, Bourbons in Madrid and Paris, and so on. The Romanovs were Czars of All the Russias,

the Habsburgs and Bourbons Kings of (All) the Spains—which included Naples, the Philippines, and Cuba—the Hanoverians from Victoria's time Empresses/Emperors of India as well as Kings/Queens of Great Britain. It was exactly this "absence" of apical nationality that made imperial fealty possible. And how grand it seemed! Monarchs were a species set apart. When they married in older times, their queens brought vast territories, peoples, industries, and strategic fortresses along as dowries. They were rightly famous for their ingratitude, but they regarded themselves as responsible only to the one higher authority in Heaven.

From this angle, we can see that what doomed the great European empires—starting with the Spanish at the beginning of the nineteenth century—was the slow decline of Legitimacy itself. It was not necessary for a monarch to be a racist to rule an empire, since his family was above any other. But for a post-(serious) monarchical regime to create, expand, or retain an empire, in the name of a nation, racism was absolutely essential. Finally, when these monarchies were gone, they were really gone, ffffffft, so to speak. Today, one can speak poignantly of genocide but not of dynasticide, let alone of impericide. Even regicide has an archaic smell to it.

But it did not have this smell, perhaps, until Ekaterinburg, 1918, just as the League of Nations was trying on its party clothes. Certainly not in seventeenth-century England or in late eighteenth-century France. Execution of a "divine monarch"—in public, not by intrapalace assassination—was understood everywhere as something completely extraordinary: damnable or heroic. Nothing shows this more clearly than the ludicrous weepings of the generally sensible Edmund Burke over the death of the terminally vapid Marie Antoinette (clearly the ancestor of equally ludicrous weepings of too many British intellectuals over "Princess Di"). But who was entitled to sentence the Monarch to death? Execution in the name of what? Furthermore, once he or she was executed, that dynasty was thought to be ended for good. To be replaced by what/who? Something interesting shows up already in the language of the Declaration of Independence. Here, the "royal we" is signally, cautiously displaced by another we—We The People. (But if George III had fallen into Washington's hands, can one imagine him being tried and executed?)

The guillotining of Louis Bourbon on January 21 of the Year II, at the behest of a *National* Assembly elected by universal male suffrage (which in the United States had to wait a further century and a half for its realization) clearly marks the pivotal moment at which divine monarchy and the nation-state passed each other on human history's moving escalators. Before this act, it was possible for jurists, publicists, and intellectuals to speak about the "nation" of France, with a certain *légèreté*—without it mattering a great deal and with plenty of ambiguities. But beheading a king (even if he and his ancestors had had hundreds or thousands of lesser mortals beheaded over the years) was an enormous political and ideological blow against a system of social and religious ordering that had dominated Europe for centuries. It could only be justified by a new Sovereign We, before whom the former Monarch was placed as just *another*—delinquent, treasonous—Frenchman.

The new Sovereign was bound to have a character different from that of its

predecessor. Executions also showed this difference. A monarch could have people executed while dallying with a mistress or out hunting for deer. He was immune to the laws by which his servants carried out the killings he decreed. He could be "light" if he felt so inclined, since behind him stood God. But the National We who guillotined Louis Bourbon could not be "light," since its legitimacy did not come from God but rather from some self-generated Good.

The Goodness of the Nation was a new and remarkable idea, since it appeared in the face of plenty of contrary evidence. Some of this type of evidence is nicely displayed in David A. Bell's article "The Unbearable Lightness of Being French." If French intellectuals, politicians, and publicists worried about the frivolity, decadence, debauchery, selfishness, superficiality, and lack of patriotism of their fellow countrymen (and this could not entirely be attributed to the example and influence of the monarch, the aristocracy, and the prelates) at the same time that they endorsed the new guillotining Sovereign, it would be a mistake to regard the apparent contradiction as an incoherence or an aporia.

The Nation was the first historical polity for which the Future was an essential foundation. Moving onward through Walter Benjamin's "empty, homogeneous time," it was not headed for the Day of Judgment, and it knew it had no place in Heaven or in Hell. So it thought, and continues to think, about future Frenchmen and future Americans, who in their uncountable numbers stand lining up in Limbo for their entrance onto the national territory. These ghostly French and Americans, innocent of any crimes, frivolities, and other sins, are those before whom presently living citizens are morally arraigned, and to whose standards of virtue they are asked to do obeisance. They are understood as the guarantee that no matter how appalling the behavior and morals of "actually existing" French and Americans, We The People in the transcendent sense, and in the sense of Rousseau's General Will, is always Good. One might even go so far as to wonder whether this exalted Goodness does not generally *require* a lot of worry and dissatisfaction about the present condition of the nation. In this sense, the France of the 1780s and 1790s does not seem so different from the United States of today, which, depending on the observer, can be seen as teeming with inner-city gangsters and rapists, drug dealers and addicts, corrupt politicians, welfare cheats, fascist Minutemen, shady lawyers, grasping HMOs, witless generals, intolerable teenagers, environment muggers, whining ethnics, corporate psychopaths, etc. etc. without these perceptions in the least undermining the solid conviction that—somehow—America is Good.

IF THE JOHN ADAMS ADMINISTRATION enacted the repressive Sedition Acts against its political rivals in 1798, and the deafening level of vituperation between the rivalrous Federalists and Republicans persisted well into Jefferson's regime, these episodes were immediately preceded by the solidarity of the revolutionary years, and followed by the Era of Good Feeling. Explaining these oscillations is complicated by the fact, not well recognized in our time in these United States, that in the world

of the 1790s America was a rather unimportant country on the periphery of the international system, a bit like Australia in the 1990s. The Big Powers were all in Europe. Between 1792 and 1815, London and Paris were almost continuously engaged in warfare for dominance in Europe and other parts of the world, and in these wars a large number of lesser powers were lined up with one or another side. Until Robespierre's fall in 1794, during Washington's second term, this conflict had a genuine and powerful ideological character. But this character faded during the Directory, and can be said to have ended with Bonaparte's coup d'état of November 7, 1799, at the halfway point of the Adams administration. Jefferson concluded the Louisiana Purchase at the end of 1803 only months before Napoleon's grandiose coronation as Emperor took place (presided over, amusingly, by a calmly kidnapped pope). Furthermore, the First Consul's restoration of slavery and the slave trade for the Paris-controlled empire in 1802 not only reversed the emancipatory policy of Robespierre and the Jacobins, and reassured Southern slaveowners terrified by Haiti, but opened the way for London to take the decisive abolitionist step in 1808. Two years into James Madison's administration, the Horrible He of 1776 went permanently mad, and the regency of his raffish son began. Four years later, Napoleon was gone, and monarchy was restored or imposed everywhere in Europe. Reactionary He-Britain become abolitionist, Radical France welcoming its first-ever Emperor and the restoration of slavery: rather confusing for everyone, especially those who had from a distance identified with the initial positions of one or the other.

In retrospect, the oscillation of that time can seem not too different from the years of the Cold War in the U.S. of A.: huge national solidarity during the battle against Hitler and Hirohito; in its immediate aftermath, the violent and rancorous partisanship of the McCarthy era more or less spanning the time from the Berlin Blockade to Stalin's death; a subsequent Era of (relative) Good Feeling under the Eisenhower-Kennedy-and-Khrushchev era as the conditions emerged in which it began to be possible for conservative American journalists, scholars, and diplomats to speak with unconscious irony of dangerous "conservatives" rather than "Reds" in the Kremlin.

The moments of violent partisan attachments in the time of Adams and early Jefferson, as in that of Truman and early Eisenhower, look today like the periodic small storms that disturb the placidity of nationalist democracies and give them new energy without seriously endangering them—the Dreyfus Affair, the General Strike of 1926, the mini-revolution of Pieter Troelstra's Dutch labor movement in 1918. In the angry 1790s, Republicans and Federalists still envisioned the same ghostly Good Americans up ahead—and this deep unity lasted until the War Between the States six decades later.

The partisan conflicts, in any case, pale by comparison with what happened in South and Central America. Over large parts of the continent, the first half-century after independence was a time of endless internal warfare and caudillist rule. The striking exception was the biggest country of them all: Brazil. One could ask oneself whether the exceptional stability of the United States (until 1860) and monarchical Brazil (until 1888) was not partly due to the fact that these were the only two

countries where slavery was not abolished in the same decades during which independence was achieved. It is interesting to imagine what would have happened to the United States if the remarkable Washington had the far more remarkable Liberator's vision, audacity—and profoundly antagonistic constituencies!

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*Review Essay*  
On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century  
Latin America

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HILDA SABATO

IN THE LAST TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS, citizenship has become a crucial term in political and academic debates. Not least in Latin America. While in the turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s, that term was absent from the mainstream political and ideological discourses of most Latin American countries, in the 1980s it became a key word in the language of the transition to democracy, and in the 1990s, a major topic of public debate. This classic theoretical concept has expanded and diversified its meaning in controversial ways. The most interesting recent attempts to define (or redefine) citizenship are those that delve into the two great intellectual traditions where the concept originated and flourished, civic republicanism and liberalism, and connect to the old dilemma of how to reconcile “la liberté des anciennes” and “la liberté des modernes.”<sup>1</sup>

The problematic of citizenship has also informed studies of the past and has been particularly productive in the field of political history. In the case of Latin America, scholars are using this new lens to revisit the nineteenth century, when the definition of citizenship and the constitution of a citizenry became key aspects of the nation-building process triggered after independence. Most of the previous historiography had interpreted that process in terms of the transition of the Western world from the *ancien régime* societies to the modern states, and of the advancements made, and the obstacles encountered, in the linear and progressive path that presumably led from the former to the latter. The new literature has questioned this linear view, and by introducing the problematic of citizenship, it has

This work was mainly written while I was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, in Stanford, California, in 1998–1999, and concluded in Buenos Aires. I am grateful for financial support provided by the Citicorp Foundation in the United States and by the University of Buenos Aires (UBACyT Program) in Argentina. I presented earlier versions for discussion at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley; the Latin American Program at Stanford University; and the Colloquium Series *Citizenship, Culture and Democracy* at the Center for History, Society, and Culture, University of California, Davis. I wish to thank the audiences for the comments I received during those presentations, as well as the *AHR* anonymous referees. My special gratitude to Nancy Cott, who made valuable suggestions for the original version.

<sup>1</sup> See Salvatore Veca, *Cittadinanza: Riflessioni filosofiche sull'idea di emancipazione* (Milan, 1990); Chantal Mouffe, ed., *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community* (London, 1992); Ronald Beiner, ed., *Theorizing Citizenship* (Albany, N.Y., 1995); Paul Clarke, *Deep Citizenship* (Chicago, 1996); Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (London, 1997); Bryan Turner and Peter Hamilton, eds., *Citizenship: Critical Concepts* (London, 1994), among others.

both enriched and complicated the picture of nineteenth-century political developments.

In what follows, and on the basis of this recent literature, I shall reflect on some of the main issues posed by the history of political citizenship in Latin America. These issues will sound familiar to scholars concerned with other areas of the world that were also deeply transformed by the passage from colonial rule to independent government, the constitution of the nation-states, or the formation of polities based on the principles of modern representation and popular sovereignty. Latin America has, nevertheless, its particular history; moreover, each country within the region followed its own path to political organization. By reviewing the work on specific cases informed by a common perspective—a shared interest in political citizenship—this essay seeks to identify the most salient problems in the political history of nineteenth-century Latin America and to provide an analytical survey useful for establishing comparisons with other regions of the world.

DURING THE EARLY YEARS of the nineteenth century, Spain and its American territories entered a period of great and radical transformations. In a very short time, the edifice of the monarchy collapsed, and the subsequent attempts to hold the old empire together on new bases failed. The old regime was dismembered, and colonial America split into multiple parts. Wars and revolutions followed. Thus started the long history of the formation of new polities, the redefinition of sovereignties, the constitution of new political regimes. Attempts at nation building followed different directions, and many a project was tried only to fail. There was no linear or predetermined path that led to the nation-states; they eventually consolidated during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

This complex history notwithstanding, from the River Plate to New Spain, the polities that took shape after independence adopted sooner rather than later the republican form of government based on the principle of popular sovereignty. At a time when most of the Western world, with the conspicuous exception of the United States, endorsed monarchy, Spanish America opted for the republic. Monarchy was discussed almost everywhere, tried in some areas—such as Mexico—and in the end dropped. The republican alternative entailed a radical change in the principles of legitimization of political power and brought about the foundation of new political regimes.

Brazil offers a rather different story. Its independence from Portugal in 1822 was a relatively “peaceful and negotiated process,” which culminated in the creation of a constitutional monarchy headed by Emperor Pedro I, the son of the Portuguese king. Although many things changed with the establishment of the autonomous empire, the transition from colony to independence was less disruptive than in the former Spanish territories, and Brazil remained a single polity even after becoming

<sup>2</sup> See, among others, Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Reforma y disolución de los imperios ibéricos, 1750–1850* (Madrid, 1985); Frank Safford, “Politics, Ideology and Society,” in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Spanish America after Independence c. 1820–c. 1870* (London, 1987), 48–122.

a republic in 1889. The imperial constitution of 1824, however, introduced modern forms of representation that changed the nature of the regime.<sup>3</sup>

The adoption of the principle of sovereignty of the people entailed a deep transformation of the normative framework for the legitimization of political power. In the revolutionary years and in the first decade of independence, most of the constitutions drafted in Latin America sought to break with the colonial political order, not only by instituting new political regimes based on modern representation but also by introducing the liberal principle of political equality, defining civil and political liberties, and establishing the juridical notion of the individual. In that conflictive early period, the region was a fertile ground for the circulation of different ideologies, social theories, and political doctrines. Among the revolutionary elites, however, ideas and concepts originating in the Iberian and French Enlightenment, Anglo-Saxon liberalism and civic humanism, and French Jacobinism prevailed, and the first constitutions bear witness to those alignments. This orientation did not preclude the inclusion of political motifs that belonged to other intellectual families, but the new norms pointed toward the radical modification of the colonial order and the institution of a modern society and a representative government.

This initial liberal drive was soon replaced by a more conservative mood, as the hegemonic groups within the new elites grew increasingly concerned with political instability and the possibility of social unrest. But some of the principles established in the revolutionary years were there to stay, and although throughout the rest of the century power changed hands many times, ideological influences varied, and territorial boundaries were redefined, certain basic political principles remained the same. In the republics of former Spanish America and in the Brazilian monarchy, popular sovereignty and modern representation were always the norm.<sup>4</sup>

In that context, the definition of political citizenship and the formation of an actual citizenry became important dimensions of the political transformations of nineteenth-century Latin America. The figure of the modern citizen proposed by the liberals—the abstract and universal individual, free and equal to the rest—started to circulate early in the century,<sup>5</sup> when it overlapped with more traditional notions of the body politic that evoked the institutions of colonial and even pre-colonial times: the *pueblos*, the *comunidades*, the subject, the *vecino* (neighbor or resident). This overlapping notwithstanding, the concept of citizen gained increasing favor among the ascending revolutionary elites and found its way into the first constitutions. The latter defined, and at the same time presumed, an ideal citizen who was granted political rights and made a member of the national polity. The legal definitions of and limits to citizenship varied from place to place, and they also changed with time, stemming from the different strands of thought and beliefs that informed the legislation of the new polities. At the same time, the actual process of citizenship building had only partly to do with those normative

<sup>3</sup> José Murilo de Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía en Brasil* (Mexico City, 1995), 21–23.

<sup>4</sup> Halperin Donghi, *Reforma y disolución*; Safford, "Politics, Ideology and Society."

<sup>5</sup> The liberal notion of political citizenship presupposes, in the words of Pierre Rosanvallon, "a complete break with the traditional conceptions of the body politic," now considered to consist of free and equal individuals. Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen: Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 1992), 14.

boundaries, as it resulted from the complex combination, negotiation, and confrontation of principles, expectations, and practices of different groups in society, both dominant and subaltern, and from the articulation and rearticulation of new and traditional social relations and hierarchies. The problem of political citizenship opens, therefore, a vast field for investigation into the political history of nineteenth-century Latin America.

This is precisely the terrain being recently trod by scholars. In tune with historians of other areas of the world, they are producing a new literature that is significantly changing our view of the transitions from colonial rule to independence and of the diverse and complex histories of nation building in the region.<sup>6</sup> I am referring here not only to the texts that explicitly address the topic of political citizenship but also to a larger corpus of works whose concerns may be broadly included in that problematic.<sup>7</sup>

In the past, citizenship was not absent from the literature on the nineteenth century. But its history was understood almost exclusively in terms of the development of political rights, particularly the right to vote, and measured against an ideal modernizing course of gradual expansion of the franchise. The model of progressive enfranchisement from a restricted to an enlarged citizenship was widely used to interpret nineteenth-century political modernization in different areas of the world.<sup>8</sup> Historical cases that did not fit this model—and most of the Latin American countries did not—were treated as deviations from the rule, anomalous and imperfect in terms of their transition to modernity and democracy. The new historical literature has left behind this restricted and linear approach and defined a wider, multilayered view of political citizenship. Suffrage still has a central place in the recent studies, but it has been reformulated, and there is a vast, innovative

<sup>6</sup> There is a vast recent production on the history of citizenship both for Europe and the United States. See, among others, the works by Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen*, and *Le peuple introuvable: Histoire de la représentation démocratique en France* (Paris, 1998); Alain Garrigou, *Le vote et la vertu: Comment les Français sont devenus électeurs* (Paris, 1992); Raymond Huard, *Le suffrage universel en France, 1848–1946* (Aubier, 1991); Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Frank O’Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Unreformed Electorate of Hanoverian England, 1734–1832* (Oxford, 1989); J. Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge, 1993); Paolo Pombeni, *La trasformazione politica nell’Europa liberale, 1870–1890* (Milan, 1986); Raffaele Romanelli, *Il comando impossibile: Stato e società nell’Italia liberale* (Bologna, 1995). For the United States, see Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (New York, 1998); Richard C. Sinopoli, *The Foundations of American Citizenship* (New York, 1992); Roger Smith, *Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, Conn., 1997); Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998); Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars, Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); and Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Ten years ago, Frank Safford, in an excellent article that revised the current literature on Latin American political history, pointed out that the field was still “in the first stages of historical research: the analysis of ideas as expressed by the elite through printed materials” and added that little was known about political processes or their social connections. Safford, “Politics, Ideology and Society,” 50. In the last few years, this situation has started to reverse, and to a great extent, this change may be accounted for by the literature on citizenship, as well as by the cultural approaches to race, nationalism, civil rituals, and popular culture in general.

<sup>8</sup> One of the most penetrating and influential versions of the progressive model was formulated by T. H. Marshall in his classic work *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (London, 1950). For a recent appraisal of the significance of that work, see Martin Bulmer, ed., *Citizenship Today: The Contemporary Relevance of T. H. Marshall* (London, 1996).

body of work on voting, elections, and electoral practices. At the same time, other previously unnoticed or neglected dimensions have acquired increasing visibility. Among them—in consonance with the present concern with the development of civil society—the types and modes of sociability, the formation of public spheres, and the construction of public opinion have become main topics of historical inquiry. Their connection to citizenship is recuperated in the recent literature, and therefore, when reflecting on its history in nineteenth-century Latin America, I am incorporating these dimensions previously absent from the studies on the subject.<sup>9</sup>

Other aspects of citizenship also merit the attention of scholars. Among them, the figure of the “armed citizen” and the role of the militias in the polity, the relationship between taxation and representation, and the citizen involvement in the jury system are explored in some of the current literature.<sup>10</sup> These topics are not new in the historiography of Latin America, but only recently have they been addressed from the point of view of political citizenship. In what follows, however, I shall leave behind these dimensions that, though increasingly present in the historical debates, have received until now less attention than those related to suffrage, the elections, and electoral practices, and to the development of new forms of sociability, the formation of a public sphere(s), and the construction of public opinion in the different areas and periods of nineteenth-century Latin America. It is to these topics that I shall now turn.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW POLITIES, that is, the new Latin American nations, after the severance of the colonial bonds was a long, contested, and often contradictory process. The political map changed many times during those decades, as different regional groups claimed their sovereignty and new states were defined and redefined with changing boundaries and jurisdictions. At the same time, competing ideas of the nation nurtured diverse national projects, endorsed by different social and political groups. The model of the modern, unified nation, consisting of equal individuals, potential citizens of the republics to be, circulated

<sup>9</sup> One of the most compelling pioneer analyses of the relationship between voting and other forms of involvement in public life is Albert C. Hirschman, *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton, N.J., 1982).

<sup>10</sup> See, among others, Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park, Pa., 1999); José Murilo de Carvalho, “Dimensiones de la ciudadanía en el Brasil del siglo XIX,” in Hilda Sabato, coord., *Ciudadanía política y formación de las naciones: Perspectivas históricas de América Latina* (Mexico City, 1999); and Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía*; Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios* (Mexico City, 1992); Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del movimiento plebeyo* (Bogotá, 1995); Alicia Hernández-Chávez, *La tradición republicana del buen gobierno* (Mexico City, 1993); Marta Irurozqui, “Las paradojas de la tributación: Ciudadanía y política estatal indígena en Bolivia, 1825–1900,” *Revista de Indias* 59, no. 217 (1999); and Irurozqui, “A bala, piedra y palo”: *La construcción de la ciudadanía política en Bolivia, 1826–1952* (Seville, 2000); Alberto Lettieri, *La república de la opinión: Política y opinión pública en Buenos Aires entre 1852 y 1862* (Buenos Aires, 1998); Víctor Peralta Ruiz, “El mito del ciudadano armado: La ‘Semana Magna’ y las elecciones de 1844 en Lima,” in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Mónica Quijada, “La ciudadanización del ‘indio bárbaro’: Políticas oficiales y oficiosas hacia la población indígena en la pampa y la Patagonia, 1870–1920,” *Revista de Indias* 59, no. 217 (1999); Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham, 1997).



early on in the nineteenth century, but it came in many different versions and experienced successive transformations. All the while, other, corporate and plural, notions of the nation coexisted and competed with the liberal projects. When the actual nation-states consolidated in the second half of the nineteenth century, the liberal matrix had prevailed, but traditions and modernities combined in many complex ways.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout this long and intricate process, political representation played a crucial role. The option for the republic in Spanish America, and for a constitutional monarchy in Brazil, introduced that issue from the start. The traditional, colonial ways of representation were challenged, and eventually displaced, by the new forms championed by the French Revolution, American democracy, and Spanish liberalism. "The people or the nation cannot speak, cannot act but through their representatives": this widely repeated statement formulated in revolutionary France by Abbé Sieyès summarizes the basic principle of modern representative government.<sup>12</sup> The election of the representatives was indicated as the main and the ideal form of political action on the part of the people. Modern representatives differed from those of the *ancien régime* societies. They were not supposed to act as delegates of any group or sector in particular, nor were they to be limited by the traditional imperative mandate. They represented, and at the same time produced, the will of the nation, the abstract community formed by individual citizens. Hence elections became a key aspect of the new system of government and a crucial moment in the relationship with the governed. The right to choose and to be chosen constituted the core of the political rights enjoyed by the citizens.<sup>13</sup>

Elections had long been practiced in the colonies, but only after 1812 did the old forms of representation start to give way to the new ones. In this respect, the Cádiz Constitution had a pervasive influence in some areas of Latin America during the last years of colonial rule and the initial independent period.<sup>14</sup> The countries that

<sup>11</sup> Scholars have proposed different interpretations of this process. See François-Xavier Guerra, *Modernidad e independencias: Ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas* (Madrid, 1992); José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Ciudades, provincias, estados: Orígenes de la Nación Argentina (1800-1846)* (Buenos Aires, 1997); Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía*; Halperin Donghi, *Reforma y disolución*; Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge, 1991); Gabriel Negretto and José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, "Rethinking the Legacy of the Liberal State in Latin America: The Cases of Argentina (1853-1916) and Mexico (1857-1910)," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, no. 2 (2000), among others. The failure of liberalism is strongly claimed in the classic works by Claudio Véliz, *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); and Richard Morse, "The Heritage of Latin America," in Louis Hartz, ed., *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1964).

<sup>12</sup> Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen*; William H. Sewell, Jr., *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and What Is the Third Estate?* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

<sup>13</sup> See, among others, Giovanni Sartori, *Elementi di teoria politica* (Bologna, 1983); Giuseppe Duso, *La rappresentanza: Un problema di filosofia politica* (Milan, 1988); D. Pécaut and B. Sorj, eds., *Métamorphose de la représentation politique* (Paris, 1991); Rosanvallon, *Le peuple introuvable*; and the classic book by Hanna Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967).

<sup>14</sup> Guerra, *Modernidad e independencias*; Marie-Danielle Demélas-Bohy, "Modalidades y significación de elecciones generales en los pueblos andinos, 1813-14," in Antonio Annino, coord., *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, siglo XIX: De la formación del espacio político nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1995); Antonio Annino, "Cádiz y la revolución territorial de los pueblos mexicanos, 1812-1821," in Annino, *Historia de las elecciones*; Antonio Annino, "Ciudadanía versus gobernabilidad republicana en México: Los orígenes de un dilema," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Virginia Guedea, "Las primeras elecciones populares en la ciudad de México, 1812-1813," *Estudios mexicanos* 7 (1991); Jaime E.

successively came to being after that transition also adopted elections as the only formally legitimate access to public office and the prescribed means to exercise political freedom.

The study of elections and suffrage has been a longstanding preoccupation of political history, not only in Latin America. In recent years, however, scholars have revised the prevailing approaches to those topics and have formulated new questions and produced original research that have changed our view of nineteenth-century electoral history both in Europe and the Americas. Much of the former literature was informed by the progressive model of expansion of the suffrage, and the actual histories of the right to vote were frequently squeezed into that mold or measured against it. At the same time, since electoral practices did not necessarily respond to the normative parameters defined by the laws, scholars often regarded them, with a condemning eye, as "corrupt." They also dismissed elections as of little consequence in the face of other, presumably more effective means to reach power, such as the use of military force. Today, the historiography understands the electoral and the military side of politics as closely related, and is more concerned with examining the transformation of suffrage and the actual role of elections and electoral practices in different cases than with exposing their vices.<sup>15</sup>

In Latin America, the first of these dimensions—the history of the right to vote—has attracted increasing attention on the part of scholars. In trying to identify the subject of representation, they have revised the constitutions and laws drafted throughout the period in the different areas, as well as the debates on that issue. As mentioned above, the liberal figure of the citizen overlapped with other notions of the subject of representation, such as the *pueblos*, the *comunidades*, and above all, the *vecino*, a concept that was frequently subsumed with that of citizen. Between 1813 and 1855, for example, all the electoral laws in Mexico stipulated as a main requisite for potential voters that they be "vecinos" of their locality. The word persisted in different contexts and probably referred to changing realities, but its usage always connoted the grounding of the abstract citizen in the particular territorial and social conditions of a concrete community. In other politics, the concept did not show a strong pattern of persistence; it tended to wither away in favor of the more modern term of citizen. That word, in turn, did not always refer strictly to the liberal version of "the abstract and universal individual, free and

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Rodríguez O., *La independencia de la América española* (Mexico City, 1996); and "Nacionalismo y ciudadanía en México, 1808–1825," *Tiempos de América* 1 (1997); Víctor Peralta Ruiz, "Elecciones, constitucionalismo y revolución en el Cusco, 1809–1815," *Revista de Indias* 56, no. 206 (1996); Hira de Gortari Rabiela, "Ayuntamientos y ciudadanos: La ciudad de México y los estados, 1812–1827," *Tiempos de América* 1 (1997).

<sup>15</sup> This perspective has produced interesting historiographical results in Europe. See, for example, Garrigou, *Le vote et la vertu*; Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen*; Daniel Gaxie, dir., *Explication du vote: Un bilan des études électorales en France* (Paris, 1985); Patrice Gueniffey, "Le moment du vote: Les systèmes électoraux de la période révolutionnaire," *Revue française de science politique* 43 (February 1993); Javier Tusell, ed., *El sufragio universal* (Madrid, 1991); Raffaele Romanelli, "Le regole del gioco: Note sull'impianto del sistema elettorale in Italia (1848–1895)," *Quaderni storici*, n.s., 69 (1988); Franco Andreucci, "La norma e la prassi: Le elezioni irregolari nell'Italia liberale (1861–1880)," *Passato e presente* 13, no. 34 (January–April 1995); Frank O'Gorman, "The Culture of Elections in England: From the Glorious Revolution to the First World War, 1688–1914," in Eduardo Posada-Carbó, ed., *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (New York, 1996), among others.

equal to the rest," as it frequently admitted qualifications that originated in other conceptual frameworks.<sup>16</sup>

Yet who were these "citizens"? The boundaries of political citizenship were *prima facie* defined by the breadth of political rights, particularly the right to vote, which proved extremely variable. Immediately after independence, in most of Spanish America, the right to vote was widely extended to the male population. All free, non-dependent, adult males were enfranchised, including those who belonged to the Indian population.<sup>17</sup> The normative notion of citizen that prevailed came closer to the postrevolutionary French *citoyen* than to John Locke's property owner. According to Pierre Rosanvallon, in France the only distinction "allowed by the abstraction of equality was that which pertains to the nature of the actual juridical subjects (age, sex, etc.)." Similarly, in the new polities, the electoral laws established few restrictions to the male franchise, and these were not based mainly on property or literacy barriers. Nor were ethnic distinctions included. The requisites of age, sex (women were not even mentioned; they were "naturally" ruled out), and residence were common to all areas, while in most of them, dependent males (servants, *domésticos*) were also excluded. Slaves were ruled out everywhere. The hierarchies of the colonial society were thus partially erased, in favor of new political categories.<sup>18</sup>

These initial boundaries were modified during the 1820s and 1830s. In most areas of the region, the elites increasingly attributed the difficulties in founding a stable political order to the extended suffrage. The introduction of the French doctrine's differentiation between active and passive citizens paved the way for a new definition of the ideal citizen. In several places, there were proposals to introduce property, income, or literacy qualifications to the franchise. These provisions, however, did not always find their way into the legislation, and, from this point onward, the electoral history of each country followed a different and zigzag path not easily included in a general pattern.

The case of Peru illustrates the complexities of the history of suffrage. On the

<sup>16</sup> Guerra, *Modernidad e independencias*; François-Xavier Guerra, "El soberano y su reino: Reflexiones sobre la génesis del ciudadano en América Latina," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Chiaramonte, *Ciudades, provincias, estados*; José Carlos Chiaramonte, with Marcela Ternavasio and Fabián Herrero, "Vieja y nueva representación: Los procesos electorales en Buenos Aires, 1810–1820," in Annino, *Historia de las elecciones*; Chiaramonte, "Ciudadanía, soberanía y representación en la génesis del estado argentino (c. 1810–1852)," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Alicia Hernández Chávez, *La tradición republicana del buen gobierno* (Mexico City, 1993); Annino, "Cádiz y la revolución territorial"; and "Ciudadanía versus gobernabilidad"; Demélas-Bohy, "Modalidades y significación"; Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*; José Murilo de Carvalho, *Os bestializados: O Rio de Janeiro e a república que não foi* (São Paulo, 1987); Hans-Joachim König, *Auf dem Wege zur Nation: Nationalismus im Prozess der Staats- und Nationsbildung Neu-Granadas 1750–1856* (Stuttgart, 1988); Roland Anrup and Vicente Oieni, "Ciudadanía y nación en el proceso de emancipación," *Anales* (Universidad de Göteborg) 2 (1999), nueva época.

<sup>17</sup> In many areas of Latin America, particularly in the Andean regions of Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Central America, Indians and mestizos comprised a significant percentage of the total population and an even higher proportion of the popular classes.

<sup>18</sup> Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen*, 70–71; François-Xavier Guerra, "Las metamorfosis de la representación en el siglo XIX," in Georges Couffignal, comp., *Democracias posibles: El desafío latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1994, French original edn., 1992). The exception to the rule was Venezuela, where the constitution of 1811 established income and literacy qualifications. See Orlando Tovar, "Las instituciones electorales en Venezuela," Autores varios, *Sistemas electorales y representación política en Latinoamérica* (Madrid, 1986).

brink of total victory against the Spanish army, the liberal constitution of 1823 granted voting rights to all Peruvian men—Indians included—married or over twenty-five years of age, who could read and write, and were property owners *or* had a profession or trade *or* were employed in a “useful industry,” and did not belong to the class of servants or journeymen. The application of the literacy requirement was explicitly postponed until 1840 and, later on, abolished for Indians and mestizos, who thus remained potential members of the electorate regardless of their capacity to read or write. This broad definition of voting rights was expanded by the short-lived reforms of 1856, which also introduced direct voting. The Peruvian constitution of 1860 and the subsequent electoral law of 1861 returned to indirect elections and established new conditions for voting. Nonetheless, the requirements were even less constraining than in 1823: voting rights were granted to all Peruvians, married or over twenty-one, who could read and write *or* owned real property *or* had a craft industry *or* paid taxes. Restrictions only came later on in the century, with the electoral law of 1896. Both ideological and political considerations led to the incorporation of direct elections with literacy requisites for voting, which in practice basically meant the exclusion of the Indian population from the electorate, a condition that persisted well into the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>

Chile, in turn, shows a more conventional pattern. The constitution of 1833 limited the suffrage to all literate adult men who met the—rather low—property or income requirements. The electoral law of 1874 introduced a decisive modification, in a sentence that read: “it is presumed that he who knows how to read and write has the income required by the law.” Thus literacy remained the actual limitation to suffrage until 1970.<sup>20</sup> Across the Andes, Argentina followed a completely different path. As part of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, which split soon after the revolution of independence into several different polities,<sup>21</sup> the territory that eventually formed the Argentine Republic was for several decades a confederation of states, each with its own electoral legislation. In Buenos Aires, the most powerful of the provinces, a law of 1821 established universal male suffrage and direct elections for the House of Representatives. Several attempts to restrict voting rights did not succeed. On the contrary, with the unification of the country and the passing of the national constitution in 1853, universal male suffrage was established in the whole territory, and for good. A combined system of direct and indirect elections was implemented, the former for the national representatives, the latter for the senators (chosen by the state legislature) and for the president (by an electoral college).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Jorge Basadre, *Elecciones y centralismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1980); Gabriella Chiaramonti, “Andes o Nación: La reforma electoral de 1896 en Perú,” in Annino, *Historia de las elecciones*; and “Riforma elettorale e centralismo notabiliare a Trujillo (Perù) tra Otto e Novecento,” *Quaderni storici*, n.s., 69 (1988); Carmen McEvoy, *La utopía republicana: Ideales y realidades en la formación de la cultura política peruana (1875–1919)* (Lima, 1997); Ulrich Mücke, *Der “Partido Civil” in Peru, 1871–1879* (Stuttgart, 1998); Vincent C. Peloso, “Liberals, Electoral Reform, and the Popular Vote in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Peru,” in Peloso and Barbara A. Tenenbaum, eds., *Liberals, Politics, and Power: State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Athens, Ga., 1996).

<sup>20</sup> J. Samuel Valenzuela, *Democratización vía reforma: La expansión del sufragio en Chile* (Buenos Aires, 1985).

<sup>21</sup> The Viceroyalty was fragmented, and eventually the republics of Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Argentina were carved out of its territory.

<sup>22</sup> Paula Alonso, “Voting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, before 1912,” in Posada Carbó, *Elections before*



In countries such as Mexico and imperial Brazil, an extensive franchise came together with an indirect system of representation that required property or literacy qualifications from the national electors in the second and third stages of voting. It was a system with an ample base and a hierarchical structure at the intermediate levels.<sup>23</sup> In Brazil, slaves had always been excluded from suffrage, but an important number of freedmen enjoyed that right for many decades. The electoral law of 1881 introduced direct elections, but at the same time, it established literacy qualifications that limited the franchise (see below). In Mexico, the liberal constitution of 1857 replaced the three-tiered system by one that was indirect only in the first degree; that is, citizens voted for electors, who in turn selected the representatives.<sup>24</sup>

These few examples suffice to show that the legal definition of the subject of representation, the citizen, did not follow the path of gradual expansion from the privileged few to increasingly broader sectors of the population, as was frequently assumed in much of the literature on political citizenship. The pattern is much more complex and highly variable, but the entire region seems to share a common trait in the nineteenth century: "There is no *gradual conquest* of suffrage."<sup>25</sup> Rather, in some countries, such as Peru or Brazil, the opposite seems to be the case, while in others such as Argentina, there was no significant variation in the legislation throughout the century. In any case, although the constitutions and the laws established the boundaries of political citizenship, in order to study its actual development it is important to turn from the norms to the practices, as the recent literature on this problem has done.

THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, in most areas of Latin America, elections to choose local, regional, and national representatives, both direct and indirect, were held regularly and very frequently—in many places, several times a year. They were the prescribed way to public office.<sup>26</sup> In most countries, however, the military road of access to power persisted well beyond the years of the revolution of independence, and for a great part of the nineteenth century it coexisted and combined with the electoral one. In others, such as Chile and Argentina after 1862, elections became increasingly the rule, and violence, albeit never completely

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*Democracy*; Chiaramonte, "Vieja y nueva representación"; Hilda Sabato and Elías Palti, "¿Quién votaba en Buenos Aires? Práctica y teoría del sufragio, 1850–1880," *Desarrollo económico* 119 (1990); Hilda Sabato, *La política en las calles: Entre el voto y la movilización; Buenos Aires, 1862–1880* (Buenos Aires, 1998), in English as *The Many and the Few* (Stanford, Calif., 2001); Marcela Ternavasio, "Nuevo régimen representativo y expansión de la frontera política: Las elecciones en el estado de Buenos Aires, 1820–1840," in Annino, *Historia de las elecciones*; and "Hacia un régimen de unanimidad: Política y elecciones en Buenos Aires, 1828–1850," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*.

<sup>23</sup> Annino, "Cádiz y la revolución territorial"; Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1990).

<sup>24</sup> Hernández, *La tradición republicana*; Graham, *Patronage and Politics*; Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía*.

<sup>25</sup> The expression refers to the case of France, in Rosanvallon, *Le sacré du citoyen*, 101.

<sup>26</sup> Even in situations of no political competition—due to the elimination of all opposition, to the complete control of the electoral scene on the part of the government, or both—elections were carefully and regularly held. See, for example, the case of the Rosas regime in Buenos Aires in Ternavasio, "Hacia un régimen de unanimidad."



eradicated, tended to recede as a means to reach government posts. In all cases, however, elections played an important role in the political competition among the elites (and would-be elites) and in the legitimization of power.

As in other areas of the world at the time, electoral practices did not necessarily respond to the established norms. They also differed a great deal from our own contemporary practices. For a long time, therefore, the literature on the subject cast a denunciatory eye on nineteenth-century elections and described their manipulative aspects. As mentioned above, this approach has recently lost favor among scholars. In a pioneering work on European and Latin American electoral history, Antonio Annino and Raffaele Romanelli reacted against the tendency to "consider liberalism as the antecedent of a predestined democratic evolution" and referred to the specific nature of the liberal order in matters of representation. They emphasized "the efforts made by a non-egalitarian society . . . to translate an organic and hierarchical order into institutions like the constitutions and the electoral laws, whose rationale is basically individualistic and quantitative." In that context, they see electoral practices not as a way of ignoring or distorting the norms but rather as a means of making them operative in each particular situation.<sup>27</sup>

In a similar manner, recent works explore electoral practices in specific settings. Who participated on each occasion? How was the electoral scene constructed? Which were the formal and informal rules of the game? What were the results? There is no single answer to any one of these questions, as the situation varied greatly from place to place and from year to year. There are, however, some common traits that merit our attention.<sup>28</sup>

Electoral practices played a key role in the formation of a political sphere that was related in very complex ways to the social sphere but could in no way be subsumed into it. Such practices were a core aspect of the network building that was carried out by new and old elites at the local, regional, and national levels. Powerful *caudillos*, who had both military power and social influence, seldom failed to

<sup>27</sup> Antonio Annino and Raffaele Romanelli, "Premesa," *Quaderni storici*, n.s., 69 (1988): 675 and 677. For a recent appraisal of the literature on "corrupt" electoral practices in Latin America, see Eduardo Posada Carbó, "Electoral Juggling: A Comparative History of the Corruption of Suffrage in Latin America, 1830–1930," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, no. 3 (2000). An interesting discussion on fraud in Costa Rica is in Iván Molina and Fabrice Edouard Lehoucq, "Political Competition and Electoral Fraud: A Latin American Case Study," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 2 (1999).

<sup>28</sup> The following titles represent a selection of the main works on which this section is based. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*; Carvalho, *Os bestializados*; and *Desenvolvimiento de la ciudadanía*; Malcolm Deas, "Algunas notas sobre la historia del caciquismo en Colombia," *Revista de Occidente* 127 (1993); Pilar González Bernaldo, *Civilité et politique aux origines de la nation Argentine: Les sociabilités à Buenos Aires, 1829–1862* (Paris, 1999); Graham, *Patronage and Politics*; Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Proyecto y construcción de una nación: (Argentina 1846–1880)* (Caracas, 1980); Hernández Chávez, *La tradición republicana*; Marta Irurizqui, "Ebríos, vagos y analfabetos: El sufragio restringido en Bolivia, 1826–1952," *Revista de Indias* 56, no. 208 (1996); and "A bala, piedra y palo"; Carmen McEvoy, "Estampillas y votos: El rol del correo político en la campaña electoral decimonónica," *Histórica* 18 (1994); and McEvoy, *La utopía republicana*; Mücke, *Der "Partido Civil"*; Peloso, "Liberals, Electoral Reform, and the Popular Vote"; Peralta Ruiz, "Elecciones, constitucionalismo y revolución en el Cusco"; Eduardo Posada-Carbó, "Elections and Civil Wars in Nineteenth-Century Colombia: The 1875 Presidential Campaign," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994); Sabato and Palti, "¿Quién votaba en Buenos Aires?"; and Sabato, *La política en las calles*; Valenzuela, *Democratización vía reforma*; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*; and the articles included in the collective volumes: Annino, *Historia de las elecciones*; Carlos Malamud, comp., *Partidos políticos y elecciones en América Latina y la Península Ibérica, 1830–1930* (Madrid, 1995); Posada-Carbó, *Elections before Democracy*; Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; and *Quaderni storici*, n.s., 69 (1988).

operate in that field, while newcomers to the political game found there a fertile ground for their ascension.

The key to electoral success was the creation and mobilization of clienteles in networks that had strong vertical components and at the same time articulated horizontally with other similar networks. In that context, actual voters were far removed from the image of the autonomous, individual citizen in full command of his political rights, who attends the polls peacefully to cast his ballot. Rather, in most countries of Latin America, voters belonged to electoral forces, mobilized collectively by factions or parties and by the government in order to participate in generally tumultuous, and often violent, elections. Manipulation, political patronage, and control always played important parts in this story, but so did conflict and negotiation. In some cases, the relationship between the leaders and their followers was rooted in social bonds; in others, it was mainly forged in the political realm. Yet in all cases, the electoral practices contributed to the articulation of political networks that incorporated various groups of people into the electoral game. Men (and occasionally women) from very different social and ethnic backgrounds took part in these networks, which also were the site for the construction of political traditions and leaderships.

A wide range of leaders and followers were part of the electoral machines that produced the votes, generating a dense web of exchanges in the process. Examples abound for different periods and areas of nineteenth-century Latin America, each case having its own peculiar traits and trajectory. From the Brazilian patronage system, strongly grounded on social hierarchy, to the Buenos Aires politically based urban machines of the 1860s and 1870s, or the Mexican mobilization of peasant communities embedded in regional webs of power, these networks differed greatly in their origin, scope, membership, organization, and form of action. Also, they showed different levels of cohesion and continuity. Sometimes, they were organized on an ad hoc basis to act in a specific situation to support a particular candidate. At other times, they became part of a more permanent political structure: the party.

This last development contradicted some of the prevailing ideas on political representation. The nation was widely understood as an indivisible whole. Elections, for their part, were considered a means to select the best men of all to represent the whole, rather than to guarantee the representation of the different interests and sectors of society. Therefore, for a good part of the nineteenth century, the concept of "party" was controversial, and actual parties were critically labeled "factions," a word that had negative connotations of divisiveness and partisanship.<sup>29</sup> In spite of these misgivings, the parties became key actors in the electoral game, as well as important centers for the action of those who were—or hoped to be—in power, for the convergence of political interests, and for the development of material networks and symbolic webs that defined political traditions.<sup>30</sup>

In several Latin American countries, a key ideological and political divide

<sup>29</sup> The same reaction toward political parties is observed in France, England, and the United States up to the middle of the nineteenth century. See, among others, Manin, "Métamorphoses du gouvernement." In most countries of Latin America, this attitude prevailed longer, in some cases until the turn of that century.

<sup>30</sup> It is not my purpose here to delve into the many debates and the vast literature that relate to the

separated the liberals from the conservatives. Yet that was not the only line of cleavage to be found among groups that competed for power, and party alignment could respond to other divisions. Class interest, however, did not become a nucleating force until late in the century, and then only in some places. Parties could prove long-lived, as in Uruguay and Colombia, or more ephemeral, as in Argentina or Peru, but throughout the region they were generally loose structures mainly held together by personal ties. The electoral networks associated with the parties, on the other hand, were tighter, hierarchical organizations with leaders operating at different levels. This multilayered leadership recruited the rank-and-file members of these "machines" from a wide range of social sectors, from the urban artisans and professional classes to the peasants and the rural poor. At the same time, these networks were articulated horizontally into political forces at the regional and national level, and formed the broad electoral bases of the parties.

How large were these bases? The figures on electoral participation may shed some light on this question. Although there is a wide range of different situations, in most cases a very low proportion of the total population—sometimes even as low as .02 percent, very often around 2 percent, nearly always below 5 percent—usually voted. Even among those qualified to vote, the turnout very seldom reached half of the potential voters. Similar figures are, by the way, found in several European countries throughout the century.<sup>31</sup> In Latin America, there were some exceptions to the rule. In the Mexican general elections of 1851, for example, the voters represented around 20 percent of the total population. And imperial Brazil had a turnout of one million in the 1870s, a figure that represented 10 percent of the total population and 50 percent of the enfranchised (including a relevant number of freed slaves). In both countries, however, elections were then held under a three-tiered indirect system. After the passing of the Brazilian electoral law of 1881 (which introduced both direct elections and literacy qualifications to the suffrage), the number of voters dropped drastically to 100,000, a low .8 percent of the total population. These figures did not experience any significant rise with the establishment of a republican government in 1889 or the approval of the 1891 electoral bill. In the following presidential election of 1894, voters represented only 2.2 percent of the population. Legislation was not always so decisive to the turnout. In Argentina, for example, universal male suffrage had been in force since 1853, yet

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history of the political parties in nineteenth-century Latin America, but only to call attention to the fact that electoral networks played a part in those parties' structure and developments.

<sup>31</sup> In Italy, in the first election for representatives to Parliament in 1861, only 1.9 percent of the population qualified to vote, and the turnout was 57 percent. The first figure rose to 6.9 percent only after the passing of the electoral law of 1881. In Spain, before universal male suffrage was established in 1890, the electorate represented around 5 percent of the total population, and in the 1870s, abstention was always above two-thirds. The existence of the three-class system of voting in Prussia, and the curial system in Austria, both of which tied voting power to social categories, does not allow for a strict comparison with Italy and Spain, where voters were considered equals. Nevertheless, as late as the 1890s, in Austrian cities, around 7 percent of the population were eligible to vote. See Pier Luigi Ballini, *Le elezioni nella storia d'Italia dall'Unità al fascismo* (Bologna, 1988); Alicia Yanini, "La manipulación electoral en España: Sufragio universal y participación ciudadana (1891-1923)," in Tusell, *El sufragio universal*; Eugene N. Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967); Thomas Kühne, *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen 1867-1914* (Düsseldorf, 1994).

the number of voters was extremely variable, and the proportion of those qualified to vote who actually showed up on polling days very seldom reached 20 percent.<sup>32</sup>

In the constitutions and electoral legislation, elections were considered the proper means to produce political representation. The people, however, did not always understand voting to be a desirable or significant way of participating in the polity. The image of a people eager to exercise their voting rights proves anachronistic for many nineteenth-century societies. The political elites frequently complained about "the indifference" or "the lack of civic spirit" among the entitled citizens. Quite often, the mounting of political machines was a means not only to control voting but also to make it happen. They actively recruited potential voters, who thus enjoyed the material and symbolic compensations of belonging to a clientele. Consequently—and somewhat paradoxically—rank-and-file voters were mainly recruited from among the popular classes.

The reasons for the widespread reluctance to exercise the prescribed form of political freedom are probably variable and complex. The concept of modern representation was too abstract to be rapidly accepted by vast sectors of the population, although this probably changed with time. Its incorporation into the political culture of most societies was the result of a long, contradictory, and contested social and cultural process.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the act of voting was often a collective move, which mainly attracted those groups who had been previously mobilized and incorporated into the political networks. It was also frequently quite violent, so that it discouraged free riders.

Among the upper echelons of society, personal influence with and family ties to the politically powerful could make electoral individual participation seem superfluous. In such cases, absence from the polls did not necessarily mean indifference to the political strife or to ballot results. In many cases, elections played a key role in the competition between different elite political groups, but even then, voting was not always considered a necessary personal gesture. Rather, party sympathizers trusted the political operators and leaders whose job was to mobilize the machine and "produce" the vote.

In order to win, tight organization and control of a faithful following were more important than sheer numbers. The party leaderships, therefore, were not always interested in recruiting an ever-increasing quantity of voters. And although they displayed a rich rhetoric on participation, citizenship, and the development of the public spirit, in most cases they did little to encourage the mobilization of a vast electorate.

Due to these many different factors, electoral participation was often quite low and variable. At the same time, its relationship to the development of a free and

<sup>32</sup> Marcello Carmagnani and Alicia Hernández Chávez, "La ciudadanía orgánica mexicana, 1850–1910," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Graham, *Patronage and Politics*; Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía*; Alonso, "Voting in Buenos Aires"; Sabato, *La política en las calles*; German Tjarks, et al., "Aspectos cuantitativos del estado económico y social de la ciudadanía argentina potencialmente votante (1860–1890)," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Dr. E. Ravignani"* 11, nos. 18–19 (Buenos Aires, 1969); David Bushnell, "El sufragio en la Argentina y Colombia hasta 1853," *Revista del Instituto de Historia del Derecho* 19 (Buenos Aires, 1968); Juan Maiguashca, "The Electoral Reform of 1861 in Ecuador and the Rise of a New Political Order," in Posada-Carbó, *Elections before Democracy*.

<sup>33</sup> This point is superbly argued for the Anglo-Saxon case in Edmund Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York, 1988).



independent citizen is far from obvious. Consequently, there is no single or simple answer to the question of what was the role of elections and electoral networks in the formation of an actual citizenry. We have now learned to dismiss both the optimistic conclusion that all these practices helped to consolidate citizenship as well as the pessimistic version that they basically obstructed its development. We have also learned that the legal right to vote and even the practice of voting do not necessarily turn a person into an autonomous citizen. Furthermore, rather than a means of political representation, and therefore of relating civil society and the state, electoral practices could become instruments internal to the game of politics. But at the same time, these practices generated a field of action that incorporated men from different social and ethnic sectors. The electoral networks constituted new webs of sociability that, albeit based on unequal exchanges among the parts, created spaces of shared political involvement and negotiation. Finally, the rhetoric of representation displayed around the elections also had symbolic and ideological effects that contributed to the circulation and reformulation of republican and democratic ideas on citizenship among the population.<sup>34</sup> The role of voting rights, elections, and electoral practices and networks in the formation of a citizenry remains, therefore, a complex and open matter.

TOGETHER WITH THIS REVISION of the history of suffrage and elections, the recent literature has brought to light a second dimension of the history of political citizenship. In this case, scholars look away from the political realm into civil society to inquire about the types and modes of sociability, the formation of public spheres, and the construction of public opinion.

The use of these concepts is problematic. In the recent Latin American literature, scholars have favored different definitions of civil society. In some North American definitions, it has been employed to refer to the realm of the social that is not within the sphere of the state, nor under the domain of the market. But other more traditional variants have also been used that are closer to the dichotomous conception of Hegelian undertones that includes the market within the orbit of civil society and therefore confronts the latter with the state.<sup>35</sup> As for the notion of "sociability," it was initially introduced to historical use by Maurice Agulhon and defined by him in a very general way to refer to the associative ways, both formal and informal, found in different historical and geographical contexts. The term was widely used and criticized in the 1970s and 1980s in European historiography, and has recently found some application in the literature on Latin America.<sup>36</sup> The concept of "public sphere," in turn, is applied to more specific social settings, that

<sup>34</sup> This last argument is strongly sustained by Irurizqui in "*A bala, piedra y palo.*"

<sup>35</sup> For a survey of different theoretical approaches to, and debates on, civil society, see Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

<sup>36</sup> Maurice Agulhon introduced the usage of the sociological concept of *sociabilité* in his study *La sociabilité méridionale: Confréries et associations en Provence orientale dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1966). See also his "La sociabilité est-elle objet de l'histoire?" in Etienne François, ed., *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse (1750-1850)* (Paris, 1986). See surveys of the literature on sociability in Maria Malatesta, "La storiografia della sociabilità negli anni Ottanta," *Cheiron* 9-10 (1988); and Jordi Canal i Morell, "El concepto de sociabilidad en la historiografía contemporánea (Francia, Italia y España)," *Siglo XIX* 13 (1993).



is, the rise and consolidation of bourgeois societies and modern polities. Jürgen Habermas's formulation, originally drafted in the early 1960s, gained wide circulation in the last decade and gave rise to heated theoretical debates.<sup>37</sup> Whether in its original version or in later modified variants, it has informed numerous empirical studies on the history of Latin American polities.

In spite of their controversial nature, these theoretical concepts have rendered visible a new set of questions and problems seldom addressed when studying our past. Historians have frequently made somewhat eclectic use of them, but rather than analyzing the disparate ways in which they have been employed, I will refer to their usefulness in opening new roads to scholarly inquiry.

The now vast literature on modern forms of sociability traces their origin to the European eighteenth century. In Spain, as well as in France, England, and Prussia, the spread of associations of a new type, based on the free will of their individual members, inaugurated a whole new set of communicative practices presumably governed by the laws of reason. It was a transformation that originated in the development of the private realm and of a civil society in the making, and marked the transition from traditional to modern forms of social organization. Whether or not these changes affected the Latin American territories before the first decade of the nineteenth century is a matter of controversy.<sup>38</sup> In the revolutionary years after 1808, however, all main cities in the colonies witnessed the creation of certain forms of modern sociability and of a periodical press.<sup>39</sup>

The long period of wars triggered by the collapse of the Iberian empires was followed by an even longer period of conflicts within their former territories. The initial development of "modern" sociability did not continue in a linear or progressive way. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the expansion of associations and of an independent press—symptoms of the emergence of a relatively autonomous civil society—was a rather limited process, only experienced in some specific periods and places. *Tertulias*, salons, and literary or scientific circles are mentioned as sites where new forms of reading and conversation nurtured a dialogical exchange among the participants. Other, more traditional, forms of sociability, however, proved quite vigorous, and religious brotherhoods or confraternities, artisan guilds, and different forms of communal institutions were a familiar feature of the Latin American landscape. Ritual and rumor continued to play significant roles in the collective life of the polities, while new forms of public celebrations and displays related to the republican liturgy proliferated. At the same

<sup>37</sup> Habermas's book *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* was published in German in 1962, in Italian, French, and Spanish in the 1970s and early 1980s, and in English only in 1989. There are numerous articles and books that discuss the concept of "public sphere" theorized in that work. See Arthur Strum, "A Bibliography on the Concept of *Öffentlichkeit*," *New German Critique* 61 (1994).

<sup>38</sup> In his book *Modernidad e independencias*, François-Xavier Guerra argues that the diffusion of modern sociability in the Spanish territories in America was a key element in changing the values and social forms in these territories, and in establishing the conditions for independence. In a more recent volume, however, the same scholar claims that this diffusion only took place during the time of the revolution of independence, and that the earlier developments observed for Spain did not affect its colonies. See Guerra, Annick Lempérière, et al., *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica: Ambigüedades y problemas; Siglos XVIII–XIX* (Mexico City, 1998).

<sup>39</sup> See articles included in Guerra and Lempérière, *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica*. Also, Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*; Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*; Halperin Donghi, *Reforma y disolución*.

time, a periodical press closely related to the political groups and the government soon developed and became an important instrument in the political struggles for power.<sup>40</sup>

In this variegated picture, the clear-cut difference between the traditional and modern patterns of sociability introduced by the theoretical literature is hardly applicable. The institutions and practices of the time show many combinations of both types, as well as forms that do not fit in any of them. But the emphasis on that difference is not just a product of current definitions. It was also a matter of concern at the time, particularly where the enlightened elites gained power or influence in those initial decades after independence.

As I mentioned earlier, the definition of citizenship and the constitution of a citizenry were crucial aspects in the political life of the American territories. From the standpoint of the enlightened elites, the majority of the population was not ready to face the exacting demands imposed by the representative system. Although this did not affect the extension of the franchise at first, in many countries it eventually led to the introduction of restrictions to the right to vote (see above). Yet these were considered as temporary solutions to a deeper problem. The long-term answer to the challenges of modern representation was the "invention" of the citizen.<sup>41</sup> It was a matter of teaching the people the principles and values of the Enlightenment. The extent of this "people" was a matter of debate among the elites, who had different views as to the potential incorporation of Indians, blacks, and women. But regardless of their convictions on the degree of inclusiveness, most of the governments that adopted the enlightened creed promoted the creation of educational and cultural institutions and the establishment of civil voluntary associations (clubs, mutual aid societies, etc.), which were considered ideal sites for the breeding of the new citizens. In the first half of the nineteenth century, these efforts were not very successful. Different reasons may help to explain the rather poor results, from the structural social conditions to the inconsistency and incompetence of the reformatory administrations or the reluctance and resistance found both within the elites and among wider sectors of society, who chose other forms of collective action.

This failure did not prevent the governments of the new republics from invoking public opinion as a source of their own legitimacy. Since the second half of the

<sup>40</sup> In Buenos Aires, for example, during the 1820s and early 1830s, clubs, *tertulias*, salons, and other forms of social groupings multiplied, and shared the urban arena with other more traditional bodies, while newspapers were on the increase. This movement was not restricted to the enlightened elites, and broader sectors of the population, not least from the popular classes, shared the associative mood and the benefits of the print culture. Only a few years later, however, the movement lost momentum; it would not regain it until the second half of the century. See González Bernaldo, *Civilité et politique*; Jorge Myers, "Languages of Politics: A Study of Republican Discourse in Argentina from 1820 to 1852" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1997); and Myers, "Una revolución en las costumbres: Las nuevas formas de sociabilidad de la elite porteña, 1800–1860," Fernando Devoto and Marta Madero, dir., *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina: País antiguo; De la colonia a 1870*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires, 1999); Mark Szuchman, *Order, Family and Community: Buenos Aires 1810–1860* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). For Peru, see Carlos Forment, "La sociedad civil en el Perú del siglo XIX: Democrática o disciplinaria," in Sabato, *Ciudadanía política*; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*; Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú* (Lima, 1961), esp. vols. 1 and 2; Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*. For Mexico, Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios*; Claudio Lomnitz, "Ritual, Rumor and Corruption in the Constitution of Polity in Modern Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1 (1995).

<sup>41</sup> Myers, "Languages of Politics."

eighteenth century, this concept was used in Europe to discuss the foundations of political power and authority. In early nineteenth-century Latin America, public opinion—as the expression of the unitary will of the people—became a crucial aspect of the modern representative system in formation and of the process of nation building. The concept was subject to many interpretations. For those enlightened elites who managed to control power in some places during the first half of the century, public opinion was the rational expression of the will of the citizens generated in the sites of modern sociability, particularly in the press. Public opinion together with suffrage were considered the only sources of political legitimacy that should substitute for the old ways (violence and tradition). Yet if the actual public did not respond to the enlightened and rational blueprint or an actual newspaper seriously challenged the proclaimed principles or the measures adopted to put them into practice, the same authorities that had encouraged public opinion ended up restricting or simply ignoring the liberties they had initially promoted.<sup>42</sup>

This contradiction did not affect those regimes—and there were many—that never pretended to defend such liberties in the first place but grounded their power on other foundations. In those cases, censure of the press, control over the private life of the population, and the elimination of all political opposition were regular and accepted features of government performance. This type of action did not necessarily make the authorities less legitimate in the eyes of the majority of the people, nor did it preclude the political mobilization of wide sectors of the population. The ample success and popularity of some of these governments reveal the weakness of the enlightened values, habits, and institutions throughout the region.<sup>43</sup> It should not surprise us, therefore, to find at the same time repeated attempts on the part of an incipient civil society to constitute some sort of modern public sphere as well as official efforts in the same direction on the one hand and, on the other, very poor, ephemeral results that were barely significant from a political perspective.

After mid-century, important changes took place throughout Latin America. Although the situation varied greatly from place to place, most countries experienced a relatively sustained process of centralization and consolidation of state power. Simultaneously, their economies expanded as they developed closer links with the world market, and the social structure of the most dynamic areas became more diversified and complex.

There are also clear symptoms of the increasing strength and autonomy of civil society. There was a remarkable expansion of modern associations of all sorts. In the main cities, Bogota, Buenos Aires, Rosario, Lima, Arequipa, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and Santiago de Chile, a large number of mutual aid societies, social and cultural clubs, cultural and literary circles, learned societies, Masonic lodges, solidarity committees, and festive groupings were organized for specific purposes, but they rapidly became actors in the public sphere. At the same time, a vigorous press developed and found a relatively enlarged readership. The expansion of the

<sup>42</sup> Carvalho, *Os bestializados*; Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios*; Myers, “Languages of Politics”; Alberto Lettieri, “La construcción del consenso en los inicios del sistema político moderno argentino (1862–1868),” *Anuario de estudios americanos* 52, no. 2 (Seville, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> The example of the Argentine caudillo Juan Manuel de Rosas illustrates this point. See Jorge Myers, *Orden y virtud: El discurso republicano en el régimen rosista* (Bernal, 1995).

reading public beyond the boundaries of the enlightened elites occurred in all the large cities of the region, and in some cases, like that of Buenos Aires, it reached impressive figures: by 1887, there was one newspaper issue available for every four inhabitants in a city where 57 percent of the women and 64 percent of the men (of all ages) were literate.<sup>44</sup>

Associative life enjoyed enormous prestige among large sectors of the urban population. Both the press and the associations were considered to be beacons of civilization and the breeding ground, as well as the expression, of a modern, free, and democratic society. This perception was shared by several of the different ideological perspectives then circulating in Latin America along a wide social spectrum.<sup>45</sup>

This expansion of the associations and the press has been interpreted as evidence of the strength of the civil society and its relative autonomy vis-à-vis the state. These institutions did not only represent, protect, and look after the interests and opinions of their actual members, they created a thick web of relations and exchanges among the different groups and sectors of society, and played a leading role in the mobilization of the urban public. They promoted and organized most of the civic meetings and demonstrations that were frequently staged in the main cities. Thus their presence has been considered fundamental to the creation of a space of mediation with the state, to the formation of a public sphere.

These developments did not preclude the expansion of other, more informal, mechanisms of sociability, such as cafés, pubs, *chicherías*, and the like, which played a part in both the civic as well as the political life of the cities. Other, more traditional institutions, the *cofradías* or brotherhoods, continued to exist in the new context, while the artisan guilds were transformed in tune with the new ideas and realities of the laboring classes. Religious festivals and community celebrations took the people to the streets, and the public spaces were the stage for competing forms of mobilization.

Although, in most works, the accent has been put on civil society, it is important

<sup>44</sup> The data for Buenos Aires is in Sabato, *La política en las calles*. On the expansion of associations and the press in different countries of Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century, see, among others, Carvalho, *Os bestializados*; Cristián Gazmuri, *El "48" chileno: Igualitarios, reformistas, radicales, masones y bomberos* (Santiago de Chile, 1992); Maurice Agulhon, Bernardino Bravo Lira, et al., *Formas de sociabilidad en Chile, 1840–1940* (Santiago de Chile, 1992); Hilda Sabato, "Citizenship, Political Participation and the Formation of the Public Sphere in Buenos Aires, 1850s–1880s," *Past and Present* 136 (1992); and Sabato, "Vida pública en Buenos Aires: Ambitos de pertenencia y espacios de participación," in Marta Bonaudo, dir., *Nueva historia argentina: Liberalismo, Estado y orden burgués (1852–1880)* (Buenos Aires, 1999); Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios*; Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del movimiento plebeyo*; McEvoy, *La utopía republicana*; Forment, "La sociedad civil en el Perú"; Samuel Bailly, "Las sociedades de ayuda mutua y el desarrollo de una comunidad italiana en Buenos Aires, 1858–1916," *Desarrollo económico* 21, no. 84 (1982); Marta Bonaudo, "Society and Politics: From Social Mobilization to Civic Participation (Santa Fe, 1890–1909)," in James Brennan and Ofelia Pianetto, eds., *Region in Nation: The Provinces and Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1999); Alicia del Aguila, *Callejones y mansiones: Espacios de opinión pública y redes sociales en la Lima del 900* (Lima, 1997); Lettieri, *La república de la opinión*; Lomnitz, "Ritual, Rumor and Corruption"; Francine Masiello, comp., *La mujer y el espacio público: El periodismo femenino en la Argentina del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires, 1994).

<sup>45</sup> Besides the titles mentioned in note 45, see Safford, "Politics, Ideology and Society"; Luis Alberto Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres? Elite y sectores populares en Santiago de Chile, 1840–1895* (Buenos Aires, 1997); José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas: O imaginário da república no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1990).



to look at the state and the political realm, which would continue to perform a role in this respect. By mid-century, in most countries of the region, the constellation of ideas and projects that circulated among the elites in power favored, albeit for different reasons, “publicity” and considered the press and the associations to be the incarnation of their cherished “public opinion.” Therefore, the administrations often promoted the expansion of associative life, courted the press, and were attentive to the signals stemming from the public sphere. They also proclaimed their respect for the rights that were at the core of civic life, those of free speech and free association. Of course, this romance was frequently interrupted when public actions did not respond to the expectations of those in power, as well as by the recurrent attempts on the part of the latter to influence and shape the public sphere. These short-circuits, however, did not preclude publicity from becoming a crucial aspect in the relationship between the state and civil society.

Scholars refer, therefore, to the existence of a public sphere(s) in several Latin American cities after mid-century.<sup>46</sup> This is, however, a very general statement that merits some qualification. Several questions arise in this respect, which have been addressed by the recent literature on citizenship.<sup>47</sup>

First, where—in what sector or sectors of the population and defined in what way—did the associations and the press originate? Who convened the people, and who led the action? The generic presence of the Habermasian bourgeoisie is replaced here by a diversity of social actors: enlightened figures, professionals, or artisans, depending on the period and the place, could be the leading and hegemonic actors.

Second, did these initiatives produce a unified field of collective action and identification, a single public sphere? In a city like Buenos Aires in the 1860s and 1870s, for example, the development of a vigorous institutional network of associations and newspapers of many different kinds created a space of shared initiatives and actions that successfully appealed to the mass of the urban population and defined a unified public sphere. Fragmentation was, on the other side, a widespread reality in the public arenas of other Latin American cities, such as Rio de Janeiro in the 1880s and 1890 or Santiago de Chile and Arequipa in the 1850s. Different groups or sectors created their own institutions, displaying competing voices and actions in the public arena. In such cases, scholars choose to speak of public spheres, in plural.

Third, who participated in these forms of public action, and who did not? The creation and expansion of a public realm in certain areas of Latin America implied the incorporation of different sectors of the population to the institutional networks

<sup>46</sup> Claudio Lomnitz refers to the creation of a *national* public sphere. See Lomnitz, “Ritual, Rumor and Corruption.”

<sup>47</sup> For this section, see Bonaudo, “Society and Politics”; Carvalho, *Os bestializados*; Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*; del Aguila, *Callejones y mansiones*; Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios*; Forment, “La sociedad civil en el Perú”; Gazmuri, *El “48” chileno*; González Bernaldo, *Civilité et politique*; Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso del movimiento plebeyo*; Marta Irurizqui, “The Sound of the Pututos: Politicisation and Indigenous Rebellions in Bolivia, 1826–1921,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2000); Lettieri, *La república de la opinión*; Lomnitz, “Ritual, Rumor and Corruption”; Masiello, *La mujer y el espacio público*; McEvoy, *La utopía republicana*; Sabato, “Citizenship, Political Participation and the Formation of the Public Sphere”; and *La política en las calles*.



of civil society, well beyond the limited circles of the elites. Social, racial, and gender boundaries were extremely variable. Frequently, professionals of various sorts, men involved in commerce, petty commerce, and the trades, artisans and other relatively qualified workers, teachers, and the like, were actively involved in the institutions of the public sphere(s). Women, together with all other groups defined as “dependent”—slaves, servants—were generally excluded from the core of public life; in fact, women’s place was *prima facie* relegated to the private realm. Nevertheless, their presence is in some cases quite visible, either as marginal figures in the activities led by the men or as active participants in their own associations and newspapers. Free blacks, in turn, depending on their social standing, are frequently mentioned as members of the associative networks. Their urban location was also a decisive condition for inclusion. The opposite seems to be the case for most of the Indians, who were settled in the rural areas and only exceptionally belonged to the cities’ networks. As for the very poor in general, their presence was marginal in the institutions but sometimes very visible in the public spaces.

Fourth, was the public sphere a site for the display of conflict or, on the contrary, was it a harmonic space? Sometimes, the initiatives and action originating in civil society were directed at contesting the power of the state or of a particular government; at other times, this antagonistic inflection was absent, and conformity prevailed. Violence was an issue, however. Most of the time, the public spheres were relatively nonviolent arenas of exchange and communication. Nonetheless, and against the aspirations of the enlightened groups that considered public action a rational and “civilized” means of expressing opinion and formulating demands, violent confrontations were far from exceptional.

Finally, what was the degree of autonomy of the institutions of civil society and of the public space itself vis-à-vis the state and the political realm? And what was the relationship of the public sphere(s) to other spaces and forms of collective action, as well as to the private world? Both these questions are addressed by some of the current literature. They are closely related to a third, major query: What was the place of the public sphere(s) in the conformation of each particular polity?

The peculiarities of each case notwithstanding, the public sphere was seen by the important sectors of the elites both as the generator and the material incarnation of public opinion, and therefore as key in the legitimization of political power and the process of nation building. It was also considered to be a formative site for the values that founded a republican polity. Its institutions were schools of citizens. At the same time, the public sphere was the terrain for the exercise of civil liberties, those rights that pertain to civil rather than political citizenship. And it became the stage for political exchanges and debates. For many people, in turn, the public spheres were arenas for participating in politically consequential forms of public action. In fact, in some cases, this involvement seemed to fulfill the political expectations of many of those who could exercise the right to vote but chose not to do so. In others, it became a means of claiming voting rights, of negotiating and disputing boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the polity. There are, therefore, many sides to the connections between citizenship and the development of civil society and a public sphere(s) that the recent scholarship has brought to light.

IN THESE PAGES, I HAVE ARGUED that the political history of nineteenth-century Latin America has been profoundly renovated by the recent scholarship centered on the problematic of citizenship. In tune with similar approaches in the historiography of other areas of the world, that scholarship has illuminated dimensions of the social and political life of the region that previously went unnoticed. The result is an array of fragmentary and often contradictory images that have both enriched and complicated our view of the process of nation building and an agenda of topics that call for further inquiry.

In light of these recent studies, I have reflected on some of the main issues posed by the history of citizenship, by centering on two tightly connected aspects: suffrage, elections, and electoral practices, on the one side, and the development of civil society, public opinion, and the public sphere(s) on the other. Each area of Latin America followed its own, singular path, and it may therefore be misleading to talk about the region as a single whole. But the problems raised by the transition from colonial to independent rule and by the formation of new nation-states were quite similar, and although the answers found in each case were unique, it is possible to display the picture of those problems and draw attention to the variegated historical responses to them.

We have seen that political citizenship was a crucial concept in the definition of the new polities that emerged after the severance of the colonial bond. With the option for the republic in Spanish America and for the constitutional monarchy in Brazil, political power was to find its legitimacy in the principles of the sovereignty of the people and modern representation. This entailed the configuration of a community of equals, a citizenry, formed by those entitled to participate directly or indirectly in the exercise of political power. In most countries, that process had only partially to do with the ideas and projects that provided the initial normative frameworks for change. From the very early years after independence, however, the search for the establishment of a political order on the part of the elites and would-be elites involved a dynamic relationship with larger sectors of the population. To compete for and reach office, whether by violent or peaceful means, as well as to remain in power, the few had to resort to the many. And the institution of citizenship played a key role in that respect. In the words of Sarah Chambers, "Independence initiated negotiations over citizenship—its respective rights and obligations as well as its boundaries of inclusion and exclusion—that have remained at the center of political movements in Latin America, as throughout much of the world, until today."<sup>48</sup>

The introduction of modern representation opened the way to debates, conflicts, and negotiations around elections, voting rights, and electoral practices. In most areas of Latin America, the struggle for power among different groups of elites and would-be elites found an arena of relatively peaceful resolution in elections. The electoral game required, however, an appeal to the ones below, as well as the development of political networks to channel the many in the competition among the few. The generation of political alignments and the creation of electoral machines followed different patterns, but across the region and throughout the

<sup>48</sup> Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*, 3.

century, they contributed to the creation of new webs of exchange and spaces of action that included people from very different social and ethnic backgrounds. These networks had strong vertical components, but they did not necessarily reproduce the hierarchies of the social structure. Even where electoral machines were initially grounded in social bonds, the dynamics of the political struggle generated new relations and exchanges among their members.

Elections introduced, therefore, a radical novelty in the political organization of the region. For a great part of the century, although voters comprised a minority of the total population, they came from a wide social spectrum. The existence of norms of inclusion and of actual inclusive mechanisms empowered the many. In the electoral networks, exchanges were unequal and clientelistic bonds prevailed, but their members could (and frequently did) use their place to negotiate and claim, to put their own views and proposals in circulation. Democracy was far off, and political patronage and hierarchies were the rule. But, although these "citizens" were quite different from the ideal defined by the norms and proclaimed by the liberal and republican projects, they constituted an actual political body, an unavoidable presence in the new nations for a good part of the nineteenth century.

The involvement of the many in the political life of the new politics was not limited to elections. A key form of participation was through armed intervention. Although this article has not delved into that question, a few words are in order here. In Latin America, political citizenship was closely associated with participation in the militia. In many countries, inscription in a National Guard was required of voters. Furthermore, the notion of an active citizen implied the right and the obligation to bear arms in defense of the country. This could be interpreted in many different ways, as the exercise of violence was deemed legitimate not only against a foreign enemy but also in local struggles. The latter included both confrontations between factions and rebellions against the current government—a justified act if those in power abused their functions, violated the constitution, and fell into "tyranny." As mentioned above, the armed road to power was a recurrent path followed in Latin America, and military leaders played a key role in politics throughout the nineteenth century. But it was not just a leaders' venture. Vast sectors of the population took part in these armed struggles, and guerrillas, *montoneras*, and other military groups, both official and non-official, frequently attracted more people than voting. The trope of the citizen in arms, of republican origins, had a strong appeal in the region.<sup>49</sup>

Armed rebellions, however, gradually tended to subside, and although violent internal strife remained a constant feature in nineteenth-century political life, its legitimacy was increasingly put into question. The opposite was true of another form of participation that expanded and flourished with increasing vigor. I am

<sup>49</sup> See, among others, Carvalho, *Desenvolvimento de la ciudadanía*; McEvoy, *La utopía republicana*; Peralta Ruiz, "El mito del ciudadano armado"; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*; Gutiérrez Sanín, *Curso y discurso*; Lettieri, *La república de la opinión*; Thurner, *From Two Republics*; Peter Guardino, "Las guerrillas y la independencia peruana: Un ensayo de interpretación," *Pasado y presente* 2 (1989). There are many studies on the Mexican case that deal with the different forms of insurgency displayed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For their relationship to citizenship, see Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios*, and the articles included in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

referring here to a set of practices that originated in civil society but were relevant to the construction of political citizenship and the legitimization of political power.

During the last decades of Spanish rule, the main cities of the American territories witnessed the development of certain new forms of sociability and the appearance of a periodical press that, albeit weak and limited to the enlightened urban circles, introduced new styles of communication presumably based on freedom, equality, and reason. These scattered experiences found a fertile ground for expansion during the years of the revolution of independence, when they frequently became spaces of political debate and action. Meanwhile, the adoption of representative government introduced a dimension to politics that was not present in colonial times, and that was increasingly referred to as "public opinion." As Keith Baker has suggested for eighteenth-century France, in Latin America "politically . . . the notion of the 'public' came to function as the foundation for a new system of legitimacy."<sup>50</sup> For the enlightened political and intellectual groups of the elites, the voice of the public was to be found in the institutions of modern sociability, that is, the associations and the press, which they strove to create and nurture. The rights to free speech and association were promulgated in the first years of the revolutionary period. But this place was subject to dispute, and different groups and voices claimed to represent "the public." In those turbulent times, other new forms of collective action—not necessarily identified as "modern" or "rational"—developed, while more traditional corporate societies continued to occupy an important place in the institutional arena. At the same time, not all governments were willing to listen to "the public," and, during the decades that followed the war of independence, censorship and other restrictions to the basic freedoms were seen in various places. These conditions notwithstanding, different groups and institutions, both old and new, modern or traditional, strove to have a public voice.

In the second half of the century, the network of institutions originating in civil society expanded and diversified, particularly in the urban centers. The interaction with the state and the political realm acquired more definite contours and produced a space of mediation, a "public sphere." Different groups and sectors of the populations voiced their opinion and represented their claims through their organizations and newspapers, and also more directly, by displaying a physical presence in the civic spaces of the cities.

In most cases, the means of action as well as the action itself differed greatly from the Habermasian model of the public sphere. They also varied from place to place. Yet the use of that category—or versions thereof—has allowed scholars to depict and name a set of institutions and practices that originated in civil society but, at the same time, operated in relation to the political realm, to the state. And it has called attention to a concept that was widely used in the political languages of the nineteenth century, "the public." In Latin America, as in many other areas of the modern world, the concrete publics that displayed their claims and actions were quite different from the abstract public invoked by the theories then in vogue and by the different governments. But the fact that the latter became an indispensable

<sup>50</sup> Keith Baker, "Politics and Public Opinion under the Old Regime: Some Reflections," Jack Censer and Jeremy Popkin, eds., *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 231.

piece of political legitimacy gave the former a powerful weapon in their dealings with the state and the political system.

The public spheres were sites for the exercise of and negotiation around rights, and for the constitution of citizens. Claims for equality did not prevent these spaces from generating their own hierarchies and discriminations, but—again, as in the case of electoral networks—they did not usually replicate those of the social structure. On the contrary, in many cases, the development of new webs of sociability and collective action, as well as the creation of new forms of dialogue and communication, contributed to the disruption and the modification of social and cultural traditions. At the same time, they affected the rules of the political game.

By the end of the nineteenth century, many things had changed in the territories that had severed their colonial bonds with Spain and Portugal in the first decades of that century. The political map of Latin America showed the consolidation of the nation-states, most of which remain very much the same today. In the fragmented reality of the old colonies, the formation of those new polities had been a complex and by no means linear process. Latin America had preceded most other areas of the world in the early establishment of republican and representative forms of government, but it did not follow a progressive road to democracy. On the contrary, after many decades of trial and error and different political experiments, the liberal matrix had definitely prevailed in the institutional structure of most nations. But a significant group of those liberal regimes had, by the turn of the century, achieved the political order they had long coveted by centralizing power and restricting political freedoms and competition.<sup>51</sup>

There are many dimensions to the history of these political transformations. In recent years, by introducing the problematic of citizenship, the new scholarship has drawn our attention to one of those dimensions. In nineteenth-century Latin America, the institution of citizenship played a key part in the construction, legitimization, and reproduction of political power. The study of power requires, therefore, to go beyond the elites and would-be elites, in order to inquire about the role of the rest of the people in that story. As we have seen, the building of citizenship contributed to the incorporation of relatively large sectors of the population in politically significant forms of organization and action. This incorporation did not lead to the consolidation of political equality, and social and racial gaps between the few and the many remained a persistent reality in the political life of most countries of the region. But it generated forms of participation and spaces of negotiation and struggle that led to the continuous definition and redefinition of the boundaries of inclusion in and exclusion from the polity. Rather than measuring these developments against an ideal path leading toward democratization, the recent literature has underlined their intrinsic relevance in terms of the actual,

<sup>51</sup> There is a vast literature on the history of the consolidation of the liberal states. For a recent evaluation of this process, see Negretto and Aguilar Rivera, "Rethinking the Legacy of the Liberal State."



historical, process of nation building. And in doing this, it has opened a rich, complex, and challenging field of inquiry.

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

JOHN W. O'MALLEY. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. 219. \$24.95.

This excellent book reminds us that one of the reasons we have trouble naming periods is because the ghosts of G. F. W. Hegel and Johann Gottfried von Herder still lurk. Naming is seldom simply a matter of convenience or historical shorthand, particularly when philosophical and religious issues are at play. Naming is about setting chronological boundaries, giving a qualitative character to a period, and possibly inserting it into some grand narrative of national character or historical development. It is still, at bottom, about praise and blame.

This volume began as a set of public lectures at Oxford, and John W. O'Malley has retained their engaging and accessible style while adding considerable background scholarship in the notes. He reviews the various efforts, both apologetic and hostile, to find a workable term to describe the institution's history from the mid-fifteenth through the mid-eighteenth centuries. Generally, Protestant historians saw the church as corrupt and reactionary and so used the term "Counter-Reformation." Some Catholic historians preferred "Catholic Reformation," but others were ambivalent, thinking that to accept reformation was to admit prior deformation. Hubert Jedin, author of the definitive *History of the Council of Trent* (1949–1975), came up with what O'Malley describes as the "Classic Position" by bringing both elements together. Catholic Reform's emphasis on charity, spirituality, and pastoral reform predated Martin Luther, took shape in devotional movements, missions, new religious orders, and a renewed papacy, and lasted to the French Revolution. Counter-Reformation emerged later in reaction to the German Protestants, took shape in the Inquisition and Index, and existed alongside Catholic Reform until the need for it declined in the mid-seventeenth century.

Jedin's solution begged many questions and had, in any event, marginal circulation until the 1960s. O'Malley deftly reviews how naming efforts continued to be shaped by methodological developments, new interpretive theories, and national historiographical

traditions. Each generated a new term or renewed an old one. His solution is simple, judicious, and post-modern: accept each of the terms as reflecting a particular but partial aspect of the whole, and use them all with discrimination and deliberate intent. Catholic Reform, Counter-Reformation, Tridentine Age, and Confessional Catholicism: all reflect local and immediate situations seen from one angle or another. Their contradictions reflect the messiness of historical reality and the provisional nature of our interpretations. Beside these four traditional terms, O'Malley proposes "Early Modern Catholicism" as perhaps the least definite and hence most inclusive category. Possibly bland and faceless, certainly chronologically indistinct, it is nonetheless more open to the dynamic reciprocations of upper and lower (however we define these), of center and margin (where ever we place these), and of insiders and outsiders (whomever we designate as such).

This term puts the institution more clearly in the context of the times and makes the Christian Church in all its ecclesial forms a subject of existing historical forces. As O'Malley says in his closing sentence, "what happened in Catholicism in the sixteenth century was an aspect of Early Modern History, which it strongly influenced and by which it was in large measure determined." This cannot be emphasized strongly enough. "Reformation" itself was traditionally played off against "Renaissance," with some of the same black and white characterizations that marked the old Protestant vs. Catholic divide. For some, the Renaissance was all about releasing humanist individual freedom, while the Reformation was about putting that genie back in the ecclesiastical bottle. Yet they are two sides of a single coin, and the birth of confessionalization comes not with John Calvin or Ignatius Loyola but with Renaissance humanists who argued that freedom does not arise from license but from self-discipline. Calvin and Loyola were certainly the midwives of this historical process: confessionalization and social discipline were efforts to project into society the values that were at the heart of the humanist project, using the tools of education and ecclesiastical discipline to force people to be free.

The confessions and catechisms were a democratization of humanism; the endless sermonizing took

seriously humanist anthropology with its emphasis on rational thought overcoming passionate appetite through persuasion. The disciplinary structures recognized that where individual will might be weak, social and communal pressure could help the individual toward self-improvement, with benefits for individual and community alike. Those superiors who disciplined their inferiors believed that discipline began at home, where they flagellated, prayed, and fasted with great dedication. However we draw the line, one of the great advantages of the term Early Modern Catholicism is that it takes the grand Reformation project to rejuvenate spiritual life and recast the ecclesiastical structures and ties it firmly to the Renaissance humanist project to animate and perfect present life through study, discipline, and the example of a better past.

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MARGARET J. OSLER, editor. *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 340. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

The "Scientific Revolution," both the phrase and the concept, is a token of the success of the history of science as a discipline. A glance at almost any world or western civilization textbook will reveal a chapter with that title or devoted to the change in the understanding of nature from Nicholas Copernicus to Isaac Newton, indicative of the broad acceptance within the historical profession of the idea of an early modern revolution in science. The apparent power of the concept is reinforced by the difficulty historians of science are having giving it up, despite persistent questions about its validity among specialists. Thus, Steven Shapin's *The Scientific Revolution* (1996) confidently proclaims that there was no such thing. Editor Margaret J. Osler has assembled a collection of studies that continue the reexamination of this "single most important unifying concept in the history of science" (p. 3). She frames the collection with the notion of a canon in the traditional "great story" of the emergence of modern science, a canon comprised of a canonical list of heroic individuals, such as Copernicus, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, and Newton, and a canonical set of subjects, such as astronomy, physics, and mathematics.

Decades of scholarship have challenged this canon by introducing noncanonical subjects, such as magic and alchemy, as well as nonscientific concerns such as religion and theology; by rooting the heroic individuals in their social, political, and intellectual contexts; by undercutting the inevitability of the triumph of the "new" science; and even by questioning the validity of applying the terms scientific and revolution to changes that took two centuries and comprised disciplines no longer considered scientific. Osler is aware of this extended challenge, but her volume takes revision to the heart of the traditional story: Newton. At the core of the challenge are Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs's studies of

Newton's alchemy. (The volume is actually motivated as a tribute to the late Dobbs.) The first section, "The Canon in Question," reprints Dobbs's essay "Newton as Final Cause and First Mover." Here Dobbs questions whether changes spanning at least two centuries should be considered a revolution in the sense of radical, sudden, and decisive change. In the traditional story, Newton always appears as the climax, the final cause of all preceding developments, and the decisive appearance of the modern. Yet, in many ways, he was not modern at all. His extensive study of alchemy subverts the idea of Newton as the culmination of a revolution that left such things behind. In Dobbs' view, he was actually a failure. She finds Newton's chief aim not scientific in the modern sense but religious in his effort to combat "the tides of mechanism, materialism, deism, and atheism" by seeking in alchemy a "knowledge of the operations of the Deity in organizing and vivifying the inert particles of matter in the microcosm" (p. 38). Dobbs's piece is countered in "The Scientific Revolution Reasserted" by the late Richard S. Westfall, for whom the volume also serves as a tribute. Westfall finds "Scientific Revolution" a defensible metaphor for the undeniable divide, rooted in science, between the modern and the premodern worlds that appeared in the seventeenth century. While acknowledging the importance of alchemy and theology in Newton's career, he sees Newton's work in them as innovative and part of and not counter to Newton's identity as a scientist.

This collection of essays has a remarkable coherence because all of the studies in some way engage the Dobbs-Westfall debate (most on Dobbs's side), and common themes weave through many of them. Organized in two groups, essays by Peter Barker, Bruce Janacek, Pamela Smith, William E. Burns, and Jane E. Jenkins reflect the expansion of scholarship beyond the "canon" under the rubric "Canonical Disciplines Re-Formed." Essays by Jan Wojcik, Lawrence M. Principe, Paula Findlen, James E. Force, J. E. McGuire, and Richard H. Popkin, in the section "Canonical Figures Reconsidered," focus on Newton. They all reveal a contentious time of intellectual ferment and debate in which it is difficult to find a bright line pointing to a revolution in science. Many take up Dobbs by bringing out the importance of magic, alchemy, and the "priority of theological concerns" (p. 200). They also reflect contemporary historiography by emphasizing cultural history, the social construction of knowledge, social and political contexts, and the role of practitioners and artisans.

While the authors reinforce Dobbs by enriching and adding nuance to our knowledge through their particular studies, few directly confront the larger issue of the "Scientific Revolution," and there is little consensus on the debate between Dobbs and Westfall. Where positions are taken, they range from McGuire, who wants to preserve the concept of a Scientific Revolution as a "profound transformation in human thinking" (p. 272), to Principe, who doubts that the concept can

accommodate Robert Boyle's and Newton's alchemy without significant modification and wonders "how unhappily chopped up, propped up, and patched up can a metaphor be and remain of value as a descriptor?" (p. 219). Margaret Jacob's essay in the concluding section, "The Canon Constructed," does confront this issue and vigorously defends the validity of a Scientific Revolution. It was the post-1700 disseminators of astronomy, physics, and mathematics who, through their construction of a history to promote science as progressive, were responsible for the canon of heroes and subjects at the core of the traditional historiography. Among them science is clearly revolutionary, and through their inability to understand things such as Newton's alchemy, the Scientific Revolution as a fissure between old and new takes on substance. For Jacob, the effort modern historiography has required to recover Newton's alchemy is a symptom of the thoroughness of the revolution that was consolidated by his followers.

Inevitably, not all essays are of equal depth or solidity, but, nonetheless, this is a rich and stimulating collection that should compel any historian to abandon retailing the traditional notion of the "Scientific Revolution." The collection is much to the credit of the authors and Osler and a fitting tribute to Dobbs and Westfall.

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MARK SALBER PHILLIPS. *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 369. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

This book challenges the still widely held view—first articulated by nineteenth-century critics of the Enlightenment and restated more recently by R. G. Collingwood, Hayden White, and others—that eighteenth-century historiography failed to do justice to the past because it lacked sympathy with it and because it was blinkered by rationalism and skepticism. Mark Salber Phillips attributes this erroneous view partly to misreadings of the canonical histories of David Hume, William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, and Edward Gibbon and partly to a mistaken tendency to regard history as a single, unified genre unrelated to any context. Phillips, by contrast, treats eighteenth-century British historiography as a "family of related genres" (p. 343) that included biography, antiquarian writings, diaries, memoirs, literary histories, and even some fictional genres; and he shows that it influenced and was influenced by a dynamic literary system. Genre itself, for Phillips, is not something fixed and abstract but a communicative and "contrastive category" (p. 21) that undergoes historical change and can only be recognized and understood with reference to other genres. Viewing history as a "family of genres," Phillips holds, enables us to see a continuity of historical questions and interests that might otherwise remain

hidden or manifest themselves in canonical works long after their appearance in the so-called minor genres.

For example, there is the question—a neglected though crucial one for Phillips—of the changing norms of distance and presence in historical writing of the period. Many of the changes that took place in British historical writing between 1740 and 1820 involved a gradual reorientation toward more proximate time, which occurred across the spectrum of genres, and which is often more visible and vibrantly expressed in such "minor" works as William Godwin's *Essay on Sepulchres* (1809) than in the canonical historical works of the time. So, too, with other hitherto little-explored aspects of eighteenth-century historical consciousness investigated by Phillips: notably the ways in which classical historical narrative, traditionally concerned with political and public affairs, was steadily transformed by a growing interest in history concerned with private human emotions and experiences and the everyday life of ordinary people. Interest in the sentimental accounts for the popularity of documents and genres that seemed to provide access to the inner self, such as the biographies of poets, letters, epistolary novels, memoirs, and chronicles: "documents whose first-person vantage seem to promise unmediated access to past experience" (p. 98).

The central chapters of the book show that, although British historians did not abandon their traditional concern with public affairs, they too sought to explore and represent the inner world of sentiments and, in the process, produced, if not an entirely new, then at least a significantly enlarged and enriched narrative. All of them in varying degrees, but notably Elizabeth Hamilton and Godwin, shared a "powerful desire to portray the complexity of the individual mind, and in consequence they gave a new, more inward sense to the traditional ideal of exemplary history" (p. 122). Both Hamilton and Godwin took the depth of emotions to be the sign of a hero, and eventually such heroic emotions became identified with a whole nation or people, as in the novels of Walter Scott, for example. An even more radical break with traditional sequential narrative, Phillips suggests, were the conjectural histories of Hume (*The Natural History of Religion* [1757]), Lord Kames (*Sketches of the History of Man* [1774]), Ferguson (*Essay on the History of Civil Society* [1767]), and John Millar (*Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* [1779]). This new interest in the contemporary relevance of the past and in the sentiments as forming a bridge between past and present was fostered in turn by increasingly influential groups who felt neglected by traditional history—namely, the growing commercial classes and women, both as readers and writers—and by the spread of ideas similar to those espoused by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France and by Johann Gottfried von Herder and J. W. von Goethe in Germany. The new framings of history that took place in this period, pace Collingwood and White, were in response to a widely felt need for a usable past: that is, for



histories that "offered their readers possibilities for both comprehension and self-recognition" (p. 30).

Phillips's book provides a theoretically informed account of the many new ways history was written in Britain between 1740 and 1820, and a credible analysis of why these innovations took place and their significance for subsequent historical practice. It is also a pleasure to read.

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EDWARD L. AYERS and ANNE S. RUBIN. *Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War*. With CD-ROM. New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. 103. \$49.95.

Anyone in the history profession still unaware of the Valley of the Shadow project has simply not been paying attention. The brainchild of Edward L. Ayers, it began life in 1991 as a website offering a unique collection of primary sources with which students could study the American Civil War. The project has grown exponentially since then, garnering much attention and numerous awards. Now it has been made available on CD-ROM.

The basic premise of the project is that a great deal can be learned about the Civil War by intensively studying the experience of local communities. Ayers offers two communities for our intimate inspection, one Southern and one Northern, and invites us to compare their experiences. Augusta County, Virginia, and Franklin County, Pennsylvania, are separated by only 125 miles, but in the mid-nineteenth century they followed very different paths. When war came in 1861, men of Augusta enlisted to fight for the Confederacy and men of Franklin for the Union.

This CD-ROM covers the late antebellum period and the first months of war (two more CD-ROMs are planned to cover the war years and Reconstruction). Among the sources included here for the two counties are newspapers, letters and diaries, census and tax returns, church records, military rosters, and maps. These sources are searchable, and therein lies the genius of the project. The user can, for example, search the newspapers, letters, and diaries to find every instance where "Abraham Lincoln" or "Fort Sumter" or any other term appears. Alternately, the user can search for items touching on certain general topics, such as religion or race relations; or items from a given month and year. Searching the 1860 census, the user can summon up a list, say, of all Irish-born women in either county and then get detailed information on each individual along with statistics on the group, including average wealth and age. Searches can be narrowed as much as one likes: with the flick of a wrist, there will appear a list of all propertyless Pennsylvania-born carpenters under age thirty. Revealing comparisons can be made, for example, by looking at the occupations and wealth of free black men in each county.

Another intriguing feature of this project is the ability to link sources in order to trace the experience of a single family or individual. As an experiment, I randomly selected an Augusta County resident from the census and then set out to learn all I could about him. (Well, not quite randomly—I deliberately picked a wealthy white male to make it more likely that I would find other records on him.) The man I chose was a farmer named John Churchman. The population census identified him as a 68-year-old native Virginian worth \$120,000. He was probably a widower, for there was no woman of his generation in his household; there were, however, several much younger people with his surname, presumably his children. Examining the census entries before and after Churchman's, I found that his nearest neighbors included both the poor and the well to do: a laborer, a lawyer, a distiller, other farmers. A look at the maps revealed that Churchman's neighborhood was near the center of Augusta County, just south of the county seat. Turning to the agricultural census, I learned that Churchman raised wheat and corn but no tobacco on his 700-acre farm. The slave census showed me that he owned sixteen male and seven female slaves. Church records indicated that two of his daughters were confirmed at Trinity Episcopal church. Newspapers revealed that one of the daughters graduated from the local Female Institute in 1860, that two of Churchman's horses were stolen that same year, that the thief was caught but later escaped from jail, that Churchman supported moderate John Bell in the 1860 presidential election, that he continued to oppose secession in the days following Abraham Lincoln's election, that his barn was destroyed by an arsonist, and that his family made donations for the benefit of Confederate soldiers. Military records indicated that Churchman's son enlisted in the Tenth Virginia Cavalry.

All but the most intractable students will find such research fascinating, as I did. Moreover, they will be able to use their research to try to answer some important questions: were the antebellum North and South two distinct societies, or did their similarities outweigh their differences? What motivated the southerners who advocated secession, and those who opposed it? Why were northerners willing to fight to save the Union? How did the coming of war alter the lives of the American people—blacks and whites, women and men, rich and poor, natives and immigrants, civilians and soldiers?

I eagerly await the next installments of this CD-ROM version of the Valley of the Shadow project. I am anxious to see what changes the war brought for John Churchman, his children, and his slaves.

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EMMA PÉREZ. *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History*. (Theories of Representation and



Difference.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 181. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

This book is a challenging, fresh new interpretation of Chicano and Chicana history, one that uses postmodern theory and develops a creative new synthesis, one that moves our understanding of history beyond traditional boundaries. Emma Pérez wants to rescue Mexican and Chicana voices from historical oblivion using insights from Michel Foucault and other postcolonial critics to illuminate primary documents on topics ranging from Yucatan women during the Mexican Revolution to the movie *Selena* (1997). Her argument is that Mexican and Chicana women's lives can best be interpreted as incomplete struggles to escape colonialism: inevitably they employ the very colonialist and masculine structures to which they are opposed in order to create a third space, which she calls the decolonial imaginary. This new space is not fully one of liberation but is in transition. It is only a possibility, not yet a reality. Pérez provides us with a new paradigm which she calls a theory of Chicano/a historical consciousness. It is a complex and challenging approach, one that deserves close study by professional historians.

This book begins with a thoughtful and creative analysis of Chicano historiography. The author modifies Hayden White's theories to criticize the major historical works and traditions in Chicana and Chicano history—a discipline that she says has both mimicked and attacked the history of the western frontier. Chicano historians have created their own postcolonial imaginary since they have not succeeded in breaking from their colonial formations. Chicano historiography is stuck between a history of the colonizer and of the colonized. This interstitial place is a borderless gray zone where binary clarity disappears. In Pérez's view, however, it is clear that a new binary division is being privileged: that of gender. Ultimately, though, the methodology of this book is its real substance.

One of the concepts Pérez uses is that of "doubling," a strategy where by women have restated men's ideas while, in the process, developing a feminist consciousness. As a case study in "doubling," Pérez discusses the socialist revolution in Yucatan, where feminism was at first proposed by men. Pérez's close analysis of the Feminist Congress of 1916 and her study of grievances filed by women shows how doubling worked to create a discourse of feminism-in-nationalism, a third space.

Another study of "doubling" is that of the women members of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), an anarchosyndicalist organization that was based in Los Angeles during the Mexican Revolution. This group, led by Ricardo Flores Magón, espoused feminist ideas in the pages of its newspaper, *Regeneración*. Magón's famous essay, "La mujer," denounced marriage as slavery for women and espoused ideas about women's natural duties and desires as nurturers. The PLM women's chapter Luz y Vida (Light and Life) raised funds and enlisted supporters; women writing in the

newspaper, while following the Magonista feminist line, also created a women's revolutionary consciousness.

The final case study for testing the theory of the decolonial imaginary is an analysis of Texas Mexican-American women and their formation of organizations that functioned both socially and politically during the 1930s and 1940s. Pérez uncovers a rare document, the "Letter from Chapultepec," that protested racism from a Tejana point of view. The women who signed this document later suffered reprisals for their outspokenness. The concept of "doubling" may have been important in this effort, but it is not developed in the text.

The last part of the book, entitled "Genealogy," is a postmodern theoretical discussion of sexuality in the historical figures of La Malinche, La Delgadina, and Selena. This analysis was hard for me to follow and was too much a gloss of the theories of Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. It was needlessly esoteric and confusing, basically out of step with the main theme of the book. The casting of Selena as the precursor of postcolonial desire because she made Chicana sexuality respectable is an interesting observation but one based entirely on a reading of the film, not other historical evidence.

The conclusion of the book is a poetic and personal note in which the author admits to being caught in the no man's land (in more ways than one) between colonialism and liberation. She admits not being able to "forget the Alamo" but hopes that someday Chicana feminists will. This is an important book that challenges Chicano historians to be more critical of their nationalism and to take postmodern theories more seriously as they construct a past connected to the present.

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BARBIE ZELIZER. *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 292. \$27.50

ANDREA LISS. *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust*. (Visible Evidence, number 3.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 152. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Barbie Zelizer's book begins with a quote from Walter Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History": "Every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably." Zelizer thinks this "observation" crucially important to her project (p. 1). Yet attempting to show the ultimately numbing effects of an overabundance of atrocity photos, she seems oddly divided about the meanings to the present of images of the past and at the same time unwilling to accommodate a plurality of different meanings. Like many of Benjamin's cryptic and notoriously apodictic state-

ments, this one, too, shuts out questions that might challenge its authorizing power: whose past, whose present, irretrievable for whom? Above all, what kind of image? "Theses," Benjamin's most insistently redemptive and antihistorical text—and for that reason an almost biblical authority in Holocaust discourses—was written in very dark, desperate times that have become an absorbing concern of our present.

Although Zelizer's study of the dynamics of collective memory in the uses of photographic documentation poses useful questions to increasingly ritualized Holocaust photography, it does not deal with the larger cultural questions raised by such ritualization and the increasing exclusiveness of commemoration on which it feeds. Zelizer does modify Saul Friedlander's overly generalizing assertion that visual memories of the Holocaust linger as an "indelible reference point of the Western imagination" by proposing to ask about the conditions under which those first images of the camps were produced, presented, received, and coopted into the collective memory (p. 1). But when she moves beyond the by now largely familiar documentation of camp photography in 1945 (chapters two through four) to explore that cooption (chapters five through seven), she is too indebted to Benjamin's (Proust-derived) neo-Platonic reservations regarding the ability of photo-images to be the site of true memory—reservations echoed in many arguments for the limits of representation where it concerns the Jewish Holocaust. She agrees with his assertion in "Theses" that the past "can be seized only as an instance which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again. To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it . . . It means to seize hold of memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (p. 15).

Benjamin in *extremis* was entitled to this neo-Romantic concept of the uniquely significant moment of revealed suprahistorical truth, but it is deeply problematic in the context of what Zelizer offers as a historical study at the end of the twentieth century. Her larger argument is shaped by the assumption that the Jewish Holocaust is different in kind from all other persecutions and that its (therefore) unique and suprahistorical status has to be reflected in its representation. This assumption has contributed greatly to the current cultural fascination with all Holocaust discourses because it removes them from the restrictions imposed by modern secular historiographical standards of evidence. Yet these standards also expand rather than limit representation precisely because they are assumed to be responsible to all of the past, not certain privileged pasts. The importance of photography to a better historical understanding of the dynamics of collective commemoration of World War II over the last half century is not that it yields, to the right viewer, one moment of truth that will never be seen again. It is rather the medium-specific openness of photography to questions of meaning, which does not signify premature closure or opaqueness but the pos-

sibility of different acts of viewing over time. Here Zelizer might have found useful some of the observations in my *Germany 1945: Views of War and Violence* (1996), to which she does not refer although we share a good deal of the photographic documentation and the questions raised by it.

Setting out the parameters of her argument, Zelizer quotes approvingly Alan Trachtenberg to the effect that one must not ask photographs about authentication but rather about their contribution to an argument and its contingencies. When she quotes Julia Kristeva that "Testimony is to be a transmission to future generations," she points out sensibly that photo images are defined by their own historicity, which also means the time and place of their becoming effective "tools for constructing moral consensus" (p. 11). But she also supports Susan Sontag's apodictic claim that photographs cannot "create" but only "reinforce" a moral position following "the naming of the event" (p. 11). As Zelizer herself points out, the photographic record of the camps' liberation was so overwhelming both in quantity and content that many observers held these images "responsible for shocking both nations out of their skepticism and processing the unbelievable atrocity story into plausible interpretative schema" (p. 12). So they did "create" a "moral position" after all, if to very different "ends" and "effects," namely to celebrate the absolutely, enduringly innocent victorious Allies and criminalize the absolutely and enduringly evil vanquished Nazi Germans. This Manichean scenario is at the core of Holocaust discourses today and responsible for what Zelizer laments as the numbing over-use of atrocity photos: the documentation of atrocity is a priori good if the perpetrators are known to be evil. Yet she does not seem to see the connection: this scenario was arguably "created" by these first images—with the help of viewers who saw their political potential and used it accordingly.

Zelizer maintains that "no other instance of atrocity has been depicted in as full and wide-ranging a fashion as the brutality of World War II" (p. 15), but her focus is entirely on the Holocaust and all the visual evidence, almost all of it familiar, is of the opening of the camps. There are a small number of contemporary photographic collages as atrocity memories containing parts of camp photos in chapter six "Remembering to Remember" and the concluding chapter, "Remembering to Forget: Contemporary Scrapbooks of Atrocity," has a small number of photos that may suggest visual references to camp photos: a Bosnian child behind barbed wire, a Cambodian woman and a large pile of skulls, a trench filled with dead bodies in Rwanda (pp. 207–209). But they may also just point to the similarity of the extremes of brutality without invocation of Holocaust iconography. Zelizer asks too much and too little of photographs of extreme situations. In the case of the Holocaust, they have had enormous influence on collective memory. If they have now become "over-used icons of atrocity" (p. 209), this is due to the currently enormous power of Holocaust memory dis-

courses. The Kosovo case contradicts Zelizer's skepticism regarding the power of photographs of atrocities as a call to action (see p. 207). It has always depended on how they are used: they worked in 1945 and they worked again in the case of Kosovo when Western viewers were bombarded with images of "innocent Albanian victims" and politicians relentlessly invoked "the Holocaust." The political and social implications of photography's power go largely unquestioned in Zelizer's study, because she is too exclusively focused on the dangers of "our" remembering to forget.

Andrea Liss explicitly celebrates the suprahistorical and suprarational properties of Holocaust memory discourses, their poetics of the "unimaginable," and their paradoxically powerful authority of the "impossible": the significant symbiosis of the impossibility of documentary photography and of Holocaust representation (see esp. pp. xi-xix, 26, 43, 48). Energized by Friedlander's plea for a new "category of the sublime" for the Jewish Holocaust and recognition of its core "opaqueness" (p. 7), Liss's self-indulgent, poetico-existentialist speculations about the (im)possibly (im)possible meanings of "the Holocaust," the "(im)Possible Witnessing" (p. xi), are not about Holocaust memory discourses but are a troubling part of them. The fact that Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, and Friedlander appear as the patron saints of Liss's muddled if deeply felt ruminations is not their fault, yet their being enlisted in Holocaust kitsch is instructive. The most astonishing aspect of this slight volume is its publication by a respected university press. One hopes—and fears—that this was possible because of its topic.

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DIPESH CHAKRABARTY. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 301. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

This book on the task of representing and understanding historical experiences in South Asia is organized into two main parts entitled "Historicism and the Narration of Modernity" and "Histories of Belonging." The eight chapters, including four with material from previously published articles, are bracketed by an introduction that sets out the meaning of "provincializing Europe" and a conclusion that counsels us to address the "universal narrative of capital" and "multiple life worlds." The "Europe" that Dipesh Chakrabarty seeks to provincialize is an "imaginary figure," not that geographical space conventionally denoted by the term but the propositions about human life generalized out of accounts of European history. These ideas, the author suggests, are both necessary and insufficient for sorting out the meanings of politics and history in India. The challenge for him is twofold: first, to deploy categories of European thought to

discern the development of capitalism and the meanings of political modernity in "non-European life-worlds," and second, to expose the intellectual poverty of such exercises unable to make clear the range of possibilities available to us, if only the dominating themes of citizenship and nation-state can be diminished in our presentations of history.

After an introduction and first chapter alerting the reader to the difficulties of studying non-European history, Chakrabarty leads us on a journey of many stages before he presents us much of his South Asian material. Chapter two, "The Two Histories of Capital," takes us to the domain of Karl Marx's abstract ideas about history. Chakrabarty identifies a "History 1" centered on the functional social relations that reproduce capital and a "History 2" that enmeshes capital in a dense web of human relations in ways that enhance, qualify, and even block the logic of capital's worldly advance. He draws from this juxtaposition an agenda for doing two kinds of history: "analytical histories" that identify general principles of change and "affective narratives of human belonging" that affirm particular experiences of life that cannot be reduced to some common denominator of meaning. Chapter three, "Translating Life-Worlds into Labor and History," considers how these two tasks fit together as it reviews the efforts of three historians to grapple with the problems of moving from the culturally specific meanings of labor in South Asia to a more general account of labor in the development of capitalism. Marking the moments of tension between the unavoidable generality of Marxian principles and the insistent particularism of lived experiences represented by the differences between abstract and real labor, Chakrabarty suggests that capital possesses unavoidable incommensurabilities; it is these heterogeneities that subaltern studies faces. He further explores these in chapter four (on minority histories and subaltern pasts). Whereas minority histories are part of a plural past that all conform to shared norms of rationality and evidence, subaltern pasts invoke the epistemological frameworks of people who do not submit to the standards of truth and value we use in order to historicize them. Their subaltern pasts thus exist independently of any historical present.

Armed with an appreciation of the challenge of "provincializing Europe," the four chapters of part two take us into nineteenth and twentieth-century South Asia, most especially from the vantage point of the intellectual world of the Bengali middle class. Chapter five uses the colonial creation of the "widow" as a social category to argue that the multiple ways of being human undermine any notion of a single subject of modernity. Chapter six contrasts Rabindranath Tagore's use of prose to face poverty and ignorance and poetry to evoke the peace and beauty of an idealized Bengali world in ways that make complex the meanings of nationalism and modernity. Moving from ideas to social practice, chapter seven examines the *adda*, the gatherings of intimate friends for informal



chats, as an activity of early twentieth-century middle-class men filling new urban spaces in tension with the notion of civil society as a realm of purposive human activity and as an object of nostalgia for what both men and women imagine they have lost in a capitalist modernity. Chapter eight places the author's recurrent focus on labor, in this case salaried labor, in the context of Bengali ideas about family and fraternity; he argues that Bengali notions of paternal authority and natural rather than contractual solidarity of brotherhood together create a vision of political modernity at odds with European liberalism. The epilogue argues that the modern historical consciousness creates a certain way of living in the world as it defines a specific set of connections to the past. These connections constrain us from imagining more creative ways to draw upon the past to form new and more desirable futures.

There is much to appreciate in this book's serious engagement with the limitations and possibilities of writing history. Unable to do justice in such limited space to the complexity of the author's arguments, it is even more difficult to voice clearly complementary alternatives to his lines of enquiry. I simply note three concerns: the separation of the Marxian and Heideggerian theoretical visions makes it difficult to understand how human agency creates both the general and specific through related understandings of interest and belief with unintended consequences repeatedly requiring new acts of reason and faith; the "Europe" to be provincialized should also include the geographical space of Europe; this can be attempted through testing explicitly the generality of its categories and comparing on mutually more equal conceptual terms patterns of historical change found there and elsewhere; and a recognition that both analytical explanation and affective understanding involve selection and simplification and mean that attention to what does not fit comfortably in conventional categories explains little if we cannot propose alternative concepts and propositions that succeed in making more persuasive claims about the human past. Then, and I daresay only then, will we have gone beyond the province of Europe to embrace the many histories of the world in order to comprehend the particular and conceive the general.

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KEITH JENKINS. *Why History? Ethics and Postmodernity*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. x, 232.

Postmodernism is definitely beginning to feel old hat. These days in Paris, it is the critical sociology developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski, among others—increasingly in political opposition to neo-liberal economics—that is making the intellectual running. Richard Rorty, the most influential popularizer of postmodernism in the English-speaking world, has turned of late against his pupils, criticizing them for an

obsession with cultural politics that has blinded them to the growth in social and economic inequality over the past twenty years.

Maybe because postmodernism seems to have reached Anglophone historians comparatively late, the debate over its historiographic implications has had a bit more life to it. Certainly Keith Jenkins has done his best to keep it going in a series of books of which this is the latest. Jenkins is an enthusiast for postmodernism. He says "we are lucky, we late twentieth-century lesser mortals, to witness" the deeds of "Barthes, Foucault, Lacan, Derrida, Lyotard, *et al.*," whom he compares to the "intellectual giants" of the Western tradition such as Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, René Descartes, Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx.

Given this reverential attitude toward the master-thinkers of postmodernism, it is hardly surprising that Jenkins has little good to say about Richard Evans's *In Defence of History* (1997). The disrespect that Evans shows in this book toward postmodernist writers such as Jacques Derrida and Frank Ankersmit arouses Jenkins's indignation, provoking him to denounce what he describes as Evans's "flat-earthism." But there is more to this polemic than an outraged defense of Jenkins's philosophical teachers. He is after bigger game than Evans. Jenkins wants to finish off history altogether. The starting point for postmodernism was provided by Jean-François Lyotard's claim that the twentieth century had witnessed the collapse of the "grand narratives": after Auschwitz and the Gulag Archipelago, attempts such as those by G. F. W. Hegel and Marx to weave the whole of human history into a single integrated pattern were intellectually and morally bankrupt. In the first part of the book, Jenkins expounds the ways in which he believes that Derrida, Lyotard, and Jean Baudrillard demolished the very idea of a grand narrative, of History with a capital H.

In the second part, however, Jenkins moves on to target "lower-case history," by which he means the academic discipline of history as it has been constituted since the early nineteenth century: the reconstruction of past episodes and events on the basis of the critical analysis of primarily archival evidence. Since it is historical inquiry thus understood that it is the object of Evans's defense, it is clear why he should be a major target. Jenkins mounts his assault relying, in addition to direct critique of Evans's text, on discussion of a variety of others whom he associates with postmodernism, most notably Ankersmit and Hayden White. Both here and in the first part he offers useful presentations of various authors, supported by lengthy quotations that are particularly helpful for those who quail at the thought of having to trawl through the often none-too-enticing original texts.

Yet for all the erudition that Jenkins displays, this book contains very little that amounts to a developed argument. The nub of his case against history is the familiar point that, since historical inquiry deals with traces of the past, all that it can offer are interpreta-

tions that necessarily go beyond the evidence on which they are based. But this is hardly news. F. H. Bradley wrote in 1874 that "in every case that which is called a fact is in reality a theory." Much more argument is required for this proposition to support the abandonment of historical inquiry for what Jenkins (not very perspicuously) calls "a proliferation of postist ways of representing the past."

This tendency to hype up platitudes pervades the entire book. Consider, for example, the following summary of Derrida's claim that "for a decision to be ethical it has to pass through a moment of undecidability (the *aporia*) when, because there are no unambiguous, algebraic foundations on which to base the right decision, a choice between more than one equally (logically) possible decision has to be made." Put more simply, we cannot just deduce what we should do from a set of rules—hardly a profound revelation. Skepticism about this style of philosophizing need not justify lapsing complacently back to traditional historical empiricism. But it is hard not to feel that it is time to move on from what is becoming an increasingly sterile debate.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JANE CAPLAN, editor. *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 318. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

Jane Caplan's amazingly rich volume covers the tattoo in the culture of Europe and America from Roman times to our contemporary fascination with tattoos and piercing. Not quite a handbook, this volume presents a set of interconnected case studies that provide a structure for any further examination of the history and culture of body ornamentation. The content is quite revealing of Caplan's general project: to examine the significance of tattooing in the West as a sign of marginality. Thus, the volume begins with a significant essay by C. P. Jones, following Caplan's overview, on the general problem of tattooing and stigma. There are fascinating chapters that deal with the problems of tattoos as public display, as among convicts in British India by Clare Anderson, Australia by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Ian Duffield, and the Soviet gulags by Abby M. Schrader. There are studies of how tattoos served as modes of classification for science, as in Harriet Guest's most elegant piece on gendered British images of tattooing in the South Pacific during the eighteenth century. Essays by Caplan on the nineteenth century, James Bradley on Victorian Britain, Jennifer Allen Rosecrans on early modern England, Juliet Fleming on the Renaissance, Mark Gustafson on the later Roman Empire, and Charles Macquarrie on the Celts provide varied contributions to "national" or "ethnic" traditions of tattooing. Stephan Oettermann

represents the contemporary world on tattooed entertainers in the United States and Germany, Alan Govenar tattooing in America until 1966, and Susan Benson the contemporary world. These latter rarely reflect on the model provided by Guest and rarely question their only activity of classifying tattoos. There is a heavy emphasis on the deviant and the odd as understood in the past and in the present. Those cultures, such as the Celts, in which tattooing is a normative action are outweighed by the general movement toward the notion that tattooing marks the marginal body (whether the seaman or the circus "freak") in the world until the present, and today the freakish begins to redefine the acceptable perimeters for the postmodern, malleable body.

There was (and is), of course, another side to this notion of the ornament of the body through tattooing in the modern world. (The following comments are not a criticism but a sign of my own excitement in thinking along with Caplan and seeing the powerful idea of body enhancement as part of even more diverse directions for research.) From the pre-World War I period, tattooing was used in the "new" art of aesthetic surgery as one of the means for medical dermatology. Tattoos could highlight by providing permanent make-up (and this already by the 1900s) or they could cover blemishes or scars to disguise or to mask them. This took place at more or less the same moment when European criminology was rebelling against the Lombrosian notion that the tattoo was one of the most significant signs of the criminal as primitive. The cosmetic surgeon was incorporating the tattoo into his (and her) armamentarium of weapons in the crusade for beauty. Caplan's world is the world of the outsider made insider in a group through tattoos that are visible, but the tattoo in its medical use has yet another function. It creates insiders who are beautiful by the criteria of the world in which the tattoo per se may well have been rejected.

Another one of the most compelling case studies that is missing from Caplan's book is one examining the function of tattooing among cultures, such as that of the Jews, that reject the ornamentation of the body (except for circumcision). The rise of post-Shoah tattoo artists such as Marina Vaihshtein, who have the "image" of the Shoah inscribed on their skin as a form of performance of their Jewishness, is for me one of the most striking rethinking of the tattoo as a significant part of postmodern culture. From the tattooed number on the arm of the inmates at Auschwitz to the scenes from the Shoah tattooed on Vaihshtein's body, the Nazi flaunting of the prohibition against tattooing is now made part of a new Jewish tradition.

Caplan's anthology of essays is stimulating for further work on the very idea of body ornamentation as a source for cultural history. It shows a strength that is rarely to be found in collected volumes. One hopes that it is a sign that the study of the body in culture will



be a powerful source for innovation in a number of disciplines.

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IRVINE LOUDON. *The Tragedy of Childbed Fever*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 236.

Although not a new disease, puerperal fever, a severe, extraordinarily painful, and often fatal peritonitis of postpartum women, acquired a new visibility with the development of lying-in hospitals in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Europe. It was a good deal rarer in fact than in the imaginations of novelists, for whom it has been a *deus ex machina* of inestimable value. Even in bad situations, the mortality rate over time was usually well less than one percent of deliveries, far lower than typical infant mortality rates. But cases were not evenly distributed in space or time. Often they came as epidemics, affecting a single town, hospital building, or the practice of a particular midwife. What in retrospect has seemed clear evidence of contagion has led to a prominent place for the disease in popular histories of the germ theory, which focus on the heroic struggles of the Hungarian obstetrician Ignaz Semmelweis against the callous stupidity of the staff at Vienna's huge Allgemeines Krankenhaus or the exceptional clarity of mind of that elite Bostonian, Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Following his magisterial work, *Death in Childbirth* (1992), Irvine Loudon here offers an interpretation of the response to the disease that is better informed both by pathological theories of the past and by modern knowledge of the Group A Streptococcus, the causal agent of the disease. The work opens with the 1797 death of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, following the birth of a daughter who would later write *Frankenstein* (1819), and takes the story through the appearance, in the mid-1930s, of the sulfa drugs that could finally cure the disease. A final chapter examines the epidemiology of infection by this variety of streptococcus, which is associated with erysipelas and necrotizing fasciitis when it infects other parts of body.

For much of the first half of the book, Loudon is concerned to explain the relative lack of interest in a contagionist explanation of puerperal fever, despite what in retrospect appears strong evidence in its favor. Through much of the nineteenth century, such explanations were simplistic, he notes; they failed to conform to contemporary canons of causation, in which the incidence and course of disease were conceived in terms of the concordance of multiple factors. Also, the presumed contagion, if one there was, defied practitioners' best efforts to rid themselves of it. These are wise caveats, but one wonders if Loudon, in an effort to understand medical responses in terms of their times, has explained too much. To an older school of medical historians, puerperal fever highlighted a barbarous medical past populated by practitioners equally

dull in mind and in concern for their patients. Loudon, in the main, credits those practitioners with coherent theory and good intent, but one may still ask whether the incidence of puerperal fever tells us anything about the status of postpartum health as a public problem and, more broadly, about the health status of women of particular classes, places, and times. Loudon hints that it does. Even after the ostensible diffusion of antiseptic technology from surgery into obstetrics in the late nineteenth century, he finds among English practitioners an unwillingness to exercise constant scrupulousness to prevent what was, after all, a rare event. He takes issue also with the modern presumption that puerperal fever is an easily controllable disease readily banished from any rational medical polity. In the early twentieth century, puerperal fever rates did not drop off rapidly but instead remained disturbingly high at a time when the incidence of most other infectious diseases was falling. Changes in the rate of life-threatening streptococcal infections are due mainly due to changes in microbial virulence, Loudon argues, and our modern cleaner-than-thou sanctimony toward the past is misplaced: we are not giving the problem of prevention the attention it warrants.

In raising issues of how social responsibility for disease prevention develops in response to a relatively uncommon but exceedingly insidious infection, Loudon has written a book of importance to public health and medical practitioners as well as to historians of health care. Two final concerns, however: both in its epidemiological discussion and in its consideration of medical theory and practice, the work draws too much on Britain, and particularly on England and Wales. Particularly valuable would be fuller consideration of France, about which Loudon offers some intriguing remarks about the persistence of anticontagionist explanation. Second is the therapeutic value of bloodletting in puerperal fever. Loudon's general respect for late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century practitioners' clinical and epidemiological acuity (and particularly for the Aberdonian Alexander Gordon) does not carry over to therapeutics. Yet Gordon's figures for the 1789–1792 Aberdeen epidemic suggest an association between the use of bloodletting and a remarkably low case fatality rate that deserves a fuller discussion than Loudon gives it.

CHRISTOPHER HAMLIN  
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CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR. *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830–1915*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 336. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.50.

The focus of many historical studies has been the successes and failures of churches in attracting those who did not attend them. This book, in contrast, is concerned with churches from the perspective of ordinary folk who did attend them. The specific topic

under consideration in Charles D. Cashdollar's book is the congregational life of British and American Reformed churches from roughly 1830 to World War I. The Reformed community, tracing its ancestry to John Calvin, included Presbyterians and Congregationalists divided into eight churches during the period under consideration. All shared a heritage of ideas while maintaining some differences in theology and polity. The most notable difference in the last category was the established status of the Church of Scotland, in contrast with the Free Church of Scotland, the Scottish United Presbyterians, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the United Presbyterian Church of North America, the English Congregationalists, and the American Congregationalists.

At first glance, it might seem that Cashdollar has taken on too much for a single volume, even while restricting his study to the inner workings of congregations within the Reform tradition. In dealing with such a multitude of denominations on both sides of the Atlantic, however, Cashdollar discerns patterns of thought and behavior that transcend locale. In a century of migration, these common elements made for an instantly recognizable spiritual home to churchgoers, regardless of where they might find themselves. This is not to say that the author ignores the particular in a quest for the general. Indeed, one of the strengths of this book is the very extensive use of a huge array of congregational records that has yielded excellent local material. In the process, Cashdollar is able to present the reader with a very authentic view from the pew.

Nevertheless, such a rich tapestry could prove to be a difficult read without a sense of direction. Such direction is provided by Cashdollar not only in good writing, but in no less than seven themes set out clearly in his introductory chapter. These themes, or ongoing developments, for the period include the shift from piety to the fellowship of the "social church"; greater emphasis on the private in religious life; increasing efficiency in church administration; growing professionalization of clergy and other functionaries; changes in the role of women; growing demands for luxury and elegance reflecting the sense of middle-class respectability; and an increasing blend of church activities with those of popular leisure and entertainment.

Following the introduction, the book is divided into chapters concerned with governance, Sunday worship, other spiritual activities, music, conditions of membership, discipline and nurture, financial management, Social Christianity, recreational and social activities, and church building and maintenance. The first and most important theme of the road to the multifarious activities of the social church is borne out through much of the book. The changing role of women is also constantly observed, though the remaining themes are seen more in particular chapters. An additional observation is how much of the transition through this period was accomplished without excessive rancor, in

spite of considerable differences in outlook and social background of members.

With such an ambitious book, small quibbles are bound to be raised. The inclusion of the Church of Scotland poses a dilemma. The established nature of this church led to a very different approach to many of the topics listed, not being a "gathered" portion of the nation as with the other churches. This, in turn, creates some problems for the flow of discussion, although its exclusion would certainly leave this study of Reformed congregations incomplete. No real attention is given to anti-Catholicism, which was so prevalent at times among Protestants on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, as a predictable note of caution, it is also possible (but not very likely) that other samplings of congregations from other regions of the British Isles and the United States might yield somewhat different patterns of development.

Setting aside such minor reservations, one must commend Cashdollar for this excellent study of how congregations actually functioned for the rank and file within them. As in his earlier book of a very different nature, *The Transformation of Theology, 1830-1890: Positivism and Protestant Thought in Britain and America* (1989), he has demonstrated the benefits of a transnational approach to religious history. By taking up the challenge of his students to explore what ordinary people thought, Cashdollar has given all of us much to contemplate.

PAUL T. PHILLIPS  
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HAROLD R. WINTON and DAVID R. METS, editors. *The Challenge of Change: Military Institutions and New Realities, 1918-1941*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 246. \$50.00.

This book, edited by Harold R. Winton and David R. Mets is a collection of essays that aim to discover the process of change and innovation (or lack of it) in five armies during the interwar period. The armies in question are those of France, Germany, Britain, Russia, and the United States. A concluding essay by Dennis Showalter sums up the book and offers his own typically hard-hitting analysis. Sometimes, such a collection does not work very well, due to too much diversity and variability, but in this case, the essays are of high quality, have a common theme, and reflect the latest research.

Needless to say, each country was strongly influenced by its own participation in World War I, and so, to a considerable extent, each country based its interwar doctrine and the structure of its armed forces on the particular "lessons" of World War I. Eugenia C. Kiesling's essay on France argues that the French army came out of World War I with a winning doctrine, that of the artillery-dominated methodical battle (known as the "set piece" battle in the British army). As a result, the French army developed a "long war" doctrine in

which the French defense would methodically blunt any offensive threat and then use material superiority to wear down the enemy, preferably on foreign soil (Belgium in the case of a German attack). This long war strategy was reinforced by the French traditional opposition to a professional army and preference for a conscript/reserve army, potentially a very large force, which would eventually grind down the enemy, perhaps over a period of several years. It seems that the combination of a winning doctrine related to the victory of 1918, and a constraining political system, were two key factors in shaping the interwar French army.

Turning to the German army, James S. Corum lays stress on the staff and officer tradition of critical evaluation, which produced open discussion and a more or less integrated plan of change. The German army also benefited from the experience of maneuver warfare in the East during World War I, which the Allied armies, apart from Russia, lacked. On the other hand, the areas of logistics and industrial mobilization were largely overlooked. And of course, the emphasis on winning the tactical side of warfare was undercut by the conspicuous lack of a coherent strategy.

Next, Winton tackles the muddled waters of reform in the interwar British army. Here there were two armored warfare thinkers of note, J. F. C. Fuller and Basil Liddell Hart, who moved the debate forward. But issues of finance, imperial demands, the attraction of a blue-water strategy and limited liability, the influence of particular individuals, and the emergence of military conservatives all tended to limit reform. This was especially the case with attitudes toward armor, which resulted in the mechanization of existing arms rather than the expansion of the Tank Corps. The result was that in September 1939, the First Armoured Division was, as Winton says, more an aspiration than a reality.

The case of the Red Army was extraordinarily complex, as might be imagined for an army that emerged from revolution and civil war, and was always part of a radically changing ideological and economic environment. Essentially, Jacob W. Kipp sees a doctrinal battle between those who favored a positional, attrition mass war doctrine (led by Alexander Svechin) and those who favored annihilation, deep battle, and mechanization (led by M. N. Tukhachevsky). Kipp points out, however, that Tukhachevsky did not deny mass war, in fact insisting on the creation of enormous numbers of tanks and planes, while also criticizing what came to be known as "blitzkrieg theory." The doctrinal battle waged back and forth until the intervention of Joseph Stalin and the well-known purges of the late 1930s, which had a severe effect on the Red Army officer corps. Tukhachevsky himself was shot in June 1937. Then, as war approached, Stalin had little to offer except for hurried mechanization of the army, based on his forced industrialization of Russia, and the desperate hope that Germany would delay action until 1942. Consequently, Russia was ill prepared for the invasion of 1941, while Stalin apparently believed that

Adolf Hitler would not launch a surprise attack but would prepare the way with a series of "incidents." Ironically, as it turned out, the Red Army actually fought the campaign of 1941/1942 largely based on Svechin's national, mass-army concept rather than Tukhachevsky's mechanized army, largely destroyed in the initial Barbarossa attack.

Finally, the U.S. forces, as described by David Johnson, underwent a rather sobering interwar process. This was characterized by branch parochialism, competition between air and land officers, a powerless War Department staff, a conservative culture (especially among the cavalry officers), competing views over technology, and a fixation on the need for manpower. Naturally, the Depression, the views of various prominent politicians, and isolationist politics also exerted very considerable influence. The general result was that the U.S. forces were not particularly well prepared for war after Pearl Harbor.

Can one draw any lessons from the varied reactions of five countries to the challenge of change in the interwar period? It appears to be difficult to do so, apart from arguing that each country responded differently to a mixture of internal and external pressures. If there was a dominant factor influencing change, apart from the economic dislocation of the 1930s, it seems to have been the internal military "service culture" of each country, which played a very large role in determining theory and practice. Despite the lack of common conclusions about innovation, this is an informative and entertaining book that brings the reader up to date on a critical period of military history. Certainly, both the military historian and the general reader will learn a great deal from this book, which is highly recommended.

TIM TRAVERS  
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JOSEPH M. HENNING. *Outposts of Civilization: Race, Religion, and the Formative Years of American-Japanese Relations*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 243. \$35.00.

The United States's propensity for elevating its self-image by diminishing others did not begin in the late nineteenth century. As this book by Joseph M. Henning shows, however, it assumed gale force in the writings of American observers of Japan during the sixty years after Matthew Perry's squadron initiated contact between Japan and the United States in 1853.

The book's major contribution is to make clear how a myriad of U.S. writers used Japan during the Meiji era (1868–1912) to construct an identity for their own homeland, how they endlessly analyzed the Pacific archipelago not so much to understand Japan itself (their ostensible goal) as to reaffirm long-standing preconceptions about "white, Christian superiority" (p. 4). The worldview of these observers, Henning argues, was hierarchical, with white Christians at the apex. And while Japan rapidly embraced modernity



and achieved world power status without becoming Christian, or white, most writers never gave up on the religious or racial yardsticks by which they measured national worth.

Following a look at the diminutive ways in which early observers described the Japanese—childlike, disposed to public nudity, licentious—Henning draws on a wide range of English-language articles and books to evaluate portraits by analysts from different walks of life. One of his more interesting chapters assesses the work of several hundred missionary women, a group that has been slighted in historical studies. Labeling them “diplomats of domesticity” (p. 61), he argues that they blended altruism and condescension when they taught English and Bible, launched girls’ schools, and wrote articles for religious journals across the United States. We see these women fighting against the abuse of Japanese womanhood and portraying a land where “ethical thought and social practice negated the possibility that women could maintain moral households” (p. 57).

Two other groups—a relatively small set of secular analysts, and a larger number of artistic types—are portrayed as looking on Japan more sympathetically. The former, represented by journalists and professors like Edward H. House and Edward Morse, portrayed the Japanese as intelligent, progressive, and more tolerant in religious matters than their Western counterparts. The latter included men like the art preservationist Ernest Fenollosa, who adored traditional Japanese aesthetics, and the painter John LaFarge, who found in Japan a spiritual antidote to materialism. Even among these groups, however, the tendency to essentialize and patronize was prominent.

Although Henning’s study is a rich and, at times, wonderfully insightful read, it is plagued by certain weaknesses. For one thing, several sections stray from the book’s stated focus. The chapter on diplomacy, for example, concentrates on political history, describing Japan’s tortuous efforts to secure fair treaties with only occasional glances at identity construction. Much of the chapter on artists utilizes the *British* writer Edwin Arnold. Even in the useful chapter on missionaries, one wonders why Henning has not mined the missionary journals for more of what the women said, rather than spending so much time on what they did.

The book’s omissions also are disconcerting. The almost total reliance on English-language sources largely deprives us of the role the Japanese themselves played in identity construction, while some groups, such as the crucial business community and the majority of journalists, are ignored altogether. In a problem endemic to intellectual history, one frequently is left asking whether the book’s conclusions are too sweeping for the evidence. When, for example, Henning includes missionary author William Elliot Griffis among those who wanted to praise Japan and bring it into the “civilized nation” category by broadening concepts like “white” and “Christian,” he ignores a whole body of work in which Griffis warned fellow

Christians, sometimes excitedly, that Japan was about to “Buddhaize” Christianity.

That said, this book makes a significant contribution, joining the growing studies that help us construct the nineteenth century along new lines. Its final chapter, describing the contorted efforts to explain Japan’s “success” in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars without abandoning the religious/racial hierarchy, is particularly provocative. When one sees writers arguing that Japan “was Christian at heart” (p. 149) and that Japanese were more Caucasian than Russians were, one understands the sentimental logic of imperialism with new force. While one might wish that Henning had used a richer variety of sources and focused more consistently on the central theme, one much be thankful indeed for the insights he provides into the ways nineteenth century writers used the culture of a distant Pacific archipelago to construct their own nation’s identity, even when they *thought* they were writing about Japan.

JAMES L. HUFFMAN  
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AARON FORSBERG. *Americans and the Japanese Miracle: The Cold War Context of Japan's Postwar Economic Revival, 1950–1960*. (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 332. \$45.00.

Aaron Forsberg nails his colors to the mast in the opening paragraph of his preface. His intention is to examine “the connections between American economic and security policies at the Cold War’s height, the origins of Japan’s economic success, and the character of the relationship between the United States and Japan since 1945.” He maintains that “US national security policies and the escalating Cold War played a larger role in promoting Japanese economic welfare and in forging the pattern of postwar economic integration and conflict between Japan and the United States than has previously been recognized” (p. xi).

To substantiate his claims, Forsberg examines United States-Japan economic diplomacy in the important decade from 1950, immediately prior to the Japanese peace settlements crafted at San Francisco, to the security crisis that erupted throughout Japan in 1960. Given this chronological restriction, it might perhaps have been more accurate, though no doubt less enticing from his publisher’s perspective, to title his most detailed account “America and the origins of the Japanese miracle.” It is far from obvious that the somewhat precarious Japanese economy of the mid and late 1950s deserves the epithet of “miracle,” particularly when contemporaries tended to see problems over balance of payments issues and trade restrictions rather than the hyper-growth rates and full employment more commonly associated with the 1960s and early 1970s.

What can hardly be doubted, however, is the cen-

trality of the United States to the fate of postwar and then post-treaty Japan. The Truman and Eisenhower administrations in Washington spoke repeatedly of ensuring that Japan remained on the American side in the Cold War in northeast Asia. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur reported regularly from the embassy in Tokyo that the need for the still weak Japan of the 1950s to trade with the United States would tie the two nations together. Given that Japan had lost its prewar China market and that other nations, led by Britain, were decidedly wary of attempts to encourage any major revival of the Japanese economy and worked to exclude Tokyo from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), it was readily apparent that such economic realities ought to have carried the day.

Yet the highly disruptive security crisis of 1960 damages this comforting thesis. Despite the thorough discussion by Forsberg of the U.S.-Japan trade friction experienced in the 1950s, the economic connection proved to be of little comfort to American policy makers when angry Japanese demonstrators took to the streets to protest the very existence both of the alliance and of the conservative government of Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi that had loyally supported it. Japanese domestic opinion was far from convinced that, to employ Forsberg's subtitle, "the Cold War context of Japan's postwar economic revival" was the way forward. Since the mass student demonstrations in Tokyo were aimed at countering precisely what Forsberg charts in the 1950s, it is difficult not to feel that more attention might have been placed on the 1960 crisis. We get a vivid sense of how U.S. trade negotiators and security analysts saw post-treaty Japan but tend to hear less of how divided Japanese society itself was during these years. The assumed economic imperatives do not appear to have been quite so obvious, precisely *because* the opposition in Japan sensed that trade, finance, and technology from the United States served to bind Tokyo ever closer to the American *imperium*. The fact that there would be substantial shifts in American dealings with Japan after 1960 suggests that "lessons" were quickly accepted by Washington and that the best way to preserve the alliance was to downplay the Cold War factor.

This book is an ambitious attempt to place postwar economic history within the wider realm of international relations. It is a pioneering study of patient administrations, angry Congressmen, and pleading Japanese bureaucrats. It also includes wry commentary on the dismissive U.S. view of Japan's economic prospects and reports on the bizarre moment when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles followed up his complaints on the shoddy quality of a "brightly patterned flannel shirt of cheap material made in Japan" by demonstrating to Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida that it had been copied from its superior American counterpart. Despite slight reservations over his handling of the big picture, Forsberg's account of the difficulties and successes of U.S. dealings with Japan

on the economic front in the 1950s remains a substantial achievement.

ROGER BUCKLEY

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JUDITH S. JEFFERY. *Ambiguous Commitments and Uncertain Policies: The Truman Doctrine in Greece, 1947-1952*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2000. Pp. xii, 342. \$65.00.

The involvement of the United States in the affairs of Greece in the late 1940s has attracted scholarly attention for decades. A small, underdeveloped European country, Greece found itself on the geographical and ideological frontline of the Cold War. Its staggering political and economic problems, stemming from World War II and the civil war that ensued, became bound up with American global foreign policy. From the early 1950s, when Leften S. Stavrianos wrote of Greece as America's "dilemma and opportunity," the historiography of this unequal yet close relationship has grown significantly. After the United States's Vietnam experience and Greece's difficult years under military rule in the late 1960s, accounts critical of American intervention in Greece appeared. In her introduction to the literature, Judith S. Jeffery briefly discusses a couple of the revisionist works, those by Lawrence S. Wittner and Yannis R. Roubatis.

In her own book, Jeffery accepts as given that the diplomatic culture of the Cold War significantly affected U.S.-Greek relations and that there were negative consequences of U.S. intervention for Greek national sovereignty. Her attention, she notes, is more narrowly focused on the aid program created by the Truman administration and then continued under the Marshall Plan managed by U.S. officials. In this context, the work takes up the civil war and Greek domestic politics that were critical to the course and outcome of the aid program.

The first two chapters of the book set the stage for the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine. Then the author offers a sampling of opinion in the American press regarding aid to Greece before and after President Harry S. Truman's speech to Congress. There follow three chapters on the aid program, including both its economic and military components. The account continues with a short chapter on the defeat of the leftist forces that adds little to existing knowledge on the issue. Two chapters take the reader from 1949 to 1952, covering several related topics, including the outlook and actions of American administrators of the aid program, Greek domestic politics, the Greek military in politics, the scaling back of economic aid, and Greece's admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The narrative is topped off with both a conclusion and an epilogue. The latter is an unilluminating sketch of the coming of military rule in Greece in 1967 that would have been better left out. A



number of appendixes reproduce documents, including Truman's message to the U.S. Congress.

The work is based largely on official publications of the U.S. government, including the "Foreign Relations of the United States" series. In addition, Jeffery conducted interviews in Greece in the late 1980s and utilized manuscript collections found in the Truman Library. But there are no sources in Greek, certainly a drawback when it comes to discussing and analyzing the crucial events that transpired in Greece.

A main argument of the book is that the Truman Doctrine committed the United States unambiguously to help Greece with economic and military aid in order to bring the civil war that was tearing the country apart to a "speedy end" and to rehabilitate the country economically. But, in the author's view, the United States contradicted its own policy of unwavering commitment to aid Greece by placing conditions, such as the demand for political reform, on the Greek government in return for the proffered aid. This critique is repeated in several of the chapters. This argument is not tenable, however, because the United States implemented its bold new policy of containment in as specific a manner as might be reasonably expected. In Greece, the purpose of the aid was to help the Greek government defeat the insurgents. The amount of aid to be given was up to the United States government, which reserved the right to terminate that commitment whenever it saw fit. There was no contradiction in the American policy. The United States sought to include political reform in order to encourage the Greek state to become more efficient and therefore better able to deal with the communist threat.

When it comes to the leftist insurgency, Jeffery argues that the outcome of the civil war was not so much a victory for U.S. policy but rather a defeat for the guerrillas in the Democratic Army. Thus the Truman Doctrine was not a resounding success, as touted by the administration in Washington, but a failure. It is true that the communists were not defeated merely because of American involvement. Other factors, including the leadership and tactics of the Greek Communist Party (KKE), the withdrawal of Yugoslav support for the left, the efforts of the Greek government, and public attitudes, played a role. Nevertheless, the termination of the civil war was a victory for the United States, vindicating its policy in Greece while marking a defeat for the communists who in the end failed to achieve their goals.

Finally, the author asserts that U.S. policy failed in its intent to help rehabilitate Greece economically because aid was cut back beginning in 1950, just as the war-ravaged country was starting to get back on its feet after a decade of conflict. Direct economic aid was reduced because the primary goal of the Truman Doctrine was achieved. Greece's inclusion in the Marshall Plan, however, brought continued economic assistance. That more might have been done was noted at the time. But this does not mean that the promises expressed in U.S. policy were inappropriate to the

actual efforts. In sum, our knowledge and understanding of the subject is not greatly advanced by this work.

GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS

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JOHN SUBRITZKY. *Confronting Sukarno: British, American, Australian and New Zealand Diplomacy in the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation, 1961-5*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xix, 246. \$59.95.

This important, little book by John Subritzky examines an international crisis in the mid-1960s known as *Konfrontasi* (Confrontation). Put simply, Confrontation was a campaign undertaken in Indonesia, inspired by President Sukarno, to prevent the incorporation of the former British-held territories of Sarawak and Borneo into the new Federation of Malaysia. The Indonesian dictator set out to crush this newly emerging state because he regarded it as part of a British imperialist plot to encircle his Southeast Asian archipelago nation, which occupied a strategic position between the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. These territories, Sukarno claimed, were rightfully territories of Indonesia, and he refused to acknowledge the validity of the succession of legal procedures by the federating states (i.e. consultation and the United Nations-observed referendum of the inhabitants), at the end of which Sarawak and North Borneo (renamed Sabah) became states in the Federation.

Confrontation, which began in earnest in 1963, involved Indonesian measures such as terminating trade with Singapore, guerilla incursions into Sabah and Sarawak, parachute drops and commando raids across the Malacca Straits, and various breaks in diplomatic relations, plus the confiscation of British property. In response, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand combined efforts to resist Jakarta, with London in fact assembling a naval armada, as well as considerable sections of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air forces. Paradoxically, at no stage did the charismatic Sukarno seem eager to engage in a full-scale war.

During the period of Confrontation, Sukarno developed close relations with Beijing and Moscow, taking delivery of much military equipment, including planes and warships from the latter. He also received advisers from the Soviet bloc. Given the reigning psychological dynamic of the Cold War, these events caused much alarm in Washington, leading the United States, through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to intrigue with Indonesian generals to procure the overthrow of Sukarno and his policies. Sukarno's power finally came to an end when the Communist Party he had nurtured was linked to a failed coup attempt in 1965. His successor, General Suharto, and the army quietly ended Confrontation while going about the business of ejecting Soviet and Chinese influence as well as physically annihilating the powerful Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

Within this context, then, Subritzky's book attempts,

first, to provide a contemporary account of Confrontation by making extensive use of recently declassified documents from a number of countries and, second, to look at the regional and international implications of the crisis from the perspective of Britain, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. In the space of 246 pages and nine tightly written chapters—the rest of the book consists of notes and an adequate bibliography—Subritzky has produced a model work of international history, although not all will agree with his conclusions.

According to Subritzky, Confrontation, once and for all, exposed Britain's inability to act globally as an independent power; exacerbated the deterioration of Anglo-American relations as London was unable to contribute to that part of the world that most concerned Lyndon B. Johnson; and fundamentally transformed Australia and New Zealand from outposts of empire to nations whose identity and future lay fully in the Asia-Pacific region.

Disagreements aside, this book will be indispensable to serious students of the region and should be made available in college, university, and major public libraries.

JOSEPH M. SIRACUSA  
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J. R. McNEILL. *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. (The Global Century Series.) New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. xxvi, 421. \$29.95.

Are humans sharklike or ratlike? J. R. McNeill seeks to answer that question as he explores the environmental history of the twentieth-century world. As a species, McNeill contends, humans are ratlike insofar as they pursue survival strategies of adaptability: "In the very long view of biological evolution, the best survival strategy is to be adaptable, to pursue diverse sources of subsistence—and to maximize resilience" (p. xxii). In the twentieth century, however, human societies appeared to be more sharklike: that is, adopting strategies of supreme adaptation to existing circumstances. Such an approach proved precarious in a period when the global ecology was, as McNeill characterizes it, "ever more unstable." In an era of cheap energy, cheap water, rapid population growth, and fast economic growth, "To regard these circumstances as enduring, and normal, and to depend on their continuation," he concludes, "is an interesting gamble" (p. xxiii).

McNeill's book is not, however, a chiding, finger-pointing, "I told you so" study. The tone is in no way condescending or smug. Ranging widely over the twentieth century, McNeill explores human impacts on the earth's atmosphere, hydrosphere, and biosphere. He takes account of demographics, urbanization, energy regimes, technological change, economic development, and politics. What keeps the book from becoming a shopping list of random categories is a consistent emphasis on some well-considered major themes: that

the twentieth century was unusual for the intensity of change and the central role of humans in prompting that change; that "this ecological peculiarity" was the unintended consequence of a range of preferences and patterns; and that patterns of thought, behavior, production, and consumption are adapted to the current circumstances of the twentieth century (i.e. abundant energy and water, population and economic growth).

In exploring this vast topic in less than 400 pages, McNeill cannot possibly offer sufficient depth of detail and breadth of topic that the twentieth-century environment—and the place of humans in it—properly deserve. At the same time, if publishers did not care about the ultimate length of such a study, what we might have is a compendium of facts that is a useful reservoir for future studies but does not try to make overall assessments. McNeill attempts to make some sense of it and, to that end, has done an excellent job. This book should and will provide guideposts for more study. It is, in fact, a fine starting point for a topic essential to the understanding of modern environmental history.

The book's real strength—beyond its sensible and persuasive central theses—is its global perspective. McNeill ranges over numerous cultures and geographic regions to provide glimpses of key changes in land and water use, air quality, industrial capacity, agriculture, and much more. It is McNeill's contention that concentration on large changes most effectively tells the story of twentieth-century environmental history. As a good historian, he is probably correct. But without some attention to major sources of continuity, it is sometimes difficult to determine the degree to which the major changes described in the book suggest impacts on regions rather than the world community, or whether such changes indicate chronic practices in many cultures or aberrant behavior among a few. Were there common water-use patterns shared across the globe? What types of pollution practices, if any, have worldwide impact? Are there common agricultural practices that have a particularly significant effect on the global environment? Continuity versus change is an age-old intellectual tension, but by concentrating on major changes, McNeill is telling us only part of a larger story.

It is difficult and, albeit, unfair to criticize the strategy McNeill uses to confront such a daunting subject. But it is necessary to note that there is still much to be done in analyzing the extraordinary events and impacts of the last century. That McNeill gives the subject clarity and blends questions of culture, politics, economics, and much more into the mix makes the book a worthwhile read.

In his speculative epilogue, McNeill expresses a hope that in the twenty-first century, humans heed the warning signs of the twentieth and "hasten the arrival of a new, cleaner energy regime and . . . hasten the demographic transition toward lower mortality and fertility" (p. 359). Despite this perspective, he demonstrates a surprising optimism throughout the book,

explaining how some cultures have confronted their excesses (air pollution, for example) and made some important adjustments to curb or even reduce some destructive trends. Does McNeill have the right to be optimistic or to hope that humans will adjust their habits and practices in a new millennium? It ultimately comes down to whether sharks can transform themselves into rats.

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### ASIA

JOSEPHINE CHIU-DUKE. *To Rebuild the Empire: Lu Chih's Confucian Pragmatist Approach to the Mid-T'ang Predicament*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 311.

Josephine Chiu-Duke's study begins with a biography of Lu Chih (754–805) and pays special attention to how such families as his had service traditions as bureaucratized aristocratic lineages. She traces Lu's political career from 780 to 795, culminating in his service as a "prime minister" to the T'ang emperor Te-tsung (r. 779–805). The T'ang dynasty had almost been extinguished during the An Lu-shan rebellion (755–763), and rebellions by military governors in the provinces during Te-tsung's reign further devastated the dynasty. Beleaguered by rebellious armies and pressed by declining resources, the emperor used some of Lu Chih's drafted proclamations both to stir loyalists and to win back many of those who had risen in opposition to the emperor's policies. Lu was usually cautious, but he clashed with the head of public revenue, P'ei Yen-ling, whom the emperor trusted to enhance much needed revenues. Lu urged the emperor to investigate P'ei's behavior, especially his harsh dealings with envoys from provincial military governors. The emperor thereupon demoted the troublesome chief minister and almost had Lu executed when it appeared that he might be leading a faction and intriguing with the army. About ten years later, a reformist group briefly gained ascendancy; they had the new emperor summon Lu back to the capital, but Lu died before he received this call to serve. Thus, the challenge to P'ei ended Lu's career. Just before that challenge, Lu had eloquently replied to those urging caution: "I have not betrayed the Son of Heaven on high and I have not betrayed what I have learned in this world; nothing else troubles me" (p. 61). Skillfully utilizing this quotation, Chiu-Duke turns to Lu's thought.

Because of Lu's limited extant writings, Chiu-Duke focuses on his memorials and writings for the emperor. Her goal is to establish Lu as a "Confucian pragmatist" approaching sociopolitical problems with a practical flexibility and directed toward the greater good of the people. A hallmark of this approach is how situational flexibility or expediency (*ch'üan*) complements the

principle of righteousness. Through characterizations of implicit motives, she strives to distinguish Lu's principled expediency from the emperor's "appeasement" policies and focus on the survival of the dynasty. She further sharply contrasts Lu with his contemporary institutional specialist, Tu Yu, who is presented as far more concerned about the state's wealth and power than with the people's welfare. She thus distinguishes her favored "pragmatist" from what she labels as Tu's "utilitarianism," a rubric she acknowledges borrowing from my *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi* (1982). However, Ch'en's view of expediency and rightness was essentially the same as Lu's, for Ch'en also argued that proper expediency and the Tao of what is right were one. Chiu-Duke claims this principled position for Lu alone and thus suggests that Chu Hsi would have no grounds for condemning Lu's ethic. But she apparently accepts at face value Chu's caricature of Ch'en ethics as advocating that the end justifies the means and as being the unprincipled pursuit of the state's wealth and power.

Whereas a few endnotes very briefly discuss modern studies of Lu (especially p. 246, n. 106) and China's utilitarians (p. 247, n. 107 and 262, n. 51), parallels between Lu and Max Weber's ideal of the true statesman are prominent in the text. Besides serving as an internationalized standard, Weber's "ethic of responsibility" is further used to contrast Lu's ethic from the "ethic of social orientation" among Chinese utilitarians. But Chiu-Duke does not look more closely at the sense of ethical responsibility among utilitarians in premodern China.

Since Lu was enshrined in the Confucian Temple in 1826, he has become better known among some China scholars by his canonical name, Lu Hsüan-kung. Even though she briefly mentions Lu's elevation to the Confucian Temple, Chiu-Duke does not relate her own theme of conflicts within Confucianism to Huang Chin-shing's Chinese books and articles on the Confucian Temple, which set forth comparable conflicts between rulers and officials over ideology and cultural symbols. Such publications could have strengthened her case.

The above oversights are problematic because Chiu-Duke's larger goal is to construct a tradition of Confucian pragmatists that will counter the ideal of "new authoritarianism" prevailing since 1988 in China (p. 193). She links this new authoritarianism to Tu Yu's utilitarian tradition, which similarly strove to save the state by elevating the ruler and subordinating the people's interest. Nonetheless, one must admire her convictions and applaud this thought-provoking book, which is the first on Lu as a statesman and thinker.

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VICTORIA CASS. *Dangerous Women: Warriors, Grannies, and Geishas of the Ming*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1999. Pp. xix, 156.

Victoria Cass has written a short, lively, and engaging study of female archetypes that were deeply imbedded in the structures of Chinese culture and daily life during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Cass focuses on women as outsiders, as revealed in the private and informal language of memoirs, miscellanies, short stories, and novels. Her goal is to place these women/outsiders in their own historical context of “the universals of myth and religion, and the verities of the cultural landscape,” “so that they will speak coherently to the modern” (p. xii). In this, she succeeds admirably.

Cass opens with a chapter on “The Great Ming,” emphasizing the prosperity of the Ming dynasty and the prevalence of male anxiety and warnings about dangerous women. She emphasizes three aspects of Ming culture as directly relevant to her study of female archetypes: the importance of piety and the cult of the family; the growth of urban prosperity with its attendant entertainment districts, cosmopolitanism, anonymity, and relative freedom; and solitude or reclusion as an abiding cultural ideal. Each of these, and sometimes two or all three at once, helped condition the roles of women as dangerous outsiders.

Cass notes that the geisha in China was, on the one hand, captive and enslaved but, on the other, highly refined and in some cases even celebrated for her beauty and artistic talent. Although I find it difficult to picture a Chinese courtesan as a geisha, Cass justifies the use of the Japanese term because it literally means “artist,” which is what the Chinese *ji* or courtesan was. In the late Ming, some geishas reached the pinnacle of fame as the romantic partners and aesthetic and moral advisors of the most prominent male literati in the empire.

Grannies (*po*) may or may not have been actual grandmothers, but they were relatively independent (and usually) older women who included among their ranks healers, midwives, wetnurses, shamans, merchants, gossips, and matchmakers. Palace-grannies could be extremely powerful by virtue of their affective ties to the foremost people in the empire. Grannies were seen as necessary to the fertility and fecundity of the all-important family lineage but also as potentially very dangerous by virtue of their independence and their extensive knowledge of the dark world of *yin* and its “earthy physicality” (p. 63).

Cass sees women warriors and religious mystics as latter-day descendants of ancient female shamans, and as such, they were also potentially extremely powerful. As practitioners of esoteric religious and martial practices, they sometimes claimed magical gifts such as the ability to fly or to transform paper soldiers into real fighting men. Their claims were not taken lightly, and several women warriors achieved fame as military leaders of great skill and accomplishment.

Much more negative was the image of the female predator, like Pan Jinlian of the famous erotic Ming novel of manners, *Jin Ping Mei*, who preyed on the weaknesses and lusts of men to manipulate, enslave, or destroy them. Almost animal-like in her lust for sex

and for power, the female predator operated on the national level as a state-toppler and on the local level as a family-wrecker. Such women, Cass admonishes, were seen as real, not just as literary archetypes—although, interestingly enough, most of her examples come from fiction where the predator was often portrayed as a shape shifter who was actually a fox spirit or a ghost.

In her final chapter, “Recluses and Malcontents,” Cass notes that female recluses in China “were not anomalous; they had a cultural legitimacy inscribed into the folklore of the feminine” (p. 106). Because reclusion was an accepted cultural ideal, the female recluse could be highly respected even if she existed outside the constricting confines of the family and community. In this category Cass includes religious teachers and disciples and other less positive types such as the intensely driven woman consumed by jealousy.

Intended for a general audience, this short and well-illustrated volume is as engaging and entertaining as it is instructive. Cass sprinkles her text with insights not only on Ming China but also on Western parallels and contrasts. Ranging from the mundane details of daily life to the esoteric practices of sorcery, magic, religion, and the martial arts, she paints a vividly gendered portrait of Ming culture in all its complexities and contradictions. The book should be extremely useful in women’s studies courses, courses on Chinese history, and courses on Chinese women and gender relations.

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WEN-HSIN YEH. *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond*. (Studies on China, number 23.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. x, 435. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.00.

Academic research on late Qing and Republican China has in recent years produced diverse and exciting challenges to conventional narratives of “Chinese modernity.” Wen-hsin Yeh has brought together some of these in a scholarly collection of essays that makes for rewarding reading. Stimulated by unprecedented access to rich archival sources and a refreshing (though none-too-timely) engagement with contemporary debates in cultural studies and the social sciences, much of this research has also been inspired by the demise of the revolutionary paradigm dominating intellectual approaches to Chinese modernity until 1989. The result is a conceptualization of Chinese modernity not as an already assumed entity defined according to a basically linear historical trajectory but as a changing configuration, the meanings of which are culturally produced through multiple spaces and subjects.

A rethinking of the approaches to modernity associated with the intellectual and political orientations of dominant May Fourth narratives emerges in Leo Ou-fan Lee’s analysis of the role of Shanghai’s publishing



culture between the late Qing and the 1930s. Led by the commercial press, popular publications offered an imaginary of the modern, linked to the nation, as a culture of consumption, accompanied by a new demarcation of the boundaries between public and private space. Images of beautiful women at home, of department stores, hotels, and cinemas, positioned individuals, particularly women, in a public culture of domestic consumption and pleasure, in which the relationship between individual and society was necessarily redrawn. The advertisement of diverse products contributed to the dissemination of this social imaginary. Sherman Cochran explores the advertising success of Huang Chujie, a manufacturer and distributor of "new medicine," also known as the "King of Advertising." The huge profits Huang made out of his Ailuo Brain Tonic, a medicine of unproven benefits, were, Cochran argues, due to his skill in presenting a "Western-style" product in a terminology embedded in Chinese medical principles. The appeal of the calendar advertisements of beautiful women, painted by artisan painters who were to become famous for their work, could be similarly explained by the seamless merging of "traditional" images with a modern message. Nor were these images of modernity restricted to the cosmopolitan urban areas. The regional and local spread of advertising as a "formidable medium of mass culture" before 1949 suggests that modernity was also present as an aspect of visual culture in the rural areas.

In David Strand's conceptualization, modernity should not only be associated with the commercial vibrancy of the large cosmopolitan centers. In his analysis of the making of urban China, with a particular focus on Lanzhou, he argues that modernity was a cultural process of exchange of commerce and technology and the moving publics associated with them. In this, there was no hierarchically constituted national urban network; the large urban centers functioned as nodal centers of exchange of people, commerce, and ideas, the effects of which were diffuse in promoting a practice and an ideal of city life. The constitution of towns and cities through the import of technologies and organizational forms further signified a new range of opportunities for officials and technocrats to deploy their "social capital." The result was a decentralization of political power under the new municipal administrations, but not a process of democratization. The social and political elites controlling technological and commercial urban development functioned as "brakes on municipal reform rather than as engines of civic leadership" (p. 126).

By total contrast with these approaches, William Kirby's examination of "the developmental state" between 1928 and 1937 suggests that modernity was most significantly shaped by the context of global industrialization and technology. The prime architects of the Nationalists' project of industrial modernity were the engineers and technically trained bureaucrats committed to rebuilding China through the strategic use of international technology by indigenous scientific and

technological talent. The planned pursuit of industrial modernity and with it, state and nation building, was, moreover, shared by Nationalists and Communists. The implication is a profound critique of the standard periodization of modern China's history, with its determining emphasis on 1949.

While Strand and Kirby suggest that the "Western-educated" modernizing elite made little contribution to political challenges to authoritarianism, Richard Madsen formulates a similar argument in his analysis of French Jesuit activities in Tianjin. The French Jesuit Gong Shang College recruited students from bourgeois backgrounds to train as subjects of modernity. However, in Madsen's view, the acquisition of Western-based knowledge did little to challenge the authoritarian nature of social relationships. In the explosive political conditions of the anti-Japanese war, and with its self-defined needs for self-preservation, the college engendered a largely apolitical and conservative student atmosphere in which public criticism of Japan was suppressed, and which earned condemnation of the Jesuits as collaborators. Helen Siu shows how between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, merchants of the Pearl River delta were extremely active politically, though not in ways that stimulated progressive political change. Far from extraneous to rural institutions or threatening to state orthodoxy, as is often assumed in historical approaches to the topic, Foshan merchants in this period were pivotal in maintaining communications between the urban elite and popular localities, articulated in large part through their engagement with state discourse. Their role in local society was not the result of a lack of alternative investment opportunities; indeed, the security of their mercantile operations lay in their rural bases. After 1900, however, the rise of local bosses prepared to use military force signaled the erosion of merchant ties to the rural community.

The formation of the individual in Chinese modernity is another prominent concern of historians working on the period covered by this volume. Wang Hui's close textual reading of Zhang Taiyan's Buddhist-inspired conceptualization of the self offers a radical alternative to the dominant May Fourth ontology of the individual. Moreover, Zhang's view of the individual, in Wang's analysis, facilitates a political challenge to the sanctified place given the individual's commitment to the collective and to society in accepted narratives of the May Fourth legacy. For Zhang, the individual stood in a binary relationship with the state, in which society was negated as a focus of individual concerns. If Zhang's opposition between the individualized self and the state signified a negation of "coercive" boundaries, of nationalism and statism, for example, it simultaneously held out the promise of a new relationship between the individual and the ideal of *gong* (the public).

The individual subject was also formed within a culture of violence, the "darker side" of Chinese modernity, in Wen-hsin Yeh's words, as David Wang's



essay on crime and punishment in literary works shows. Between Liu E's *Lao Can's Travels* (1907) and Ding Ling's *The Sun Shines over the Sanggan River* (1948), the representation of violence in literature can be understood as a "violence of representation." In the northwestern Communist base area, in particular, writers were enjoined to champion socialist justice. Descriptions of violence, in Wang's analysis, thus became a means of facilitating violence in the name of revolution; they functioned as a performative exercise of behavior and control, crucial to the deployment of power. Violence was also a vital aspect of the anticollaborationist politics of the war period. Frederic Wakeman's essay on the *hanjian* (traitor) offers richly resourced insights into the slippage between notions of national betrayal and ethnicity in the construction of modern citizenship. Ethnic allegiance established the boundaries of civic behavior and simultaneously legitimized the "political assassin" as the standard-bearer of nationalist interest against collaboration. A discursive polarization of resistance and collaboration reinforced a discourse of mass national unity.

If Wakeman's essay contests the distinction between collaboration and resistance in Nationalist discourse, Prasenjit Duara offers a refreshing problematization of the distinction between "traditional" and "modern" in his analysis of middle-class women who worked for the Morality Society in Manzhouguo. Nationalist patriarchy interpolated women as both modern citizens and virtuous subjects responsible for social and familial morality. Subjective accounts of women who lectured for the Morality Society suggest that their commitment to preserving an "interior space" of tradition, "an unchanging essence from the past that serves as the subject of a linear history," was accompanied by explicit attachments to independence and social mobility that corresponded more easily with a "modernizing" discourse. Contradictory but coexisting concepts of womanhood thus emerged; publicly, women were represented as repositories of moral virtue. Indeed, the "reality of women's subjugation within the Morality Society" was "undeniable." Simultaneously, however, their association with the nation, through subjective references to work and collective commitment, opened up new gendered spaces for self-valorization and autonomy. The themes of patriarchy and nationalism also come together in Paul Pickowicz's essay on popular films on the anti-Japanese war made in the late 1940s. While a message of nationalist despair and disillusionment was prominent in these films, "traditional" family values were unequivocally associated with the appropriate "nationalist" outlook of female subjects. Pickowicz's analysis demonstrates some of the discursive tropes used to disseminate a conservative cultural politics within a modern, nationalist framework.

Although uneven in their intellectual imagination and in their engagement with intellectual debates outside the China field, the essays in this volume disturb many of the assumptions about China's mod-

ern history long embedded in the dominant narratives of Western and Chinese scholarship. Lee and Cochran dislodge the creation of the modern from the intellectual and political orientations of the Beijing-centered discourse of the May Fourth movement to the commercial drive of Shanghai. It was not the cosmopolitan intellectual elite but manufacturers and commercially oriented publishers who were responsible for introducing the "modern Chinese self" in a newly configured relationship between space and subject. Cochran and Siu problematize the distinction between the urban and the rural in constructions of Chinese modernity. Other familiar binaries are also complicated, in Wang's proposition of an alternative to the socially oriented individual, and in Duara's interpolation of women as both traditional and modern; in Madsen's analysis of the contradiction between the Jesuit (Western) pursuit of modernity and their preservation of a rural-based conservatism, and in Wakeman's discussion about discursive meanings of collaboration and resistance.

Future volumes will, I hope, address the relationship between some of these innovative arguments and those of the more familiar grand narratives. Many of the questions raised in this volume do not, of course, disappear simply by shifting the lens to new subjects of inquiry. What kind of significance should we attribute to 1919, or to 1949, to name two of the most obvious? What was the relationship between the visual presence of modernity in rural areas and rural perceptions of modernity? Future volumes will also, I hope, include more work by younger scholars from across the globe, whose intellectual engagements take many of the approaches of this book as their starting point. However, Chinese historiography was for too long dominated by a self-referentiality that ignored debates and engagements outside the Sinological frame. This volume is therefore a rich addition to the growing repertoire of works produced by intellectual engagements that cross disciplines as well as sites of inquiry.

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XIAOBO LÜ. *Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involvement of the Chinese Communist Party*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 368. \$55.00.

In this study, Xiaobo Lü asks why Communist societies become corrupt. His focus is on his native China, ranked among the world's most corrupt countries, and on official (or cadre) corruption, China's most pressing social ill. He looks chiefly at minor officials, whose misdemeanors are most likely to cause popular discontent. His method is historical and sociological. The result is the most exhaustive treatment to date of the genesis of Chinese official corruption since 1949, and a comprehensive taxonomy of its forms.

Corruption is always difficult to research, particularly in a country like China, where its main practitioners control much of the flow of information. Lü adopts various approaches to resolve this difficulty. These range from interviews with anonymous informants to the analysis of local gazetteers (which resumed publication in the late twentieth century), of "internal" (or classified) reports normally unavailable to outsiders, and of *baogao wenxue* or "reportage" (investigative journalism posing as literature), all useful windows onto China's underside.

Lü conceptualizes corruption (subdivided into graft, rent-seeking, and prebendalism) as a form of official deviance in which the personal takes precedence over the organizational. He rejects cultural explanations in favor of an organizational approach based on Kenneth Jowitt's theory of Soviet neotraditionalism, which analyzes Communist regimes in terms of "debureaucratization" and the paramountcy of informal relations and personalistic networks. He supplements this approach with a theory of "organizational involution" modeled on Clifford Geertz's idea of agricultural involution, which holds that organisms can under certain conditions turn inward and elaborate on existing structures rather than adopt new ones. As a result of involutionary change, says Lü, many Chinese Communist procedures ostensibly impersonal and routine are in reality rooted in tradition and informality.

This involution was an outcome of Mao Zedong's campaign to promote revolutionary moral discourse over Soviet-type institutions and thus guard against a Chinese Thermidor. Disillusioned by the failure of bureaucratic routinization in the early 1950s, Mao reverted in 1957 to a strategy of cultivating cadres' revolutionary zeal and Communist spirit. However, the disastrous outcome of the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961) had the unintended effect of informalizing rather than revolutionizing China's institutions, as demoralized cadres sought sanctuary in particularistic ties and chose old-style friendships over comradeship. These developments speeded the involutionary drift toward corruption and official deviance.

Deng Xiaoping's proclaimed goal in the late 1970s was to reverse the Maoist retreat from modern bureaucratic norms and institutions, but actually his reforms provided massive new opportunities for market-based corruption. The informal strategies developed by "neotraditionalized" cadres in the prereform days were so deeply entrenched by the time Mao died that measures to modernize the bureaucracy had little chance of succeeding. Moreover, the post-Mao regime sometimes resorted to the same "storming" mode of politics as Mao, a further barrier to reform.

Unusually, Lü traces the sources of post-1949 corruption to the revolutionary years. Most party recruits in the 1930s and the 1940s were peasants motivated not by Communist idealism but by material interest, including the opportunity for graft. The party's war-time institutions contributed to the legacy of malfeasance. The free-supply system (for Red soldiers and

cadres) and the official requirement that local units practice economic self-reliance created communities of "minor public" interest at odds with that of the greater interest and encouraged corrupt habits.

The involutionary pattern was not caused by premodern residues—the repetition of a cyclical "Confucian culture" or "feudal influences"—as some historians argue, nor was it a simple outcome of the post-Mao reforms (which it predated). Far from originating in a Communist failure to transform old relations, it was a "paradox that the regime created for itself" by pursuing the goal of continuous revolution under socialism (p. 233).

Lü has developed a powerful and highly original theory of the incremental mutation of Communist officialdom. He identifies the special features of Chinese Communist corruption and predicts its likely future (as a predator on "booty capitalism"). What a shame that this potentially marvelous book was so poorly edited. The prose, often needlessly abstruse, cries out for the blue pencil of a native speaker. Terms central to the argument—for example, neotraditionalism—are not properly introduced. The book abounds in Chinese words and phrases, not all of which are translated (or appropriately translated) where they occur in the text, to the certain bewilderment of nonspecialist readers. Quite a few Chinese terms are omitted from the character glossary at the back of the book.

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QIANG ZHAI. *China and the Vietnam Wars 1950–1975*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 304. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In recent years, there have been several noteworthy developments in the field of Cold War studies. A number of scholars, including Chen Jian, Michael Hunt, and Odd Arne Westad, have advanced our understanding of the genesis and evolution of the foreign policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union. In a related trend, historians have provided us with fresh international perspectives on the history of the Vietnamese Revolution. Although research on U.S. diplomacy and strategy occupies a central place in the literature on the Vietnam wars, scholars have begun to analyze in greater depth the role of the two Vietnams, China, France, the Soviet Union, South Korea, and the Commonwealth in shaping the history of the conflict in Indochina. Qiang Zhai's survey of Sino-Vietnamese relations makes an important contribution to these historiographical trends. His research is based on original documents from the Jiangsu provincial archive in Nanjing and recently published Chinese primary source materials, memoirs, and diaries. Vietnamese language sources are not used, though the author draws on Chinese documents and secondary accounts

to reconstruct Vietnamese actors' actions and intentions.

The narrative reveals that Chinese diplomatic influence on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) was strongest in the period before 1965. In the 1950s, Ho Chi Minh convinced high-ranking Vietnamese officials like Vo Nguyen Giap and Pham Van Dong to follow Chinese advice in attacking the French outpost of Dien Bien Phu and agreeing to a negotiated settlement of the First Indochinese War. In the early 1960s, Vietnamese leaders moved closer to the Chinese position in the Sino-Soviet debate. Late in 1963, for example, the first party secretary of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Le Duan, criticized the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence, arguing that Mao Zedong's principles on warfare were a "model strategy for many Communists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (p. 125).

Zhai convincingly demonstrates that Chinese foreign policy toward the DRV was influenced by a complex range of factors, including the desire to aid anti-imperialist revolutionary movements in Asia and elsewhere, the character of Sino-Soviet relations, efforts to contain American influence in Asia, domestic political economy and ideological issues, perceptions about the lessons of the Korean conflict, and regional considerations about Southeast Asia, primarily as they related to Laos and Cambodia. The dynamics of the Sino-Soviet split play a particularly important role in Zhai's analysis. Determined to limit Soviet influence in Southeast Asia, Mao pulled back from providing unconditional support to the Vietnamese. In 1965, the PRC refused to grant the Soviets an air corridor to supply the DRV and denied them access to Yunnan province, where the Soviet Union had proposed to establish a base to help North Vietnam. These decisions came at a time when the DRV leadership hoped to take advantage of the Kremlin's more active support for their revolution, and led to growing strains in Sino-Vietnamese relations. Even so, China and Vietnam continued to cooperate on diplomatic and strategic issues until the end of the war. In 1967, at the peak of China's military presence in the DRV, some 170,000 Chinese soldiers helped with logistical, transportation, and military duties. Chinese troops withdrew by 1970, but military aid reached record levels in 1972 and 1973, even as the United States and PRC were normalizing diplomatic relations.

In what is otherwise a fine narrative of contemporary Sino-Vietnamese relations, I have a few criticisms. The work lacks a broad interpretive framework or theoretical base. The author eschews Marxist and Western liberal theories but does not offer an alternative approach. In addition, some of the author's conclusions go further than his evidence allows. Zhai claims that Chinese leaders' ethnocentrism was responsible for the decline in the Sino-Vietnamese alliance and that the bilateral "dispute was determined not only by the contemporary conflict of the two countries' national interests but also by the historically

rooted mutual distrust and suspicion" (p. 220). Chinese officials may have acted in an ethnocentric way, but this argument requires a careful examination of Chinese cultural attitudes, as well as the impact these attitudes had on Vietnamese elites. Zhai does not do this. References to the "middle-kingdom" legacy of tensions between China and Vietnam are also problematic. Historians should be careful about invoking vague notions of historical antagonism to explain contemporary disputes, since such arguments tend to reify conflict and to deny human agency in historical processes. The author's own evidence indicates that ideological and strategic decisions were primarily responsible for Sino-Vietnamese tensions. These criticisms do not detract from what is a significant, informative, and engaging new book in Cold War international history.

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EDWARD J. SHULTZ. *Generals and Scholars: Military Rule in Medieval Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 254. \$26.95.

It augurs well for premodern Korean history that last year two books on the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392) appeared in English: John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chŏson Dynasty* (2000) and the work under review. Whereas Duncan concentrates on the early and late dynastic periods, Edward J. Shultz focuses on the Military Period (1170–1258) that, by challenging traditional civilian rule, stands out as an anomaly in Korean history. Shultz's treatment is readable and well founded on primary and secondary sources. In view of the fragmentary and often one-sided nature of the historical record, Shultz's task was not an easy one. Dealing with institutional, military, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the period, he admirably depicts the period as a time of change within a basically civilian framework. Although the frustrated military, who had suffered discrimination at the hands of the civilian officialdom since the founding of the dynasty, revolted in 1170, it was General Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn who seized power in 1196 and established himself and three generations of his descendants as *de facto* rulers of Korea. Maintaining his private military forces, Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn skillfully superimposed his own administrative agencies on the dynastic structures and, in fact, relied heavily on the civilian sector. Nevertheless, with some twenty percent of military officials serving under Ch'oe, it is clear that the military played a more important role in the politics of the country than ever before. Although the Ch'oe did not aim to abolish the royal house, which they needed for their own legitimacy, they humiliated it not only by deposing and killing kings but, equally importantly, by Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn's marriage to one of King Kangjong's (r. 1211–1213) daughters. From the beginning of the dynasty, aristocrats vied to make their daughters royal consorts, but the Ch'oe were the first to claim royal



princesses—hitherto married only within the royal kin group—as wives.

Although on the whole Shultz succeeds in giving a balanced picture of this controversial period, he does not always escape the danger of making the views expressed in the dynastic sources (dating from the mid-fifteenth century) uncritically his own. He emphasizes the stability and the “enlightened and flexible” administration that the Ch’oe house reestablished, but frequent peasant and slave uprisings rocked the country—surely signs of extraordinary tension and malcontent. Was it not the general suppression and exploitation of the lower social classes by the Ch’oe and their predecessors that led to such outbursts? Were the measures taken by the Ch’oe really so altruistic even in face of opposition by the local elite? Shultz’s assessment at times remains somewhat ambiguous and perhaps too favorable towards the Ch’oe.

Even a generally well-researched book like Shultz’s touches on areas that might have been explored further. Although mentioned many times, a more thorough description of the Mongol invasions would have been helpful for assessing the damage they did to Korea, and the Ch’oe’s response. It is, moreover, regrettable that Shultz used “family,” “clan,” and “lineage” as synonyms, against the better evidence of recent research. (It is perhaps because of this blurred vision of society that Shultz still mentions, albeit in a footnote, Hatada Takashi’s mistaken view of primogeniture in the inheritance of land.) He is also quite vague about Koryŏ slavery when he says that “Korean *nobi* [i.e. slaves], by contrast [to Western perceptions] had much more control over their own existence” (p. 120). Although slavery in Koryŏ might not have been quite as harsh as in later Chosŏn, slaves were the property of their owners and were coerced to work. It is therefore questionable whether slaves “freely” helped augment their owner’s wealth (p. 121), or voluntarily formed defensive units against the Mongols. The later negative evaluation of both Hang and Ŭi was undoubtedly tainted by the fifteenth-century Confucian prejudice against concubines’ sons, although Hang and Ŭi were lowborn not because their mothers were concubines but because they were of slave origin.

Shultz devotes one chapter to Buddhism under the Ch’oe. Speaking about the symbiosis of Confucian scholar and Buddhist monk, does he imply (p. 144) that Neo-Confucianism emerged from this kind of “commingling?” The process was more complex than that. A Chinese-character glossary is regrettably missing. Despite a number of questionable points, Shultz is to be congratulated for having produced a book that will be required reading for future generations of students of premodern Korean history.

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R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI. *Trade Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 485. \$39.95.

R. Champakalakshmi has been well known in South Asian and urban history circles for many years. Now she has decided to bring together studies scattered in many places and publish them in one volume. Of the eight chapters here, six are revised and enlarged versions of previous publications, while two are new.

This is a challenging and important book. The geographical area is Tamilakam: that is, most of South India as compared with the present smaller Indian state of Tamil Nadu. The focus is on urban development in this area, or more specifically urban processes, for the author claims that “Conventional historical works abound in references to urban centers and trade organizations, but fail to provide any meaningful framework, conceptual or chronological, for understanding urban processes” (p. 203). Previous studies make no attempt to find any relationship between agrarian and urban institutions, and also fail to recognize change over time.

There are two broad periods in the urban history of Tamilakam up to about 1300 C.E. In the early historical period, from 300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E., cities were located on the coast, and were closely connected with overseas trade, although on this matter Champakalakshmi tends to privilege Roman trade, ignoring the recent emphasis in the literature on a coherent and large-scale internal trade in the Indian Ocean area, of which trade with Rome was only a small part. When trade declined, so did these port cities. The rulers of the time promoted trade: they themselves were consumers of luxury goods, and they developed ports and collected tolls and customs at them. In this period, Champakalakshmi finds dual centers of power: political in the interior, and commercial on the coast. Differing functions in turn meant two sorts of urban forms. Here and elsewhere, the differences between the Deccan plateau area and the Tamil country in southeast India are important.

In the second period, the early medieval, from 600 to 1300 C.E., temples provided the institutional focus for the great cities. According to the author, there is an important contrast between the origins of urbanization in these two periods. In the former, it was not a result of “the forces of inner growth” but was a “secondary generation” deriving from trade, both internal and external. In the latter, she claims, urbanization was created by “primary (inner) urban growth” (pp. 16–18).

Such a brief summary does scant justice to such a complex and detailed book. Champakalakshmi’s ambitious aim is to reorient the urban history of India toward more concern for process, to integrate the cities into the surrounding areas and vice versa. At all times, she is sober and sensible. She notes that merchant organizations in her area are not really like European guilds, so the use of the term is only “a

matter of convenience" (pp. 47–48, 311–30). Nor is she averse to pointing out the faults in previous work: the American scholars Kenneth Hall, G. W. Spencer, and the late Burton Stein all get corrected and criticized, especially for their failure to periodize the millennium or more about which they write.

The author has used a vast array of sources. They include inscriptions, coins, travelers' accounts, archaeological reports, Greek and Roman sources in translation, and *sangam* literature (that is, collections of poems written by various classes in society). She is aware of the difficulty inherent in using these primarily literary works as historical sources, yet even so, at times it seems she takes them at face value. They are often more normative and ideal than actual, as in the very flattering account of merchant probity (p. 194). Champakalakshmi also reveals a very wide-ranging knowledge of relevant secondary literature in anthropology and ethnography, and of course in urban history and theory. She helpfully provides copious maps, plans, and detailed tables, such as a series of tables that collect a mass of data on urban centers and *nagaram* (that is, guild-like merchant groups that controlled and organized local trade) (pp. 255–310).

It would be good to think that urban historians generally would be able to read and engage with this important book. I fear that this may not happen, for this book, frankly, is not user-friendly, especially for readers with little acquaintance with South Indian society. I can claim some familiarity with the history of South India, yet even so I found this book heavy going at times because of the very frequent use of South Indian terminology, some of it glossed and some not. One can only hope that readers with no background in Indian matters will even so persevere, for there is much here to learn, and to admire.

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SUSAN BILLINGTON HARPER. *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2000. Pp. xix, 462. \$45.00.

The Whig historian Thomas Babington Macaulay once referred to the established Protestant Church of Ireland as the most absurd ecclesiastical institution that ever existed. He must have forgotten about the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment in British India. The imperial anomalies and contradictions of a Protestant established church in a largely Catholic nation were magnified many times in the case of a Protestant established church in a largely Hindu and Muslim nation.

Originally created solely for Europeans in India, the Anglican Church of India found itself with parochial responsibility for hundreds of thousands of Indians who became Christians as a result of the work of privately funded missionary societies. By the early

twentieth century, the established church was a multi-racial institution riddled with contradictions. The predominantly Indian laity were supervised by European bishops who had received degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, before taking up residence in India. Most Anglican bishops, however, were committed in principle to a policy of promoting Indian leaders who would eventually govern an indigenous Indian Christian church. Consecrated in 1912 as Bishop of Dornakal, V. S. Azariah was the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Church.

Susan Billington Harper treats Bishop Azariah as a character caught among the conflicting ideologies of nationalism, imperialism, and global Christian expansionism, and her beautifully written and thoroughly documented study of his life illuminates each of them. A leader of considerable charm and tact, Azariah confronted the ironies of his life with an enduring commitment to evangelical Protestant principles and a daily regime of Bible study and prayer. Although never sympathetic to nationalism, he was highly critical of elitism among Indian Christians and dedicated his life to work among untouchables who, at the time of his consecration, had been ignored by the imperial government, Indian Christian elites, and the Indian national movement alike.

Azariah was unapologetic about his political stance, rooting it in his Christian universalism. For Indian Christians, and other religious minorities, Indian nationalism could never be anything but a problem, causing division within their world and realistic apprehension about their future in a majoritarian nationalist state. Harper uses Azariah's story as an opportunity to put Indian Christians into the narrative of Indian history, where they have been marginalized because of their ambivalent relationship with the triumphant national movement. Especially important in her account is the stormy relationship between Mohandas K. Gandhi and Azariah, a dimension of Indian history not found in conventional histories that pay little attention to Indian Christians. An important leader of the Indian Christian community during Gandhi's ascendancy, Azariah was thrown into negotiations with imperial rulers and nationalists alike over the social and political status of Indian Christians in an independent India.

In the wake of the critical reexamination of Indian nationalism by scholars such as Partha Chatterjee and the contributors to *Subaltern Studies*, as well as the highly publicized attacks on religious minorities by some Hindu nationalists, the time is right to press a claim for the importance of a neglected Indian minority. Harper makes a strong case for the importance of Indian Christianity. The effectiveness of her book is diminished, however, by polemics directed at nationalist, Western imperial, and postcolonial historians who have overlooked her chosen topic. In her preface she describes them as enthusiasts for nationalism and state power who have ignored Indian Christianity because of bias against religion.



A number of reasons, apart from political and religious bias, might lead scholars to ignore Azariah. Because Christians remained a small minority in British India, their social and political importance is not self-evident and must be explained. Furthermore, it is not possible to disentangle the history of South Asian Christianity from the history of missionaries, who were deeply implicated with imperialism despite their bitter running battles with the government over issues of education, social reform, and the status of Christian converts. Imperialism became morally and politically discredited in the twentieth century not only in the eyes of secular, pro-nationalist scholars but even among many missionaries and Indian Christians.

Under those circumstances, it is not surprising to find that both missionaries and Indian Christians have been overlooked unintentionally as a consequence of the triumph of a nationalist, anti-imperial master narrative, one that historians have had good reasons for adopting. Many historians are now busy revising that master narrative by paying attention to neglected people and groups, and by considering new ways to write history in the light of widespread disillusionment with nationalism. Harper contributes to that enterprise by making a persuasive argument for respectful treatment of Azariah's advocacy of Indian Christian interests, but her wholesale dismissal of the anti-imperial point of view weakens her case.

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ALAN WARREN. *Waziristan, the Faqir of Ipi, and the Indian Army: The North West Frontier Revolt of 1936–37*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxxii, 324. \$29.95.

This is an account taken from official records of the 1930s' tribal insurgencies in the Waziristan region of India's northwest frontier. The Waziristan agencies were on the periphery of British India and had a population, by its close, of little more than two hundred thousand. The region was the scene, however, of the greatest military conflicts of the closing years of the Raj. Following the tribal insurgencies of 1919–1920 and 1936–1937, there was the heaviest concentration of troops and police per head of population anywhere on the subcontinent. It is therefore a little surprising that these events had received scant historical attention until the publication of this study.

Alan Warren unashamedly adopts the narrative style of military history and reveals a fine eye for detail as he meticulously pieces together British engagements in Waziristan. The greatest attention is devoted to the insurgency led by the Muslim holy man known as the Faqir of Ipi in 1936–1937. Although the tribal revolt was decisively crushed, a cat and mouse game continued between the Faqir and the British authorities throughout the remainder of their stay in India.

Warren is not content, however, merely to bring to life an untold story. He provides glimpses into the

social organization and value systems of the Pushtun tribesmen of Waziristan, as well as into the British administrative systems of the northwest frontier region. This contextualizes the Faqir of Ipi's insurgency, lends insights into the reasons why Waziristan was more disturbed than other tribal agencies, and points to the strengths as well as to the limitations of the Faqir of Ipi's ability to mobilize tribesmen for revolt.

The Faqir, despite his reputation for sanctity, was able to unite only small sections of Waziristan's segmented tribal society on the platform of a holy war. The British policy of financial subsidy successfully secured the loyalty of the majority of tribal leaders. Punitive measures such as community fines, destruction of property, and bombing by the Royal Air Force (RAF) soon thwacked the less law abiding into line. Intertribal rivalries limited support from the Mahsuds, the fiercest tribe in the Waziristan agency. Desertion was a constant problem facing the Faqir's *lashkars* (tribal war parties), arising from ill discipline in the face of defeat and supply shortages. In such circumstances, the Faqir relied increasingly on insurgents drawn from across the Afghanistan frontier. He was also able to evade encirclement as a result of it. Indeed, the duration of his struggle against the colonial state cannot be explained without reference to northwest Waziristan's open border with Afghanistan. "Pacification" was more difficult here than in any of the other tribal agencies.

Warren discusses in passing the role of such other Muslim holy men as Sheikh Muhammad Abdille Hassan, "The Mad Mullah" (1864–1920) in Somaliland and Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi (1844–1885) in Sudan in focusing resistance to European encroachment. More could have been made of this attempt to inject a comparative dimension into the study at both a theoretical and empirical level.

There is a somewhat old-fashioned feel to this study, arising from its narrative approach and the author's reliance on colonial sources. Phrases lifted from these—such as the "shooting up" of tribesmen—stray into the narrative. More important, with the exception of a handful of intercepted messages that have found their way into the archives, Pushtun voices are absent. Folk tales and stories handed down along with interviews would have enabled another side of the story to be told. The dramatic intensity of the insurgencies with their heavy casualty toll on a small Wazir population suggests that they might have generated a rich oral tradition. The judicious use of such sources would have made the author's style less pedestrian and brought a multidimensional treatment to the Faqir of Ipi. Despite his centrality to the insurgencies, he remains a shadowy figure in this book.

More descriptive than analytical, Warren's study is a matter-of-fact monograph that adds to the slender history of the campaigns in Waziristan. Its accomplishments lie in its clarity and meticulous use of official sources. Yet despite these undoubted strengths, this is not a definitive account. A more sophisticated engage-

ment is required with Pushtun perceptions of the events that are unfolded here.

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NAUREEN TALHA. *Economic Factors in the Making of Pakistan (1921–1947)*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 220. \$26.95.

"It's the economy, stupid!" This political catch phrase summarizes Naureen Talha's central argument. Talha describes how the Muslims of colonial South Asia came increasingly to see themselves as an economically backward community: a community, moreover, whose minority status seemed to them to assure their continued backwardness in a postcolonial state within which Hindus would comprise the majority of the population. The solution, Muslims came to believe, was an independent Pakistan wherein Muslims would control their economic future. Why and how this belief emerged and significantly intensified is the focus of this book, itself a revision of Talha's Ph.D. thesis.

Talha builds her argument in six short chapters plus a brief introduction and conclusion; the complete text and chapter endnotes total a slender 162 pages, followed by 30 pages of tabular material presented in a series of appendixes. The first chapter covers the period from 1857 to 1921 and shows how Muslims began to recognize and then to respond politically to the fact that their community had become underrepresented, relative to its population size, in education and government employment in most parts of India. Chapters two and three describe the attempts of the Muslim leadership to improve the economic position of Muslims (in government service, in the independent professions, and in trade and industry) in the period 1921–1935, within a political framework that did not, for most leaders, require a divided India as the necessary step to safeguard and advance Muslim economic interests. However, because of some Muslim advances in education during this period, Talha does argue that Muslims' perception of their economic backwardness and the role Hindus played in that backwardness increased.

Chapter four identifies 1935–1940 as the critical period when Muslim economic insecurity intensified to the point that it became a driving force in the run-up to the acceptance (1940) of the demand for an independent Pakistan as the goal of the All-India Muslim League. Talha shows how, fully and correctly presented or not, Muslim representations of measures undertaken in the Congress Party-run, provincial ministries after the 1937 elections fueled Muslim fears about their economic future in a Hindu-majority India. Chapter five discusses some of the plans and planning that went on between 1940 and 1947 with respect to the economic development of a future independent Pakistan. Chapter six describes the debate over the economic viability of Pakistan: the pros and cons as expressed by some critics and some supporters.

I do not object to the central argument. Economic considerations did play a major role in the creation of Pakistan. It was the economy, regardless of how extensively mediated the economic effects were. Muslims, or at least segments of the South Asian Muslim community, did come to consider themselves economically deprived or potentially so. The latter, an emergent insecurity, crucially caught on among the generally better-positioned Muslims of the United Provinces in the later 1930s. Talha, I should add, is aware that she is primarily writing about fears and demands articulated within the more privileged educated and commercial strata of Muslim society, although throughout the book she does tend to homogenize the "Muslim" and "Hindu" communities.

Regardless, the argument is not new, nor is it as little studied as Talha suggests. I can identify a number of important, relevant studies (for example, in the major journal *Modern Asian Studies*) that do not appear in her bibliography or chapter endnotes, and a thorough search would, I am sure, turn up others. Indeed, what the book may illustrate is the difficulty Pakistani scholars currently face (for example, lack of resources, limited if any access to Indian archival collections, limited interaction with Indians and others working on related topics) when they examine topics in South Asia's colonial past.

This is a compact treatment of the author's chosen topic. It is clearly written, and it has some useful information in the text and the appendixes. However, neither the content nor the informing framework represents nuanced, innovative scholarship. Much more does need to be done to explore economic factors in the making of Pakistan, but this book does little to advance the exploration.

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#### OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

JEAN E. ROSENFELD. *The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand*. (Hermeneutics: Studies in the History of Religions.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 323. \$49.50.

The New Zealand Maori religious movements that arose following European settlement are a fascinating and fertile subject of study, well documented and analyzed by a number of New Zealand scholars from the viewpoint of several disciplines. Jean E. Rosenfeld acknowledges that her book is based on the research of these authors (pp. 15–16). Rosenfeld adds no new information regarding the movements but suggests further interpretations.

There were scores of such movements, but Rosenfeld looks at three: the King Movement, Pai Marire, and Ringatu—although she comes to focus on that of Rua Kenana, which she sees as a variant of the last-named. The three are linked through their con-

cern with alienation of land (this is also applicable to other movements in the period from 1860 to 1900). Commendably, Rosenfeld gives full consideration to the movements' primary religious focus. She "proposes" Rua Kenana, one of the many prophetic figures of New Zealand's postcolonial period, as a savior. It must be remembered, however, that Rua was one of many "saviors" to the Maori during this period, being far from the first to make such a claim or be acclaimed as such by his followers.

The scope of Rosenfeld's reading and sources is wide, going well beyond the New Zealand material in both time and space to include theorists such as Mircea Eliade, Vittorio Lanternari, Gerardus Van der Leeuw, Peter Worsley, and others; she also draws many references to the ancient world, including Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Babylonia, as well as to ancient religions such as Brahmanic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. At times this breadth is annoying, as it intrudes into the topic under discussion; at others it can be misleading. One example is a paragraph on Melanesian "cargo cults" that is inserted into discussion on Pai Marire (p. 146), where it may be interpreted by a nonexpert reader to be relevant to that movement. Even worse is where the Judaic idea of purity and pollution, and the binary complements of sacred and profane and clean and unclean, are equated with *tapu* and *noa* (p. 127). Although the author later notes that the nature of *noa* is neutral, she leaves the matter open to misinterpretation through the analogy.

In Rosenfeld's use of archetypes as analytical tools, more specific understanding of the particular movements is sometimes obscured. It is to the credit of New Zealand writers on the subject that they have largely avoided imposing external models and typologies on what should be viewed on its own terms and within its own context. It is disappointing to find that, in a number of places where gender-inclusive forms are appropriate, the author reinforces male-gendered views characteristic of past flawed scholarship. By such statements as "mana . . . is a gift from the gods to select men" (p. 102), and "a tohunga or matakite receives divine knowledge, but he is human" (p. 199), she overlooks the full nature of women.

Although Rosenfeld is to be commended for the effort she has made to grasp the intricacies of a culture not her own, errors are inevitable. Some names and places are inaccurate. The significance of an illustrative story told by a former writer (p. 128) is not clear. The insertion of a comment on the *kumara* into an explanation of Polynesian migration through Southeast Asia and Indonesia (p. 255) is misleading. A note (p. 156) tells of an epidemic in the early 1900s, adding that three named prophets contracted it, yet all had been dead for between ten and forty years at this time.

For whom is this work intended, and whom will it best serve? This is not a book to satisfy the needs of those who wish to inform themselves on the subject of New Zealand Maori religious movements, as it will more likely confuse. It could be read by those who

already have a fair knowledge of the subject in order to gain wider perspective; paradoxically, those who should best appreciate what it attempts to do will be those who will also be aware of its shortcomings. Further interpretations should always be welcome from the viewpoint of provoking scholarly debate, however, and Rosenfeld's contribution deserves to be acknowledged on this ground.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ALEXANDER KEYSSAR, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. New York: BasicBooks. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 467. \$30.00.

It is auspicious to work six years on a book about voting rights in the United States and publish it in 2000, when Americans came face to face with unfamiliar details about the conduct of their elections and saw the separate pieces of a process that they usually define only by its results. Alexander Keyssar had just such fortune with his monumental new study. Had he known the atmosphere into which the book would be born, perhaps he would have devoted more space to the casting and counting of ballots or anticipated how the Electoral College would focus new discussions about vote dilution. Despite the absence of such glaring relevance, Keyssar's book speaks to our recent national experience. It should be widely recommended and read for its ability to place many dilemmas of the election within a long and rocky history of voting.

Keyssar explains that he wrote this book by accident: he realized, while planning something altogether different, that he could not, from existing scholarship, explain the legal framework within which workingmen did or did not engage in electoral politics. He set aside one project to embark on what he modestly calls "a chronicle" of the right to vote and "an account of the evolution of the laws . . . that defined and circumscribed the American electorate" (p. xx). But his book is more than that. It traces shifting, colliding, and sometimes contradictory understandings of this right and examines the conduct of elections as a factor in disfranchisement. Careful attention to the social context produces another story line about how responses to immigration, industrialization, war, and class conflict were expressed through laws about the right to vote.

The scale of Keyssar's enterprise is made conspicuous in a seventy-five page appendix of the state suffrage laws in effect from 1775 to 1920. It is both a reference work for American historians and the underlying structure of the book's narrative. Laws are grouped by topic and arranged chronologically, allowing one to see graphically, for instance, that era of American history when white men could vote before they became citizens. Other charts identify laws respecting property and taxpaying requirements and

exclusions based on race, pauperism, gender, crime, residency, and literacy.

The appendix underscores the complexity of what Keyssar undertook: to forge a national chronicle out of what were, for most of American history, state stories of great geographical range and diversity. Keyssar concludes that the United States has come close to the ideal of universal suffrage, but he rejects older academic and current popular notions that the nation reached this point through a progressive opening of the doors to admit the propertyless, the African-American male, and women. The "contested history" of his title describes the entire span of national history, even into the present when decisions of the Supreme Court are undermining the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its amendments.

In every era of American history, Keyssar found tension and conflict over admitting new voters to the electorate. The expansion of the franchise in the early years of the republic up to 1850, he demonstrates, was accompanied by "backsliding and sideslipping": New Jersey women lost the vote, as did many Native Americans; tighter rules of voter registration disqualified those who moved too often; and the disenfranchised in Rhode Island took up arms—and lost.

The progressive model of ever widening access to the ballot is challenged, too, by the evidence of nineteenth-century reaction against wider suffrage. For Keyssar, the period from 1850 to 1920 was one of persistent efforts, despite the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to "narrow the portals." Of this era, he writes, "The exceptional event, the aberration from prevailing patterns, was the temporary enfranchisement of African Americans" (p. 79). That, he indicates, is the framework within which woman suffragists mounted their campaigns, and it provides a context for their failure that the movement's own historians have not so clearly seen.

The focus shifts after 1920 from the states to Congress and the federal courts, while Keyssar reviews the remarkable reversal of the federal government's role in protecting the right to vote. But lurking in the final pages—which cover events through 1999—there is a new conflict arising from judicial inclination to retreat again, to favor the Fourteenth Amendment and states' rights over federal guarantees. Here Keyssar might have made more of national experience with federal courts as guardians of the right to vote. *U.S. v. Susan B. Anthony* (1873) and *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) are stark reminders that the Constitution protects no one's right to vote. In the words of Justice Ward Hunt in the former case, if "New York should provide . . . that no person having gray hair . . . should be entitled to vote, I do not see how it could be held to be a violation of any right derived or held under the Constitution of the United States."

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MARK LAWRENCE KORNBLUH. *Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics*. (The American Social Experience Series.) New York: New York University Press. 2000. 243 Pp. xv, 243. \$40.00.

Declining voter turnout in the early twentieth century has received substantial attention from historians and political scientists. Many accounts portray the period as epochal, setting the framework that would characterize American politics over the next eighty years. Some accounts attribute the decline in turnout to relatively narrow causes such as the adoption of specific ballot, voting, or party reforms, but more suggest that the changes in politics were a part of larger transformations in the economy, society, and polity. Mark Lawrence Kornbluh joins that latter tradition.

If this book is not "a milestone in the evolution of our understanding of electoral politics," as the dust-jacket would have it, it is nonetheless a well-written, clearly organized synthesis of the data and interpretations of participatory decline. To Kornbluh, four intertwined developments weakened participation. First, industrialization, urbanization, and immigration strained American politics, particularly political parties, displacing parties from their central role in American culture and the American mindset. Second, as economic transformations placed demands upon government that exceeded the capabilities of traditional, local, party-based governance, more of the governing process moved into commissions and bureaucracies, making elections themselves less meaningful. Third, the parties' behavior during their heyday led later to reforms as weakened political parties found it difficult to defend their traditional roles and rules. Lastly, the parties not only could no longer afford to engage in mass mobilization, they had less need to do so as electoral competitiveness declined. If attempted, mobilization efforts were less likely to succeed, given the parties' increasingly peripheral place in the mind of the typical citizen.

All this provides a reasonable, if not surprising, account of the decline of participation. The book truly is a synthesis, so we have seen these explanatory elements before either singly or in partial combination. In that sense, there is nothing especially new about the interpretation here, but Kornbluh does weave them together more comprehensively and persistently than other accounts.

The book is not without its frustrations, however. Kornbluh emphasizes repeatedly that he rejects the notion that there was a sharp-cut point in voting behavior after 1896. Rather, he argues, voting behavior evolved gradually over the twenty years from 1898 to 1918. This argument is problematic on two counts. First, Kornbluh never establishes that the sharp cut-point notion is all that common. Even critical realignment analysts such as Walter Dean Burnham stress the gradual erosion of voting participation across the years of the "system of '96." Second, almost all the book's



tables, graphs, and maps compare the two decades before 1896 to the two decades after (tables 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 are the exceptions), treating each twenty-year span as a block of time. These comparisons do not allow the reader to judge the accuracy of the gradual change argument. In some cases (e.g. table 4.2), much of the change seems to have stabilized at a low level by 1904 rather than proceeding gradually, at least in many parts of the country.

The book's architecture is nicely designed, with parallel chapters covering the years before and after 1896. There are, however, a few cracks in the walls. Some tables and maps appear to contain errors, and the eighteen graphs, charts, and maps are maddeningly devoid of titles. At two pages, the index is too thin. And although Kornbluh suggests that he wishes to address broad patterns of behavior, not individual-level analysis, individual inferences creep into his argument. For example, he states that aggregate data "clearly indicates" (p. 40) that few voters switched party allegiance. I do not doubt this conclusion, but Kornbluh is, in effect, making an individual inference from aggregate data.

As I read through this book, it was the persistence of voting that struck me as a potentially compelling untold story. Americans did not "stop voting." Despite the massive, overdetermined forces aligned behind participatory decline—urbanization, industrialization, political reform, and so on—voting participation remained the norm for fifty to sixty percent of the population, and for even higher levels in several northern states. Perhaps the next step will be to explain "why America kept voting." We can only hope for as well-crafted and well-written a work as Kornbluh provides here.

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NANCY F. COTT. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. v, 297. \$27.95.

Marriage, as Nancy F. Cott notes in this elegant history, has been the principal vehicle through which the state has shaped the gender order. By relying on a Christian and common law model of lifelong monogamy that designated the husband as the family head and provider and the wife as his dependent partner, government at both the federal and state levels defined the way men and women should act in the world. Those definitions, of course, affected the unmarried as well as the married. And by incriminating some marriages and encouraging others, marriage laws were instrumental in shaping the racial order. Depriving slaves of legal marriage was one of the telling things that marked out their difference.

As Cott's subtitle indicates, however, this book is more than a history of the racial and gender hierarchies constructed by marital regimes. It is also a history

of the nation, and the role played by marriage in shaping the body politic is one of its most compelling motifs. From the revolutionary era onward, marriage, Cott argues, not only served as a metaphor for voluntary allegiance and permanent union, but it constituted the foundation for national morality. The nation's public adherence to Christian monogamy (usually intraracial) provided a unifying moral standard in which the benefits of monogamy, political liberty, and consent were customarily arrayed against the evils of polygamy, despotism, and coercion.

As Cott deftly demonstrates, Christian-model monogamy confronted a host of challenges. It was complicated and compromised by community norms, changing laws, and nonconforming groups. Informal marriage, self-divorce, and bigamy were legal infractions that went largely unpunished by local populations prepared to look the other way. While the married women's property acts and proliferating divorce statutes challenged the doctrine of marital unity, maverick Protestants and alternative communities were rethinking marriage and property relations. Because marriage was never a simple, uniform, Christian institution, governmental efforts to make it that way provide revealing focal points for the story Cott tells. Indians living in complex kinship systems that embraced matriarchal residence and matrilineal descent and permitted polygamy and divorce are a case in point. The federal government offered property and citizenship to heads of households (read male) who would give up their tribal marital customs, thereby demonstrating how the triad of male headship, property holding, and citizenship was linked to monogamous marriage and its gender expectations. Meanwhile, laws criminalizing marriage across the color line put marriage at the center of policing race.

Cott also explores the ways in which federal immigration policy made a man's rights as a husband and a father a critical component of his citizenship. A woman's rights as a wife, by contrast, were dependent and derivative. As a result, Henry Cabot Lodge's effort to introduce a gender-neutral literacy test to limit "undesirable" ethnic groups foundered, because preventing a literate husband from being accompanied by his illiterate wife would have undermined the principle of male headship. The same model of male headship and female dependency not only informed a 1907 statute that directed American women married to foreign men to assume the husband's national allegiance but also found its way into the modern welfare state, which enforced traditional marital roles with economic incentives.

Cott's stunning contribution in this ambitious survey is to illuminate the extent to which marriage has been part of the national agenda. Her insistence on this point stands as a corrective to scholars who have located marriage exclusively within the purview of the states. Her readiness to explore the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the Freedmen's Bureau, or even presidential rhetoric imbues her portrait of marriage with a

strikingly national dimension. In his "house divided" speech, which depicted the South's secession as an unwarranted divorce, Abraham Lincoln, Cott insists, was addressing the increase in divorce, the transgressions of free lovers, and the vexing problem of Mormon polygamy. The extraordinary intensity of the post-Civil War campaign against polygamy, moreover, with its familiar fusion of moral and political aims, exemplifies for Cott the national impulse to put life-long monogamy at the very core of American values.

This book is everything a synthesis should be. It is meticulous in its coverage of the secondary scholarship, intelligent in its choice and organization of topics, inspired in the sweep of its analysis, and clear and accessible in its prose. Scholars and students alike will profit from reading it, especially at a time when the federal census has documented the monumental transformation of marriage. Yet, as Cott warns, anyone convinced of the recent disestablishment of Christian-model monogamy should consider the parallels between the contemporary resistance to same-sex marriage and the historic resistance to interracial marriage. In the congressional rhetoric supporting the Defense of Marriage Act, she notes, traditional marriage served once again as "a synecdoche for everything valued in the American way of life" (p. 219).

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NORMA BASCH. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 237. \$29.95.

Recent years have seen a proliferation of fresh perspectives on the history of American marriage and divorce. Glenda Riley's *Divorce: An American Tradition* (1991) shows how the conflict between pro- and anti-divorce factions inhibited the development of effective divorce procedures and policies. Hendrik Hartog's *Man and Wife in America: A History* (2000) questions the myth that the early nineteenth century was a "golden age" of marital stability and explores how some women were able to use the concept of coverture to assert their interests. Nancy F. Cott's *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (2000) examines how governments deployed marriage law to limit welfare costs, prevent interracial unions, restrict the growth of certain immigrant populations, and uphold a particular conception of gender roles and Christian morality.

In her innovative examination of the meanings attached to divorce from 1770 to 1870, Norma Basch argues that nineteenth-century divorce law was a focal point of cultural conflicts over the autonomy of women and the authority of men. She questions standard accounts of the evolution of divorce laws, contrasts actual divorce proceedings with the abstract legal discourse about "fault," and examines the acrimonious

public debate over divorce and the ambiguous treatment of divorce in newspaper articles, trial pamphlets, and sentimental novels.

Like earlier scholars, Basch views the American Revolution as a model and sanction for divorce. But instead of seeing the enactment of new divorce laws simply as a way to free spouses from unhappy marriages, she argues that divorce was also an alternative to extralegal marital dissolution and informal remarriage. Her survey of cases in New York and Indiana suggests that the prevalence of informal divorce through desertion and abandonment increased in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that legislatures and jurists were eager to end self-divorce and bring marriage under the purview of state governments.

Basch emphasizes the diversity of divorce laws across the states and shows that there was not a uniform, long-term trend toward liberalization. By 1799, twelve states and the Northwest Territory recognized the legal right to divorce. In subsequent years, most states rejected exclusive legislative jurisdiction of divorce. As Basch shows, the motives for this decision were complex and contradictory. Some proponents of judicial divorce thought that legislative divorce violated the republican principle that all citizens, including the poor, should have equal access to divorce; some opponents of divorce believed that judges would be less likely than legislatures to dissolve marriages. She might have said more about mounting public concern over the cost of supporting abandoned wives and mothers.

As the states made divorce more accessible by allowing judicial divorces, and legislatures and jurists extended the grounds for divorce (often on an ad hoc basis, as a result of decisions in individual cases), a bitter public debate ensued. Not simply a contest between liberals and conservatives, this debate pitted pro-divorce feminists, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Ernestine Rose, who viewed divorce as a way of liberating women from patriarchal authority, against anti-divorce feminists, such as Antoinette Brown and Elizabeth Oakes Smith, who feared that divorce with remarriage would harm the interests of aging women. Basch makes the perceptive point that feminist proponents of divorce reform tended to be blind to the inadequacy of alimony provisions.

In theory, nineteenth-century divorce law rested on the principle of "fault," but actual court proceedings bore little resemblance to the concepts of fault advanced in legal treatises. The vast majority of cases were ex parte proceedings in which the defendant failed to appear. Many divorce petitions had broad community support, with some bearing as many as eighty signatures. Basch shows that the courts frequently accepted casual evidence of desertion and dubious evidence of adultery.

Basch maintains that female and male petitioners generally sought divorce for different reasons. Whereas many men sought divorce as a way to sever

their support obligations, assert their manly honor, and publicly expose a dishonorable wife who had failed to fulfill her marital obligations, many women sought legal divorce as the only avenue available to them to assert their financial and personal independence.

Divorce, Basch shows, became a lightning rod for deep-seated anxieties rooted in the increasing social freedom of urban women and the ascendant ethos of romantic love. Trial pamphlets and newspaper accounts not only offered voyeuristic profiles of litigants of great wealth and high social standing, they also provided sympathetic portrayals of female defendants, who were often depicted as highly vulnerable to false accusations of adultery. In contrast, the sentimental fiction directed toward a middle-class female audience tended to emphasize the misery and shame that followed divorce and to extol wifely resignation and passionlessness. In many of these books, marriage signified social order and divorce became a trope for chaos and rootlessness.

A powerful corrective to earlier works that focused on appellate court cases and underplayed the contested nature of the history of divorce, this book offers a perceptive and persuasive interpretation of public debates over divorce and of how ordinary women and men tested divorce in local county courts.

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KARIN WULF. *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. Pp. xvii, 217. \$39.95.

Karin Wulf has added to the literature on women in the colonial Mid-Atlantic with her well-written study of single women in Philadelphia, the largest city in eighteenth-century British North America. She argues persuasively that historians have tended to equate womanhood with married womanhood. Many women in colonial Philadelphia were single, and their experiences were informed by the autonomy that their status implied. Wulf contends that to see opportunity in single life is not to discount the real disadvantages of this status for women. Peculiar to the Philadelphia narrative was the Quaker and even the Moravian influence. These traditions presented other options for women anxious to forgo the rigors of marriage. Finally, Wulf argues that a large number of single women in the Quaker city had an effect on the urban environment as much as the city had its effect on them. Over time, female options and independence waned as the late eighteenth century saw the decline of Quaker influence in Philadelphia society.

Single women were certainly a presence in the city, but just as all women were not married, all single women were not alike either. Spinsters and widows, the most common sorts of single women, were very different. A woman who chose to stay unmarried was not the same as one who found herself that way. Although both these groups of women were single,

their motivations and circumstances were different enough to suggest that separate treatment would have been useful in this study. For example, were spinsters rejecting traditional female roles to facilitate a different path? Did they believe, as women did until very recently, that other work could not be done successfully if they were married? When women stayed single, were they rejecting marriage, as Wulf often states, or motherhood? The burden of childrearing and constant pregnancies is mentioned but deserves a more central place in this study. Alternatively, widows did not make a choice to be alone. There is enough difference here to warrant distinguishing these two groups of single women in her analysis.

Wulf's most innovative chapter focuses on the roles that unmarried women of all sorts played in the community. These women, both spinstered and widowed, held a neighborhood together. They provided aid to other women in similar circumstances or helped their married counterparts. Their presence, although hard to detect, provided the social glue that kept many families afloat. For example, a spinstered sister who provided childcare and housework for her married sister—although financially able to remain leisured—suggests something about social roles, not simply economic necessity.

Less persuasive is Wulf's claim for the power of Quaker influence on gender roles. Certainly Friends were not the majority of the population at any time. Their influence in government did reach beyond their numerical presence in the colony, but did Quakerism also affect the lives of non-Quaker women? Did the examples of powerful women enliven the rest? Wulf argues, for example, that Quaker ministers presented an alternative example of female power in the colony. What kind of power did such women have? People, moved by the spirit of God, acted as channels for divine instruction. Their power came from these words, but they had no institutional power to rival the Anglicans, Congregationalists, and others. Wulf hints at this with a suggestion that for some women (and I suspect for some men), being a "minister" was a burden. So, were these women an example that other non-Quaker women wanted to follow? Wulf's contention of Quaker (and Moravian) influence is intriguing but nearly impossible to prove or really disprove.

The final chapter tries to link political power with Wulf's findings about single women. She argues that as more men without assets could vote, single women were more carefully excluded from political matters. This idea emerges in part from the tax records she examines. Single women failed to appear on the tax roles, Wulf argues, because they were excluded by paternalistic males. Wishing to eliminate a tax burden for women alone, these men even excused women with considerable property from taxation. Women that formerly were dubbed freemen by the end of the eighteenth century lost this status. Independence became associated with manhood and dependence with womanhood as the century progressed. There may have



been a cultural shift, but voting rights remained essentially the same for women throughout the century. This section is the least persuasive, although the case that non-voting women were political beings is powerful.

Wulf builds on the work of others and at times tends to overstate the uniqueness of her approach and findings. For example, her chapter on poor women is highly derivative. Wulf, nonetheless, is careful to thank the community of scholars on which all of those who work on Philadelphia history depend. The McNeil Center for Early American Studies has provided a rare opportunity for historians at all stages of their careers to share their work and build a portrait of early Pennsylvania. Wulf is a member of this group, and her work adds another brick to this formidable wall.

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DAVID HACKETT FISCHER and JAMES C. KELLY. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xvi, 366. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.50.

This book by David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly is provocative but disappointing in its execution. It explores the huge role that Virginia played in United States frontier history. The authors examine the Old Dominion as a frontier for expansion by Britain's "Northern Borderers," then the movement of Virginians to new frontiers in the colony's interior, and, finally, the influence of Virginia as a feeder of population to frontiers in different parts of the United States.

Fischer and Kelly provide much interesting discussion of how Virginia repeatedly lost its population to greener pastures. They trace migration routes (in wave after wave) to places like Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, and Missouri. Through statistical analysis, they argue that Virginia played a larger role in shaping the American frontier than New England (or indeed, any other eastern area), although the extent of that influence varied from place to place.

Those familiar with Fischer's earlier work, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989), will again find folk culture at the center of his argument. The authors stress that the cultural baggage of the Borderers provided the most important factors shaping land use, social patterns, and economic organization in Virginia and in subsequent areas settled by Virginians. Although they subscribe to Frederick Jackson Turner's conception of the frontier as a historical process shaping American character, the authors find that rather than breeding democracy, egalitarianism, and cultural pluralism, the Virginia frontiers reflected the cultural hegemony, economic inequality, and political and social hierarchies carried by the Northern Borderers to the new world and then transplanted westward.

This conceptually fascinating argument is supported by a wealth of illustrations and anecdotal descriptions

of individual experiences. Yet the book is undermined by indifferent writing and organization. Frequently, ideas are offered in two and three-sentence paragraphs; much of the book consists of short, undeveloped paragraphs, as if the authors were publishing an outline. Chapters contain an extraordinary number of subdivisions, many less than a page long, which eclectically provide information on any Virginian who happened to move to an area—as if a few Virginians entering a place were enough to transform it into Virginia's image. Anecdote as history works to illustrate individual lives and events, but conclusions are best drawn after the systematic examination of data; Fischer and Kelly too easily move from suggesting patterns to trying to definitively define historical processes based on little evidence. For instance, the section on Alabama—two paragraphs long—briefly notes that several important Virginia families and numerous craftsmen moved there. From this we learn that "[t]heir presence was an important part of the transit of culture into the Southwest" (p. 152). This may be true, but it would be helpful to have a more explicit discussion of how this occurred and why these migrants might have had more impact than those who came from other areas.

ALAN GALLAY  
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DWIGHT B. BILLINGS and KATHLEEN M. BLEE. *The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 434. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

In this important and valuable study of the origins of Appalachian poverty, Dwight B. Billings and Kathleen M. Blee use a variety of materials—especially census, court, and land records—to examine Clay County, Kentucky, over the course of the nineteenth century. One of America's poorest counties, Clay County lends itself to a new analysis of this subject; contrary to common assumptions about the mountain South, it never was dependent on coal, nor was it always poor or socially homogeneous. The authors demonstrate that, until the 1840s, the manufacture of salt had supported a prosperous, influential gentry, while antebellum farms had rivaled their midwestern peers in productivity. From early settlement, there had been a diverse human landscape, free and slave, entrepreneurs and subsistence farmers. Clay County also lends itself to rethinking because it had been the locus of James S. Brown's pioneering historical ethnographic studies of Beech Creek, conducted from 1942 into the 1970s (see Brown, *Beech Creek: A Study of a Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood* [1988]); Billings and Blee celebrate the importance of his work while expanding on his findings. In sharp distinction from much of the county, Beech Creek was, even in the 1940s, largely outside markets, providing a valuable analytic contrast.

Billings and Blee reject the culture-of-poverty model, which blamed individual and family behavior,



and the colonialism model, which blamed absentee landownership. Relying instead on Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems model, they locate the roots of Appalachian poverty in the cultural strategies of the settlers, the impact of capitalist markets, and the coercion and corruption of the local elite-dominated government. The settlers' extensive, free-range farming demanded large acreages; over time, population growth and partible inheritances shrank farms to where many could barely support life. Although Clay County—like the Appalachian South in general—was never isolated from world markets, during the late nineteenth century outside corporations turned the county into a peripheral, dependent source of timber, coal, and gas. In the process, wealth flowed out, leaving poverty behind. Other Appalachian studies have blamed population/land ratios and capitalistic resource extraction; what is new here is Billings and Blee's emphasis on the destructive power that local elites maintained over small farmers and tenants, even after they had lost control of Clay's land and resources. The authors demonstrate that Clay County's famous White-Garrard feud was a struggle between fading elites and their clients over local power; despite popular images, the feudists themselves were not impoverished mountaineers, but their corrupt government helped to impoverish others.

The book similarly confounds Appalachian stereotypes in its illuminating descriptions of the county's political and economic life, from the workings of the salt industry, to links between local politicians and Kentucky's state government, to patterns of large-scale outmigration as farming declined. Clay County was once integrated, especially by the salt trade, into the larger market; timber and coal interests arrived to exploit not a precapitalist or preindustrial region, but one where an industry had collapsed from competition and loss of markets, imposing a temporary economic isolation. Far from being politically powerless, Clay County's leaders had once been influential in Kentucky politics, only to lose that power, despite their later sedulous service to the newcomer capitalists, when their economic base failed. Once a thriving slave economy, Clay County became largely white as landless blacks left, not at emancipation but in the face of decreasing opportunity late in the century.

This work is an important achievement, in both Appalachian and poverty studies. But there were a few places where I needed additional information. The authors convincingly show how rapid population growth resulted in too many people on too little land and thus led to poverty; yet in another section they show very high rates of outmigration from the county. Who was leaving? Who was staying? Why didn't those impoverished by land shortages leave? Again, while the crushingly selfish behavior of the local White and Garrard family elites is made clear, the authors do not explain exactly how their actions directly damaged Clay's farm families, except for a statement that the elites' political behavior blocked any public investment

in local infrastructure and economic development. What constructive measures could the political leadership have taken to overcome the forces leading to poverty? Did other Appalachian county court governments act differently? This book will undoubtedly engender debate, but it has already raised the level of debate over Appalachian social change to new levels of sophistication.

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SCOTT L. MALCOMSON. *One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2000. Pp. viii, 584. \$30.00.

Scott L. Malcomson is a highly respected writer with a formidable reputation for thorough research and original analysis. His previous books are *Tuturani* (1990), his account of a journey through island groups and the Pacific Islands, and *Empire's Edge* (1994), an itinerary through the crumbling post-Soviet states of decayed communism. In this new, ambitious study, Malcomson turns his eye—an eye that is both scholarly and pertinently autobiographical (including an excellent discussion of how the Oakland of his childhood has changed)—on the history of race in the United States. Unquestionably the most important topic in American history and politics, it is not surprising that such a gifted writer should have returned from his earlier peregrinations to this enduring domestic issue.

Malcomson poses the fundamental sociological problematic of American history: why has the American “drive for newness” resulted in creating “new forms of unfreedom,” especially unfreedoms rooted in socially constructed distinctions by “race”? His argument is that “American” is “necessarily collective, an identity no one can fully have” (p. 507). This collectivity renders, in his opinion, apologies for past wickedness extraneous. To reach this point, he covers a great deal of ground.

Malcomson rightly gives a significant role to the experience of Native Americans in the construction of the United States. He provides an excellent account of the division between Americanizing and racially separatist Cherokees, a consequence of the U.S. federal government's confused, often racist policy toward them. The government “wanted Cherokees to take pride in themselves generally as the best of their red race, while the specific sources of that pride were all the activities that made them ‘like white people’” (p. 68). He then proceeds to recount selected individual narratives that are moving and evocative. The tragic story of Americanized Elias Boudinot's proposed marriage to a colonel's daughter, Harriet Gold, includes the burning of the couple's effigy in the local church, cruelly instigated by Harriet's brother, Stephen.

Malcomson's account of Boudinot's subsequent sojourn through eastern cities, raising money from whites for the advancement of Cherokees and deliver-

ing sophisticated talks on the character of Americanism is fascinating. His ardent opposition to the government's brutal removal policy—which struck Boudinot as exactly contrary to a policy of civilizing—brought him into ineluctable conflict with Washington elites, especially as Andrew Jackson entered the White House. Jackson's supporters, sharing the president's own preferences, coalesced around a policy to move Cherokees to the West and to racialize American Indians in general. The consequences of the Jacksonian propensity remain crucial to U.S. history. Boudinot's editorializing and lobbying fell on deaf ears. What Malcomson rightly underlines is the extraordinary irony that because some American Indians had become too Americanized, their removal and dispossession were made the end (and means) of government policy. The descent into the Trail of Tears unfolds.

Malcomson is less concerned with scholarly debates than unearthing relevant life stories and forgotten histories, and this quality makes his book intensely readable. For instance, he gives detailed attention to the children of Indian-African American marriages, particularly during and after the Civil War. This interest in individual experience makes for a nuanced and often subtle book. The author also makes forays into the historical origins of race, invoking arguments in ancient Egypt and biblical accounts; and he explores the manifestations of race and love in William Shakespeare's England.

Malcomson adopts a broad perspective on the experience of African Americans, paying particular attention to the various colonization movements pressed on blacks in the nineteenth century and coterminous separatist initiatives. The debates between the alternative political paths mapped out by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois are analyzed, although it might have been useful to have examined this dialogue more fully. Malcomson's account of the Harlem Renaissance is compelling.

The discussion of the United States's twentieth-century policies of segregation and racism—in housing ordinances for instance—is perhaps more familiar but no less significant. Malcomson hones in on Californian politics, and particularly the development of twentieth-century Oakland, poor cousin to San Francisco. His account of Senator William Knowland's odyssey is masterly and engrossing.

Malcomson is an accomplished writer, and this book is an engagingly written and knowledgeable discourse on the most important of American subjects. He has done a service in integrating the parallel though commonly intertwined histories of different groups—American Indians, African Americans, and whites—in the United States, unlike accounts that view American history as the descent from a period of glorious individualism. Groups and races constitute American history. Malcomson explains why this occurred and

why failure fully to understand it will result in partial and distorted historical analysis.

DESMOND KING  
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PETER M. DOLL. *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745–1795*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2000. Pp. 336. \$49.50.

In this monograph, Peter M. Doll examines the quest for a “distinct imperial religious policy for the North American colonies in the fifty years around the American revolt” (p. 12). He argues that, over the course of the period from 1745 to 1795, the British government changed its role from “an authority which chose not to exert itself” to strengthen the colonial church to one that, after losing the thirteen mainland colonies, “was anxious to prevent any further defections from the metropolis” (pp. 12–13). Doll tells his story primarily from the perspective of High Churchmen who rejected the prevailing Erastian notion that the state was superior to the church, which meant in practical terms that politicians viewed the church as a political instrument. High Churchmen maintained instead that while church and state were inseparable, the church was independent from the state because its authority rested on scripture and the church fathers. They contended that neglect of the church in America loosened the colonists' religious loyalties and thereby risked the loss of all Britain's American possessions. But, alas, as Archbishop Thomas Secker discovered in arguing for an American episcopate, the government gave no more than lip service. Instead of formulating a religious policy favoring High Churchmen, the king's ministers affirmed the constitutional relationship between church and state “in principle and ignore[d] it in practice” (p. 30).

The question of an American bishop was the centerpiece of the imperial religious policy sought by church leaders. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Anglicans on both sides of the Atlantic requested a resident bishop to provide discipline within the church and to promote ambitious missionary projects. The question had political as well as ecclesiastical implications, however, and looked one way when considered at Lambeth Palace and quite different when discussed at Whitehall. Archbishop Secker, a committed High Churchman, tirelessly lobbied for a resident bishop in the colonies, but the Hanoverian court rejected the notion, fearing that such an appointment would spark political rebellion among the large number of American Dissenters.

Although Doll breaks no new ground in his discussion of an American bishop in the thirteen English colonies, he does illuminate our understanding of church-state relations in British Canada. By focusing his analysis on Nova Scotia and Quebec and extending his narrative beyond the American Rebellion, he reminds us that imperial relations encompassed more

than just those colonies that became the United States. After the war ended in 1783, Canadian church officials continued to press for a religious policy that would secure the church in British Canada, and in 1787 their persistence paid off with the establishment of a High Church episcopate in Nova Scotia, followed by a similar act favoring Quebec in 1791. Freed from worry about prickly dissenters in the lost colonies, the imperial government decided that a firm religious policy was indeed important to securing the loyalty of His Majesty's remaining American subjects. Doll concludes that, in the aftermath of the American Revolution, British officials reaffirmed their commitment to the constitutional religious establishment. For the first time, political and religious assessments of church-state imperial relations converged. Far from abandoning the ideal of a unitary society where "church and state were different aspects of an identical whole," the British government concluded that the loss of the American colonies had been the failure to "uphold the constitution in church and state" (p. 261).

Doll's High Church sympathies distort his analysis of imperial religious policy by presenting Anglicans as being of one mind. American churchmen did not speak with one voice concerning church-state relations in general and a resident bishop in particular. There was strong opposition to the High Church position, especially in Virginia and the Carolinas, where the church was most firmly established, as powerful planters fought the clergy to maintain lay governance through local vestries. Moreover, these laymen had a powerful lobby at Whitehall, one that effectively offset that of the High Churchmen.

Ironically, while laying out the High Church position, this book reinforces the interpretation that Dissenters shaped imperial religious policy. Ministers at court were far more concerned about appeasing New England's "dissenting Dissenters" than accommodating loyal High Churchmen. Only when appeasement failed did the ministry appoint an American bishop.

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MATTHEW H. CROCKER. *The Magic of the Many: Josiah Quincy and the Rise of Mass Politics in Boston 1800–1830*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 222. \$35.00.

Matthew H. Crocker's book is an engaging work on the origins of mass politics in the early 1820s. Focusing on Boston and the career of Josiah Quincy, Crocker's analysis blends the best of traditional political history, the more recent emphasis on local history, and the renewed historiographic field of policy history.

The author explains how the deferential world of Federalist Boston collapsed in the wake of the Panic of 1819. Quincy, a former national and state politician distrusted by the Harrison Gray Otis and other fellow Federalists for his populist style, slowly built a political following of poor-to-middling Bostonians, rootless

Jeffersonian Republicans, and marginalized Federalists. This coalition capitalized on class conflict to propel Quincy to the mayoralty—a position to which he was annually reelected between 1823 and 1828. Ironically, the democratic impulses that secured Quincy's triumph were also his undoing as Bostonians first embraced and then rejected their "Caesarian" dictatorial ruler. On a local level, Quincy in some ways anticipated Andrew Jackson, and the story of his rise to and fall from power exemplifies the continued cross-influences of democracy and emphasis on individual leadership in American politics.

Crocker's well-written book shows how narrative political history, with close attention to the maneuvers of individual politicians (wire-pullers are everywhere in this account), is perfectly compatible with detailed policy analysis. The reader learns how local policy issues such as the liberalization of debtor imprisonment laws, relaxation of militia requirements, taxation, the creation of a ward-based voting system, street cleaning, professionalization of the firefighting force, housing, the rights of hawkers and peddlers, and the school system played vital roles in shaping the politics of the period. And Crocker does not simply mention these issues; he addresses in detail how each one figured in different factions' electoral calculations. What emerges from this book is a politically energized citizenry that one rarely encounters in the literature of the early 1820s.

To his credit as well, the author does not succumb to the temptation to overempower, retroactively, the underempowered. One will not find in this book references to "negotiations" between rulers and the people out of doors. Crocker's narrative indicates that although Bostonian workingmen rejected the presumed right of the Federalist elite to rule, they nonetheless were still being led by politicians. Yet this top-down approach also leaves voids that attention to the social contours of Boston might have filled. To what extent was Quincy's coalition a new one (his share of the votes cast in 1823 in Boston's twelve wards correlates at a very high +.936 with Otis's share of the same in the 1822 gubernatorial race)? Which workingmen voted for the so-called "Middling Interest," and which ones did not? Were workers divided along lines of occupation (those involved in the maritime trade versus those who were not), religion (Trinitarians, Unitarians, Baptists, or Catholics), or ethnicity (Yankees versus the already sizable number of Irish)? How important was class to Quincy's actual electoral coalition (Quincy's share of the votes cast in 1823, using ward data, correlates with average wealth per capita at +.667—lower than Otis's +.812 but high nonetheless)? Who actually participated in these elections (it would appear that roughly forty-five percent of adult males voted) and who stayed home?

This reservation aside, Crocker has written a splendid book. Historians who believe that political history is not dead will find the paradoxes it unearths in American political development thought provoking;

no student of nineteenth-century America can afford to ignore it.

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MAURICE G. BAXTER. *Henry Clay the Lawyer*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. x, 141. \$24.95.

Maurice G. Baxter's new book is an attempt to address a lacuna in the historiography of the Jacksonian era. Baxter indicates that, while there have been a number of studies of Henry Clay's political career, there has not, to this point, been any study focused on his legal career. Given that this period was one of rapid growth and significant development in the American legal system (and that Clay's prominence in his dual careers as lawyer and politician made him a key player in this development), the topic provides an opportunity to grapple with significant questions regarding the relationship between law and politics in the early republic.

Baxter indeed identifies many significant and interesting questions related to the intersection of law and politics in the career of Henry Clay but, unfortunately, does not engage them in a meaningful way. The book takes a descriptive and conclusory rather than analytical and argumentative approach to the subject. A significant example of this is Baxter's treatment of the intersection between Clay's legal career and his political attitude toward slavery. In his introduction, Baxter indicates that issues arising from the interaction of Clay's legal and political activity regarding slavery "are questions worth considering," and indeed they are. Given the key role Clay played in the series of slavery crises that affected the nation over the course of his career, and given also the increasing "legalization" of slavery controversies (culminating in the *Dred Scott* case), consideration of these questions could shed significant light on the way in which Clay viewed the legal status of slavery. Why, for example, did he suggest in 1850 that the question of whether slavery could go into New Mexico prior to the positive enactment of a slave code by the territorial legislature be decided by the Supreme Court rather than hashed out in Congress?

Unfortunately, such questions are not considered. The chapter on slavery appropriately focuses on Clay's involvement in *Groves v. Slaughter* (1841), which was a significant case with potential implications regarding Congress' ability to ban the interstate slave trade. Only three paragraphs are given to describing Clay's legal argument. Most of the chapter is given over to a summary of the issues involved and the argument of various counsel.

Moreover, Baxter's brief discussion of Clay's political approach to slavery (p. 181) is both almost completely uninformative and seriously misleading regarding Clay's actual position (or, more accurately, set of positions). While Baxter describes a straight line

movement from youthful support of freedom to retreat to the intricacies of compromise, neither position is accurate. Clay supported state constitutional amendments in order to institute gradual emancipation within the states throughout his career. Near the end of his life in 1849—eight years after *Grove*—his letter to Richard Pindall indicated his ongoing support of this idea, and his hope that Kentucky would adopt such a plan. However, Clay had also consistently argued that slavery was not appropriately an issue of national concern. Indeed, keeping slavery out of national politics (because its divisiveness threatened the union) was perhaps the most consistent goal Clay pursued over his notoriously inconsistent career.

The book as a whole follows a pattern. In chapters on Clay's early practice, cases involving economic issues (with a separate chapter focusing in his legal work for the Bank of the United States), and miscellaneous cases, it raises significant issues and so may be of interest to scholars as an invitation to further research. However, the discussion of these issues does not shed significant light on the problems described.

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CHARLES CAPPER and CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT, editors. *Transient and Permanent: The Transcendentalist Movement and Its Context*. (Studies in American History and Culture, number 5.) Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, distributed by Northeastern University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 639. \$75.00.

Editors Charles Capper and Conrad Edick Wright have brought together twenty essays from a May 1997 conference on Transcendentalism sponsored by the Massachusetts Historical Society. All but one published here for the first time, these essays examine the Transcendentalist movement and its adherents, products, and consequences under several headings: religion, cosmopolitanism, society, reform, and cultural legacy. The collection as a whole is bracketed by historiographical essays by Capper and Lawrence Buell.

In one sense, as Wright notes in his preface, this volume demonstrates the high "quality and diversity of current writing on the movement" (p. ix). Here are well-written essays based on careful and often highly original scholarship, ranging from portraits of lesser-known Transcendentalists like William B. Greene and Christopher Cranch to a significant reexamination of the involvement of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller in the women's rights movement and a consideration of the communitarian movement in light of recent theories about the nature of American dissent.

In another sense, however, this collection reveals a certain anxiety about the future, a concern about the place of Transcendentalism in the disciplinary maps drawn by interpreters of American history and writing. Capper sets this cautionary tone in his opening essay,



"A Little Beyond": The Problem of the Transcendentalist Movement in American History," by noting that "Transcendentalism, once a mainstay of American thought, has virtually vanished from the historical radar screen" (p. 3). Capper traces the historiography of the Transcendentalist movement from the memoirs of its participants through the work of (among others) O. B. Frothingham, Lewis Mumford, Vernon Parrington, and Perry Miller to Anne C. Rose's *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850* (1981). In calling for a new synthetic study of Transcendentalism, Capper hopes for a fresh examination of Alexis de Tocqueville's triad of religion, individualist democracy, and national identity as central to understanding the place of the movement in American history. So far, he suggests, no such synthesis has emerged.

A similarly mixed portrait of the treatment of Transcendentalism from the literary side, Buell's "Transcendentalist Literary Legacies" reminds readers that "Transcendentalism is no longer so central a preoccupation within American literary studies as it once was" and that it has "ceased to be an unproblematically crucial point of explicit reference in U.S. literary scholarship" (p. 605). The expansion of the literary canon to include the works of women writers, slave narrators, sensationalist authors, western settlers, and others makes the Transcendentalists not quite so central to literary history, while new attention given to authorship, reading, and publishing shifts the focus away from the tiny coterie of New England writers toward larger trends in literary production and consumption. New scholarship on social movements like women's rights, antislavery, and communitarianism has made the religiocentric Transcendentalists less crucial, or has reoriented our interest in them as only one part of an evolving middle-class culture.

What do these essays tell us about the health of Transcendentalist studies and about the place of such studies in the larger worlds of historical and literary scholarship? Some continue the project ably forwarded by Joel Myerson, of the recovery of texts and figures too long neglected or only partially interpreted. Here, for example, are the studies of Greene by Philip F. Gura, Cranch by Nancy Stula, and Caroline Wells Healey Dall by Helen R. Deese, and an account of the links between Transcendentalism and the music of Charles Ives by Michael Broyles and Denise Von Glahn. Also included is "Transcendentalism in Print: Production, Dissemination, and Common Reception," an extension of the ongoing work on antebellum readers by Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray. Other essays demonstrate the connections between New England regional culture and transatlantic and international themes, including Nina Baym's study of comparative landscapes, Alan D. Hodder's intriguing work on Transcendentalists' recovery of Asian religious texts and ideas, and Robert D. Richardson's demonstration of the importance of German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher for Emerson and other Transcendentalists.

For this reader, however, the most important essays were those that take up the challenge, offered implicitly by Capper and directly by Buell, of linking Transcendentalist studies with larger currents of scholarship. Here I was instructed by Phyllis Cole's demonstration that both Emerson and Fuller were much more engaged in the work and ideas of the women's movement than has been previously noted, by Albert J. Von Frank's quietly powerful defense of Emerson's engagement in the antislavery movement against the criticisms recently offered by John Carlos Rowe in *At Emerson's Tomb: The Politics of Classic American Literature* (1997), and by Carl Guarneri's discussion of Sacvan Bercovitch's notions of the hegemonic power of "America" in the context of the promise and failure of antebellum communitarianism. Buell's essay itself belongs in this company. After his discussion of the ways Transcendentalism has lost its once-central place in American literary history, Buell offers several ways in which the movement continues to shape that history: in its blurring of generic boundaries, in its stress on the relationship between an observer and the surrounding environment, in its privileging of the Romantic notion of the child and childlike perception, and in its desire to suffuse all human experience with religious significance, without regard to denominational or institutional boundaries.

Still, despite Buell's cautiously optimistic conclusion to his essay and to this volume, the fate of Transcendentalism in the contemporary imaginary of nineteenth-century literature and culture is unclear. As object of social and intellectual history, Transcendentalism will continue to attract able researchers who will produce accounts of the interaction of regional culture with larger national trends. Robert Gross's several essays on Concord, one of which is included here, are superb examples of such work. As a coherent movement, Transcendentalism does indeed await this generation's synthesizer, someone who can integrate the enormously varied scholarship that this volume represents. Transcendentalism's place in literary history is by far the most unsettled. These essays only touch gingerly on ways that some current trends might reframe our understanding of the Transcendentalist literary coterie and ignore others, like queer theory and literary gothicism. Without such engagement with contemporary ideas, Transcendentalism may continue to dissolve as a distinct literary movement, joining the Connecticut Wits as a historical curiosity with little lasting interest.

BRUCE A. RONDA  
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NICHOLAS E. TAWA. *High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans 1800-1861*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 350. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

Nicholas E. Tawa, the prolific author of over a dozen works on mostly American music history, now offers a

study of that subject in the antebellum era. His particular objective is to show how people used music in their daily lives in the first decades of the nineteenth century and the significance of that cultural activity. The goal is certainly a laudable one, but its sweeping character presents a monumental challenge. Tawa's success is a rather limited one for students of our cultural history. The major deficiency is the lack of any overarching interpretation and a neglect of relevant secondary studies. This book's real value is its wide but still incomplete coverage of where one would find musical song and performance in pre-Civil War American society.

Tawa partially justifies his reticence to theorize and produce any synthesis by his initial determination not to "urge any particular cultural or social view on the reader" (p. x). The result is the presentation of a huge amount of detail on sites of musical activity, not only in the opera house and the concert hall but also at home, at work, in church, in a saloon, and out of doors on trails and the street. Tawa does offer some conclusions, largely celebratory, about the popular need for music and especially its culturally unifying property among all groups, based on a democratic character that allowed for autonomous, creative expression. But despite these theoretical observations, the work really is a vast listing of when and where music was produced, taken chiefly from the observations of European visitors and middle-class reporters. This kind of evidence, however, still does not provide a sufficient basis for Tawa's conclusion about music's homogenizing impact. He gives, for example, insufficient attention to music's intensification of social friction.

The basic difficulties in the study are both interpretive and bibliographical. While providing a plethora of primary sources, virtually absent are any secondary studies that might place the findings in some larger, theoretical framework. For example, other than referring often to this "ante-bellum era," Tawa really never offers any rationale for picking that time period. Hinted at occasionally is the predominant rural, frontier context of the country, but there is no more specific justification for beginning in 1800 and ending in 1861. Another more curious omission from a writer who previously produced a study on post-Civil War immigrant music is his neglect of the ethnic diversity of foreigners before the conflict. Tawa views Americans as divided racially, between white and black, but other than cursory references to German musical influence in the concert hall, or Italian organ-grinders as street musicians, all whites appear assimilated. No attention is given to music's considerable contribution to ethnic identity within groups. It is as if the Irish, Scandinavians, Germans, British, and even Chinese and Mexicans never existed before 1861. A host of secondary works deal with the music of those early ethnic communities; they might weaken Tawa's theme of music's power of assimilation, but in any event they deserve attention.

Tawa rightly devotes much space to the distinctive

musical experience of African Americans of the time, the music of slaves, and the popularity of minstrelsy. Other than a minor citation from Robert Toll, however, his treatment of blacks comes solely from primary observation and songs; the important works of Lawrence W. Levine, Eric Lott, and others about black musical life and whites' appropriation of it are absent. Other significant studies of popular song, such as Charles Hamm's *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (1983) and Vera Brodsky Lawrence's *Music for Patriots, Politicians and Presidents: Harmonies and Discords of the First Hundred Years* (1975) are also ignored. The significance of elitism in musical presentation and the importance of band music, both subjects Tawa does cover, could certainly have been better informed by Levine's *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (1988) and Margaret Hindle and Robert M. Hazen's *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America 1800-1920* (1987), among others.

Still another weakness is in the book's structure. The heavy use of original commentary, while commendable methodologically, is really excessive and hence adversely affects readability. A representative example is the chapter on education and religion, which has about thirty-five quotations in its twenty-eight pages. The frequent insertion of such commentary is distracting. Also in dealing with the everyday life of Americans, such a work ought to include illustrations. Missing, however, are photographs, rare then but still extant, as well as other graphic material such as pictorial sheet music covers and other engravings, folk and genre paintings, and the pictures of instruments.

Overall then, this is a convenient compilation of the performance and settings of music playing in the era, but serious students will have to wait for a more valuable synthesis.

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ERIC PURCHASE. *Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 192. \$38.00.

Eric Purchase's book is cleverly conceived. The central action of the title was over in seconds: during a violent thunderstorm on the night of August 28, 1826, a landslide swept down the slopes of Mount Willey in New Hampshire's White Mountains and buried the nine-person household of Samuel Willey—while sparing the house from which they had fled. Nevertheless this bizarre tragedy captured the attention of Americans for many decades. In Purchase's able hands, the disaster becomes the apt juncture of the interacting forces of capitalism and art as they together create an American appreciation for nature.

The Willey story seemed to demonstrate the perverse capriciousness of nature and awakened Americans to the sublime in their own landscape, in the sense

of the power of a view to inspire awe and terror. Artists flocked to the White Mountains to capture its scenes for both patrons and public. Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, and other painters of the Hudson River School painted views of the mountains and the site of the Willey disaster. Literary talents from writers of popular doggerel to Nathaniel Hawthorne memorialized the calamity. Artists and writers acted as publicizers and increased the fame and notoriety of the incident. Scientists, too, arrived to study the landscape and geology that could unleash such devastating power. George Perkins Marsh included the Mount Willey slide in his influential *Man and Nature* (1864) as an example of the dangers of deforestation. (*Man and Nature* was where Purchase himself first came across the Willey calamity.) Tourism to the mountains increased steadily, and the Willey house became a major tourist attraction. Large hotels sprang up to accommodate the crush of visitors. The line between tourist promotion on the one hand and art, literature, and science on the other, between capitalism and art, was blurred beyond recognition.

The ultimate irony was that the reason the middle-class Willey family came to live in such a remote and rugged area was to make money off of the nascent tourist trade. They were essentially speculators in scenery and in giving their lives became the region's ultimate promoters. Their fate was both the product and the instigator of nineteenth-century nature tourism. Purchase uses their dramatic if now forgotten story to describe how the artist as tourist, the writer as tourist, the scientist as tourist, and the entrepreneur as hotelkeeper and as tour guide together shaped American appreciation of nature and wilderness. His book makes an interesting companion to such old standbys as Hans Huth's *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (1957) and Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967), as well as to such recent work on American nature tourism as Hal K. Rothman's *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (1998).

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BRIAN ROBERTS. *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 328. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

SUSAN LEE JOHNSON. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. 464. \$29.95.

The California Gold Rush survived its 1999 sesquicentennial with popular images of manly prospectors and limitless opportunity comfortingly bright. However, the Fortyniners are a losing football team, the Golden State can't keep its lights on, and, most dangerous of all to warmly glowing memory, historians have under-

taken the task of reexamining this pivotal moment in national and international history. Susan Lee Johnson and Brian Roberts have written books that change the rules about how we see and use this event.

Although their books are quite different, the authors come to the subject of the Gold Rush with similar concerns. Using feminist and literary theory, Johnson and Roberts show us how and why the 1849 Gold Rush has been misremembered. They argue that even though the California Gold Rush made the United States a leader in a new global economy and molded national culture in crucial ways, we have allowed this event to gather romantic dust. The episode plays as a pleasant glitch in the often grim nineteenth-century story of market revolution, class formation, and industrial development. Amid the processes of becoming a nation of clerks and factory workers and of fighting a civil war, American men had a little vacation involving thrilling travel, outdoor work, national affirmation, and gold. Only a few lucky folks made much money, but everyone had a good time.

By focusing on domesticity, foreigners, women, leisure, and literary production, all things the Gold Rush is not supposed to be about, Johnson and Roberts show us how the standard story masks the complexity and importance of the event. Once we look at the Gold Rush as not just a pleasant interlude for American men but as a moment that resonated around the world affecting prices, family relationships, labor practices, and ideas about gender, it becomes important to reconsider. Both authors shift our vision by adjusting the focus to things formerly assigned to the periphery of the Gold Rush: the southern foothills of the Sierra Nevada and the domestic circles of east coast homes.

Johnson's book is primarily a social history of the "southern" mines, the least productive and least studied part of the Mother Lode but also the place where individual miners worked the longest. Because the stakes were smaller and the riches less glittering in this region, "foreign" miners, including Mexican-Americans and Indians as well as Chileans, French, and Chinese people, worked next to Anglo-Americans. In Johnson's pages we see a Gold Rush where people both reveled in the possibilities and suffered the brutalities of "a world standing on its head" (p. 100).

Johnson is at her best when she describes a moment of contingency where concepts of race, gender, and class seemed malleable. Before the mid-1850s, when Anglo-American dominance became certain, Indian women mined, Anglo men mended clothes and served meals, slaves ran away, and Mexican families prospered. The Anglo participants worried constantly about the moral dangers of such a situation but thoroughly enjoyed the freedoms, including gambling and sexual experimentation. However, such opportunity did not last. Johnson carefully traces the ethnic and class warfare that determined who would control the riches and the definition of "society." The world of fandangos and Chinese dinners dissolved into the monochrome vision of Bret Harte stories, where in



Anglo miners and those who read about them took their superior positions for granted. However, using stories about crime and vigilante justice in which Mexicans and Chinese were forced to the edges of gold country, Johnson demonstrates the costs of the victory of American nationalism. Because the victors control much of popular memory, we have forgotten much of what happened and what was possible about the Gold Rush.

Roberts's book is also about the cost of faulty memory. He argues that because we remember the Gold Rush as being about unattached men, we miss much of its significance. Roberts places the Fortyniners at the center of an emerging American middle-class culture. The experience of reading, writing, and hearing about the Gold Rush as much as actually going to California gave Americans a space to work out the inconsistencies of middle-class ideology. According to all of the rules of mid-nineteenth-century morality, men worked hard, followed strict codes of respectability around work, leisure, and sex, and protected their families. Women stayed home, obeyed their husbands, and avoided the contaminating forces of the market. None of these rules made sense in the context of a national episode in which supposedly upright, middle-class men left their families, traveled thousands of risky miles, openly gambled, drank and slept with prostitutes, and then failed to bring any money home. At the same time, women shouldered all the family responsibilities, became business entrepreneurs, and openly criticized their husbands for their selfish behavior. By looking seriously at the words written by those who stayed home as well as those who left, Roberts's book explores how the Fortyniners and the culture that surrounded them explained such anomalies.

Americans worried about the Gold Rush and what it meant for their personal economic and moral status. The idea of lumps of gold lying around for anyone to grab became an analogy for the emerging corporate market. Participating in either required taking risks and using ruthless ethics and behavior. By heading to California, growing beards, and drinking in saloons but cloaking this behavior in the language of duty, honor, and suffering, middle-class Americans found a cultural position that preserved their moral and economic superiority. As Roberts puts it, they learned to "slum," a stance that still serves us well by placing saloon and corporate brawls as well as acts of racial or sexual rebellion within the definition of respectability. The language used by the women and men of the Gold Rush generation to describe this experience demonstrates the power of the culture that surrounded them, as well as the significance of the rush to California in changing the cultural rules.

Both Johnson and Roberts occasionally overreach their evidence in their efforts to recreate the "perverse paradise" of California in 1849. But both books achieve a "gold standard" by making something as familiar as the Gold Rush uncomfortably new. By chipping away at an old story and rearranging the

pieces into rich new narratives, Johnson and Roberts remind us how differently important big events are and that historians have a responsibility to give voice to the ways in which these stories can be remembered.

ANNE HYDE

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GLENN C. ALTSCHULER and STUART M. BLUMIN. *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 316. \$35.00.

This book is one of the most significant (and certainly most original) studies of American political history to appear in the last twenty years. The authors, Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, attack the widely held notion that the nineteenth century was a "golden age" of American politics, one in which Americans cared deeply about the issues, participated actively in party affairs, and voted to a degree unparalleled before or since.

Altschuler and Blumin challenge virtually every facet of this stereotype. To make their case, they focus on what they consider to be representative American towns: Greenfield, Massachusetts; Kingston, New York; Marietta, Ohio; Augusta, Georgia; Clarksville, Tennessee; Dubuque, Iowa; Opelousas, Louisiana; and, for the postbellum years only, Graham, Texas; Auburn, California; and Syracuse, New York. Compiling lists of party activists and analyzing their socioeconomic backgrounds, the authors conclude that a small number of very active politicians did most of the partisan organizing in these locales. Newspaper and diary accounts suggest to them that most party meetings were sparsely attended, usually by the same handful of enthusiasts, and that party leaders in these towns often had trouble convincing *anyone* to represent them at regional and statewide conventions. A survey of diaries and novels leads the authors to assert that Americans discussed and thought about politics far less frequently than political historians have imagined. When Americans did broach the subject of politics, they did so almost apologetically, knowing that it would annoy any but the most devoted partisans. Even the impressive voter turnout figures, Altschuler and Blumin argue, need to be reconsidered. Many voters knew nothing of the candidates or the issues and were unenthusiastic about casting ballots. They often did so only because of a sense of civic obligation, a desire to socialize with friends and neighbors, pressure from party activists who would not take "no" for an answer, or because they wanted the liquor, food, or (in later years) money that the parties offered to those who voted. So many Americans were unenthusiastic about politics because, the authors contend, their middle-class sensibilities clashed with the workings of a "rude republic."

Scholars who follow the latest trends in American political history will already be familiar with much of this. In 1997, the authors published long articles in both the *Journal of American History* and *American*



*Quarterly* that laid out the book's thesis. But the additional detail and documentation provided here allow the reader to probe more deeply into the authors' evidence and methodology. The book's most important sources are newspapers, unpublished diaries, and manuscript collections, but because political enthusiasts edited newspapers, Altschuler and Blumin give special weight to diaries and the letters of non-politicos. Yet with the exception of three manuscript collections from the Historic Deerfield Library, every manuscript diary and correspondence collection that I could find cited in the footnotes (there is no bibliography) is from the library of Cornell University, where the authors teach. Cornell does have a fine collection, but it is dominated by material from western New York's small towns and villages. One wonders if urban diarists and letter writers might have discussed politics more often or differently. The best-known New York City diary of the period, for example, that of George Templeton Strong, overflows with discussions of politics. Strong was not a political activist, yet his diary makes constant reference to political affairs. This book would be more convincing had Altschuler and Blumin attempted a more thorough survey of diaries and manuscript collections.

The authors do make excellent use of a wide variety of novels to substantiate their view that nineteenth-century Americans were far less interested in politics than we have previously imagined. But many of the Civil War era's prominent literary figures, such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allen Poe, Herman Melville, Richard Henry Dana, Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mark Twain, Cornelius Mathews, and E. Z. C. Judson would rate as political "activists" according to the authors' standards. This fact does not necessarily contradict their thesis, but given that most of these writers are mentioned in the book, Altschuler and Blumin ought to have at least noted the apparent contradiction between the apolitical lives these writers created in their novels and the politically active lives they actually led.

Anyone who has carefully studied nineteenth-century urban politics will wonder, after reading this book, whether the authors' thesis applies to big-city politics. With the exception of a few references at the very end of the book to urban voting fraud, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and St. Louis are almost totally absent from the story. Most of the towns focused upon, by contrast, had no more than a few thousand residents in 1860. The observations Altschuler and Blumin make about political life in these small towns are more difficult to substantiate in the big cities. Urban primary meetings and rallies were well attended. Cities sent trainloads of convention delegates and hangers on to the state and national party conventions. Working-class Americans, especially Irish immigrants, appear to have talked about politics constantly in their neighborhood saloons, though such discussions generally involved factional intrigues and patronage more than substantive

policy issues. But the many urban election riots of the antebellum period, often involving issues such as abolition, temperance, and the role of religion in public schools, suggest that many city voters were not apathetic.

Perhaps the "American political nation" was a divided one. In the countryside and small-town America, where it seemed as if real political power was distant and beyond residents' influence, Americans may have been unwilling or unable to attend meetings, conventions, and rallies, and ambivalent about the candidates, the parties, and politics in general. In the big cities, by contrast, the proximity to power and the relatively easy access to political meetings may have fostered a more activist political culture. Altschuler and Blumin might argue that the proportion of "activists" in the big cities was no greater than that in the small towns, but given the relative anonymity of urban life, it will be hard for future researchers to compile such figures for nineteenth-century America's major cities.

In any event, Altschuler and Blumin have written an original, thought-provoking, and persuasive book. Many more Civil War-era Americans lived in the Greenfields and Grahams of America (or outside of towns altogether) than in major cities. One might quibble with some of the details or the choice of sources, but only the most closed-minded defenders of the prevailing view will fail to reconsider their assumptions about nineteenth-century politics in the wake of this path-breaking study.

TYLER ANBINDER

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KIMBERLEY K. SMITH. *The Dominion of Voice: Riot, Reason, and Romance in Antebellum Politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. viii, 318. \$40.00.

It is always difficult to review (or be reviewed by) someone from another discipline. Kimberly K. Smith is a political scientist whose book is intended as a contribution to democratic theory. More specifically, she challenges Jürgen Habermas and others who insist on identifying democratic politics with purely rational debate. Smith would expand the notion of what is legitimate by giving a politics of interest, passion, compassion, and even violence a historical pedigree, thus finding ancestors for the dissidents of the 1960s, among others, in the abolitionist movement. Her points are made through an examination of key texts, including novels, speeches, essays, and editorials from the period between the American Revolution and the Civil War. Most historians, while perhaps sympathizing with the end, will find the exercise questionable.

Smith's book avoids many of the more obvious problems. It is intelligent, wholly accessible, and free of jargon of any kind. Many of its components, such as a close reading of the problem of reason and morality in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), or an explanation of the function of preaching and prophecy among classical

Calvinists, should impress readers regardless of discipline. But even without the numerous minor errors, or a warning that Philadelphia's "Native American" Party in the 1840s did not speak for the American Indians (p. 61), it is clear that Smith is writing for those more familiar with political theory than with the historical period under review.

Her central concern is to show the evolution of what were considered proper ways of conducting politics in a democracy. Part one, "Mob Action," deals with the way in which popular rioting was no longer seen as legitimate, once actual "democracy" was established in 1789. Part two, "Public Debate," traces the intellectual strengths and weaknesses of the "Neoclassical" and "Enlightenment" models of oratory and debate. Part three, "Narrative Testimony," suggests the means—notably the narratives of ex-slaves—by which the abolitionists appealed not to reason but to moral sympathies.

There are apparent omissions. Smith may explain the absence of voices from the South, or from vigilantes, by noting that her account is largely confined to the perceptions of literate urban northeasterners, especially in Philadelphia. More puzzling, in a long account of several ways abolitionists might have explained how we apprehend moral truths, is the lack of any mention of the Quaker doctrine of the "inner light," which was surely familiar to many of them. But the more important problem is not with the content of her arguments but with whether anyone at the time actually cared, or was listening.

Smith routinely ignores her own caveat about literate northeasterners, violating all the rules of modern social history by claiming that whole categories, "Americans" or "antebellum Americans," variously "believed" or "understood" a number of points on which, by definition, Americans actually disagreed powerfully (if indeed they were aware of them at all). Most fundamentally, that is, a historian would like to see just who, or how many, real historical figures actually agonized over the issues that, with enormous subtlety, Smith discusses. Medieval scholastics debated with each other, as do modern political theorists, but it is less clear that some actual subset of "antebellum Americans" ever shared her unease with the fact that, for example, in the "Neoclassical model," an oration delivered by a figure of known probity has no more intellectual substance than one delivered by a scoundrel. Did Theodore Weld really need the theoretical justifications Smith supplies (a discussion of the several definitions of the word "sympathy" goes on for pages) for publishing ex-slave narratives, with their appeal to emotion rather than logic? Contemporary protesters against, say, the World Trade Organization may welcome intellectual support and would doubtless appreciate comparison with the abolitionists. But any similarities they might imagine, however vague, would

still be simpler, sturdier, and more visceral than the ones that this book attempts to sketch.

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LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780–1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 228. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

In this book, Leonard L. Richards attempts to revive the so-called Slave Power thesis, an idea most famously articulated in the 1850s by abolitionists, Free Soilers, and Republicans. In short, the Slave Power thesis held that slaveholders dominated national politics and used their control to promote the interests of the peculiar institution. Richards believes that twentieth-century historians have been too quick to reject the notion of an aggressive slave power, dismissing it as the manifestation of a "paranoid style" in American politics (p. 18).

Richards devotes much of his first chapter to historical debate on the Slave Power theory, a discussion initiated by the scholar Chauncey S. Boucher in the 1920s. Richards believes the Slave Power thesis to be more complex than its critics have conceded, and he therefore sets out to clearly define the problem. He argues that Republicans such as William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln best made the case for the Slave Power thesis in the 1850s. In agreeing with Lincoln and Seward that the slaveholders exercised disproportionate influence in national politics, Richards suggests that southern political dominance rested on several elements, including the three-fifths compromise, sectional balance in the Senate, southern power to sway national party caucuses, and political patronage.

After defending the Republican interpretation of the Slave Power, the author pursues a two-fold agenda. First, Richards seeks to demonstrate that southern domination of national politics was a real phenomenon and to trace its origins and changing manifestations over time. Second, he portrays the origins and evolution of the Slave Power as a theory, examining the growing northern belief that slaveholders wielded disproportionate power in the political system from the ratification of the Constitution until the Buchanan administration.

According to Richards, the Missouri Compromise brought northern anger at southern political power to the forefront, yet Missouri was admitted as a slave state when fourteen northerners voted with the South on the Missouri bill. An examination of such northern supporters of the South, or doughfaces, marks the distinctive contribution of this book. Richards examines the way that doughface votes in Congress affected the southern legislative agenda on measures such as the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the annexation of Texas, the gag rule controversy, and the Wilmot Proviso.

Richards argues that doughfaces were more likely to

be Jeffersonian Republicans than Federalists, and were much more likely to be Democrats than Whigs. He traces the evolution of Martin Van Buren and his followers from doughfaces to Free Soilers, bringing many Democrats to lambast the Slave Power by the 1840s. By 1848, Richards argues, the doughface phenomenon was largely limited to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the West. During the Pierce administration, Stephen A. Douglas emerged as the leader of congressional doughfaces, and Richards examines the demise of the northern wing of Jacksonianism in the wake of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act. Richards shows that, by the 1850s, the number of northern friends of the South had declined spectacularly.

By emphasizing the crucial role played by northern doughfaces as swing voters, Richards's book highlights the tenuous nature of the proslavery coalition in Congress in the antebellum years. Tables and maps illustrating the breakdown of closely fought Congressional votes help provide a composite portrait of the doughfaces, a group that too often has been defined by the careers of a few highly visible leaders. Richards effectively makes the case that the doughfaces were crucial to maintaining the domination of a Slave Power, and this book will long remain an indispensable source on the topic of northern support for slavery.

Richards's book leaves the reader wanting to know more about how southern politicians worked to influence their northern allies. Research in the manuscripts of southern politicians might have illuminated the negotiations and deals surrounding Congressional votes on key sectional issues examined by Richards and helped to strengthen his case for southern control of national politics. Moreover, the work would have benefited from additional attention to the ideological underpinnings of the Slave Power thesis. Greater detail on political culture and the evolution of political attitudes toward the South would more fully explain the rise and fall of the proslavery coalition in Congress.

Still, Richards offers an effective examination of northern politics in regard to the slavery issue, and he convincingly defends the Slave Power thesis. His painstaking examination of key votes and deft portraits of political jockeying among northern Democrats add a valuable new dimension to our understanding of the politics of slavery.

WALLACE HETTLE  
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CRAIG STEVEN WILDER. *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn*. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 325. \$35.00.

Craig Steven Wilder's book joins a number of superb and ambitious recent works that explore the intersection of working class studies and urban history. Studies by Tera W. Hunter, John K. W. Tchen, Kimberley L. Phillips, Leslie M. Harris, and Sundiata Cha-Jua, for example, move over many decades and place commu-

nities of color in relationship to white elites, to white workers, to the state, and to regional, national, and sometimes international economies. These works promise to transform social history. Even in such impressive company, however, Wilder's stylish and inventive book stands out.

Wilder studies Brooklyn, the city in which he grew up, in a way that illuminates the continuing burdens of racism over an astonishing 350-year sweep, even as it decisively demonstrates changes in the forms white supremacy took. His ten chapters are both chronological and thematic but the chronologies overlap fascinatingly. Thus, for example, a chapter on the commercial revolution covers the 1797 to 1876 period and is followed by one on Irish-American/African-American relations from 1800 to 1865. This structure bespeaks the author's close attention to change over time and also to multiple processes.

Drawing on Barbara J. Fields's important work, the book regards race as an ideology and consistently ties racism to power. Although sometimes schematic, the emphasis on "greed" rather than "hate" (p. 12) as the driving force in white domination provides excellent glue for the early chapters on race and social power and on "Little Masters." The latter chapter excels at showing how tightly interwoven slavery was in the development of Brooklyn, under both Dutch and British colonialisms, despite small units of family-based production. Refusing to see "intimacy" as precluding "brutality" (p. 30), Wilder also provides fine accounts of African-American resistance to slavery. The sections on the opposition of Brooklyn masters to emancipation, and on the city's ties to trade in southern-grown "Queen Sugar," show how proslavery politics survived slavery in New York. Material on banking and slaveholding complements and extends Ronald W. Bailey's fine work on slavery and northern capital.

As Brooklyn grew industrially and commercially, it went from being almost one third African American in 1800 to two percent in 1850. In considering these years, Wilder shows how incorporation of white workers, and especially Irish immigrant workers, created a narrow white class consciousness in Brooklyn. His portraits of the heroism of black abolitionists, the isolation of white abolitionists, and the workings of white politics present well-known figures (such as Henry Ward Beecher and Walt Whitman) in wholly new ways and introduce the reader to figures who ought to be well known (William J. Wilson, who wrote as "Ethiop," for example).

Emancipation nationally left the cross-class "legacy of mastery" alive in Brooklyn, according to Wilder. Post-Civil War exclusions prevented full citizenship, generated North-of-Dixie Jim Crow, and, above all, precluded the development of an "ordinary black working class" in Brooklyn. Wilder dissects the impact of blacks being excluded from skilled work in the Navy Yard, from building trades jobs, from better-paying municipal jobs—indeed, according to a 1985 study, from 130 of 193 industries in New York City's private

sector—with precision. He fully shows that the impact of such exclusion fell across the color line, producing both black misery and white unity. The superb material on federally sponsored loans and the spread of residential segregation in Brooklyn buttresses a larger argument for the “whitening” (p. 178) impact of New Deal policies.

Much more could be said, especially regarding the apt historicizing of intraracial differences in black Brooklyn, the strong treatment of African-American religion, and the tables and illustrations that will make Wilder’s book especially useful for students. This is a major contribution to the history of race, and one that will repay the close attention of theorists as well.

DAVID ROEDIGER  
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WALTER JOHNSON. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. 283. \$26.00.

Winner of prizes from his press and fellow historians, Walter Johnson’s account of the antebellum domestic slave trade reveals with telling detail the horror of what could be called America’s equivalent of the Holocaust. To be sure, unlike Adolf Hitler’s death-dealing camps, the objective was to sell and transfer some two million African Americans, chiefly from the Upper South, to buyers in the burgeoning Cotton States. The infamous New Orleans slave pens are central to Johnson’s investigations. Yet, as in the twentieth-century Nazi camps, the specter of death was a frequent if unwelcome visitor. Slaves deceptively had to step forward as healthy specimens but then might promptly die, to the distress of inexperienced buyers. Probing fingers and luridly close inspections could not always discover the venereal disease, breast with incipient cancer, tubercular lungs, or heart damaged from overwork. Despite Johnson’s elegant evocation of slavery’s monstrousness, we will never fully comprehend how its casualties endured the soul-destroying wretchedness of their plight.

Among the outstanding qualities of this work is its cogent analysis of white motives, conventions, and behavior in the commercial process. According to Johnson, the slave market was essential not only to southern economic life but to the social and cultural order as well. First-owner buyers sought to improve their financial heft. Yet they also dreamed about how mastery over a single chattel enhanced their standing in a rank-conscious society. If all went well in successive purchases, the non-slaveholding farmer might become a power to reckon with. To buy a housemaid meant his good wife could rehabilitate roughened hands and daintily retire to the parlor. In addition, Johnson shows the intimacy between racial stereotyping and marketplace decisions. Reputedly sharp-witted, light-skinned slaves, it was feared, might pass for white and escape. A seasoned, allegedly slow-minded

black hand was deemed preferable. Moreover, Johnson expertly reveals how, to guide their destiny, articulate slaves manipulated a would-be buyer. Occasionally (e.g. the *Creole* mutiny), insurgency threatened white domination. Although individual escapes, attempted or successful, constantly vexed traders and buyers, Johnson affirms that coffles, chains, secure lock-ups, and the utilitarian lash remained efficient deterrents.

In spite of its merits, this book cannot escape criticism. Johnson’s conclusions are not invariably supported by his evidence. He underestimates the psychological perils that slaves experienced when faced with the hazards of sale, abrupt separation from lifelong associations and family, and distant, unpredictable resettlement. Wisely he admits that the anti-slavery autobiographies, one of his chief sources, often concealed “the anger, dissimulation, sexuality, and occasional brutality of real slaves’ daily lives” (p. 7). The account is flecked with illustrations of slave hysteria, chronic depression, uncontrollable grief, suicide, and repressed fury. Yet, Johnson concludes that slave communal life was not substantially damaged by the terrifying prospect or brutal reality of the human traffic. Moreover, he concludes that slave resistance was nobly pervasive. Yet, by his own exposition, opportunities to strike for freedom were sadly scarce and therefore seldom tried. Despite notable exceptions, severely oppressive and divisive circumstances almost inevitably prompt betrayal more often than mutual loyalty.

At the same time, Johnson often attributes any sign of kindness from masters, some of whom refused to disperse a family, as mere gestures of paternalism. Was there not a single white soul affected by the pathos of the slave market? Finally, Johnson rejects the relevance of honor and shame in trading decisions and aspirations. Orlando Patterson, in *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982), concludes that from earliest times slave societies have universally been honor societies, although not all honor societies have embraced slavery. Also, recent studies of nineteenth-century European and Latin American honor could have been a source of enlightenment. To be sure, ethical priorities varied widely from one nation to another, but in the slave South, for instance, slave traders, like professional gamblers, were considered vital to the interests of gentlemen-planters. Yet because of rampant, dishonorable cheating, such parties seldom won the gentlemanly denomination. Throughout, Johnson’s own realistic descriptions belie his dismissal of the anthropological approach, which Julian Pitt-Rivers and J. G. Peristiany developed nearly forty years ago.

The book’s defects by no means outweigh its well-recognized strengths. Johnson’s insights, too numerous to mention, are often original and profound. The book should be a top selection for all serious students of southern antebellum society. Furthermore, we can hope that this work will stimulate further quests into



the many tragedies of the slave-merchandisers' heart-sickening, hellish world.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN  
University of Florida

JANE RHODES. *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 284. \$39.95.

Surely Mary Ann Shadd Cary's life and work have not gone unnoticed in the literature on the nineteenth century. She has reaped attention in African-American, women's, and press history and has been presented as a plucky, progressive black female with a propensity for vibrancy and no less for vitriol. The unusual woman we witness on the pages of Jane Rhodes's book made her mark in many spheres, including education, the press, and the antislavery movement. Shadd Cary is best known for being the first black woman in North America to edit and publish a newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*, which she circulated from Canada amid much opposition during the pre-Civil War years.

At the outset, it should be noted that this is a well-written, well-woven, and well-researched book. Rhodes's primary sources are practically impeccable. Guided by previous scholarship, including that of Jason Silverman, Rodger Straitmatter, and Frankie Hutton, Rhodes provides the first solid account of Shadd Cary's life and work. In so doing, she helps to propel her subject to greater academic accessibility and concomitantly to appropriate historical recognition.

Shadd Cary is a challenging historical figure, so maverick and ingenious for her time and so much her own woman. But these qualities are difficult to make sense of in any epoch, in any gender or genre. A prime example of this difficulty can be seen in treatments of outstanding figures such as Carter G. Woodson, who, while they worked boldly and brilliantly for their race, did so in ways that alienated others. It is all the more difficult to assess Shadd Cary because she possessed present-day expansiveness of mind and outspokenness.

There is nothing sweetly reverential about Rhodes's account, which, for better or worse, is mostly detached even as it gives us valuable new insights. Particularly well honed and insightful is Rhodes's treatment of Shadd Cary's familial background. For example, the carefully made connection of Shadd Cary's paternal heritage to German Hessians who fought as British mercenaries in the Revolutionary War, and of her mother's lineage to Santo Domingo, clarify evidence heretofore opaque. Near the end of the book, Rhodes relaxes her detached tone and waxes sentimental when she describes the death of Shadd Cary's son Linton as her "final heartbreak" (p. 212).

The subtitle of Rhodes's book may have been an editor's suggestion and is probably a misnomer. This book is, finally and remarkably, the work that gives Shadd Cary her due, and that is enough. The subtitle

appears to represent an effort to give the book more accessibility in the library catalogue sense, for the work clearly does not span overall protest in the nineteenth-century black press.

Rhodes does not place Shadd Cary in the context of Canadian journalism history and provides us with no insight as to how historians of Canadian journalism have dealt with her. Were Canadian-born women publishing newspapers during Shadd Cary's years in Canada? How was she viewed by "fellow" Canadian publishers of her day? Most assuredly, Shadd Cary was the most provocative black female interloper of her time in Canada, if we are to be guided by what we know of her life and Rhodes's interpretation. She made a difference there, just as she did wherever she lived.

FRANKIE HUTTON  
Howard University

LAURA F. EDWARDS. *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Any-more: Southern Women in the Civil War Era*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. x, 271. \$29.95.

Laura F. Edwards has undertaken an admirable effort in this synthetic work on southern women during the Civil War era. She has produced an engaging book that, in linking the political strife of the war to the social history of the southern household, will perhaps be most useful in an undergraduate curriculum. Scholars in the field, however, will probably want a more substantial examination, one that draws more deeply on the primary sources.

As Edwards explains in the introduction, her book is meant to be a "synthetic, interpretive work that rests on scholarship in southern women's history" (p. 5). In this regard, her book relies mostly on the growing body of secondary literature that covers this field. She also uses some primary sources, allowing her to personalize her story along the way. Moreover, Edwards adopts a broad scope for her book, examining the experiences not only of elite plantation women (the ones who came closest to the Scarlett O'Hara stereotype identified in the title) but also of poorer white women, free black women, and enslaved women. Her study is organized with a chronological focus on the war years: before, during, and after.

The "before" part of the book concisely summarizes the literature that has examined the positions of privileged confinement for elite white women of the antebellum era. Edwards looks, too, at the constant cycle of work undertaken by yeomen women, noting that their significant contributions to the household economy were matched by a commitment to preserve their independent status. She effectively summarizes the literature on slavery and emancipation in discussing the unique conditions experienced by black women.

Some of the book's best discussions come in the final section on the Reconstruction years, when Edwards is

able to show how both white and black households were transformed and politicized in the aftermath of the conflict. She demonstrates, for example, the important political contributions made by freed black women to the Reconstruction experiment and how these women were, in effect, empowered by the notion that suffrage was not simply the property of black men but of the larger black community. She notes, too, how elite white women turned to new standards of domesticity as a way to define their womanhood, now that the war had destroyed the class and race foundation on which they had previously based their femininity. Edwards offers some interesting discussions of the differing standards of sexual virtue that southern women upheld, finding that much less restrictive notions of womanly respectability prevailed for poorer white and black women in the prewar and postwar years.

The book, perhaps inevitably, suffers from some overly broad generalizations. Thus, Edwards devotes considerable attention to the experience of Harriet Jacobs in her discussion of slave women, finding in her story evidence for a slave community that could, at times, offer protection to women who, like Jacobs, endured extreme abuse from the slave system. But many enslaved women lacked the support that Jacobs had, and they would no doubt have questioned just how viable and protective the slave "community" was. Indeed, recent scholars have questioned the usefulness of this concept of a slave "community" in light of slaveowners' constant interference in slave life. To her credit, Edwards also deals with Unionist women in the South; but she confines this discussion almost completely to the small group of yeomen women from Walker County, Alabama, for whom she has evidence. She concludes, in fact, that these women "not only enabled the opposition [to the Confederacy] but also endured the consequences" (p. 98). One is left wondering, though, how and why Unionist women managed to "endure" in ways that poor Confederate women did not. Finally, Edwards's discussion of elite white women in the postwar years rests heavily on the experiences of Gertrude Thomas, a woman who followed a singular path from economic devastation to postwar reform. Using Thomas as her model, Edwards tends to simplify complicated postwar trends, noting at one point that "the rise of domesticity coexisted comfortably with increased educational and professional opportunities for middle-class white women" (p. 183). Continued debates and anxieties about the possibility of women—northern and southern, black and white—working both inside and outside the home raise questions about how comfortable that coexistence might have been, especially in the strong patriarchal culture of the American South.

Edwards's book provides a helpful entering point for undergraduates, many of whom would, no doubt, point to Scarlett's story as a classic illustration of the trials of Civil War womanhood. Scholars, though, who place little stock in the Scarlett stereotype, will want to look

elsewhere to get a more complicated analysis of the topic.

NINA SILBER  
Boston University

BARRY SCHWARTZ. *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 367. \$27.50.

Barry Schwartz admits that "the realities of Lincoln in American memory resist easy theorizing" (p. 309). In this book, he analyzes collective memory, particularly its role as framework of meaning, by considering America's understanding of Abraham Lincoln from his death until the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in 1922. (A second volume, not yet published, will follow Lincoln's image from the Depression and World War II through the era of the civil rights movement to the end of the twentieth century.) Schwartz argues against those scholars who, he says, find collective memory entirely constructed and generally manipulative, indeed coercive. Schwartz insists that the commemorative image of Lincoln, while not controlled by the historic Lincoln, is limited by it, and that no one class or interest has ever succeeded in monopolizing Lincoln's commemoration.

Schwartz demonstrates that neither during his lifetime nor in the decades immediately after his death was Lincoln viewed unambiguously. Too many people disagreed with his policies. The Civil War generation had to pass away for Lincoln to become the most eminent American icon. In the early twentieth century, "the Progressive reform movement adopted Lincoln as its dominant historical symbol" (p. 24). At the same time, Lincoln commemoration increased, with emphasis on the strength of his presidency, his compassion, and his image as "man of the people." The last, Schwartz argues, permitted Lincoln to serve as a symbol of inclusion. During World War I, his role as commander in chief and fighter, however reluctantly, for freedom was keyed to Woodrow Wilson and his war for democracy. By 1922, when both the Lincoln Memorial, a Greek temple, and the Lincoln birthplace, a log cabin housed in another temple, were completed, the "two Lincolns" of national memory—the epic hero and statesman, the folksy man of the people—had iconic representation. Lincoln's image alter, says Schwartz, not just because of the desires of a manipulative elite but because changing times affect what we need from the past.

An immediate question, which Schwartz acknowledges, is how this book differs from Merrill D. Peterson's *Lincoln in American Memory* (1994). Most obviously, Schwartz's treatment is more extensive. Schwartz's own answer is that where Peterson is descriptive, he is analytic: Peterson tells how; Schwartz explains why. The distinction is somewhat subjective—one person's description may be another person's explanation—and certainly favors theory and the language of social science over historical narrative.

Schwartz discusses many ideas already offered by Peterson, and before both of them came others, including Lloyd Lewis, *Myths After Lincoln* (1929). Schwartz often discusses the same stories, the same statues, the same people and interpretations as Peterson does. Nonetheless, Schwartz's work is the more incisive.

After reading this book, I reread *Lincoln in American Memory*. The two studies complement each other well. One cannot replace the other on the bookshelf; they can stand next to each other. There will probably still be room enough for Peterson when Schwartz's concluding volume appears.

REID MITCHELL  
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MARK E. NEELY, JR. *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism*. (A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1999. Pp. vii, 212. \$35.00.

In this volume, Mark E. Neely, Jr., details what Civil War historians familiar with wartime primary sources have long observed: civil liberties in the Confederacy were never as secure as southern white civilians liked to think they were, nor as inviolate as political and military leaders claimed. Yet the myth of Confederate adherence to constitutional protection of civil liberties has been tenacious, and, as Neely points out, "dangerously untested by documentary research" (p. 9). To address this issue, so often ignored in Civil War historiography, Neely has divided his study of political prisoners into four parts: "Liberty and Order," "The Confederate Bench and Bar," "Dissent," and "Jefferson Davis and History." The core of his research comes from 4,108 records of "civilian prisoners held by military authority in the Confederacy" (p. 1).

Part one analyzes the abuses of civil liberties by General Thomas Hindman in Arkansas. Hindman's reign in the Trans-Mississippi area demonstrated in microcosm the challenge faced by the Confederate government in Richmond. Hindman took upon himself the task of getting frontier Arkansas on its feet both economically and militarily, and he accomplished much without worrying about trampling on civil liberties. Neely argues that the myriad complaints against Hindman's excesses did not prevent Jefferson Davis from recognizing the necessity of his general's course. Neely cites the use of martial law to control abuses of alcoholic beverages as another example of necessity ruling the thinking of Confederate officials.

This theme continues through Neely's discussion of southern lawyers and judges, who frequently sacrificed civil liberties on the altar of order. Neely accurately sums up the attitudes of many southern whites: "The political ideas of the 1850s were artificial defenses from northern attacks and from expressions of disapproval from world opinion. When war came and tipped the political scales abruptly in the direction of order

instead of liberty, many Confederate citizens were willing to go along, and their lawyers and judges usually went along with them" (p. 79). Habeas corpus commissioners in the South (counterparts of military commissions in the North) no doubt used such rationales to excuse abuses of free speech and suppression of dissent in areas cited by Neely: east Tennessee, western Virginia, and North Carolina. Neely argues that while there is no obvious single reason for repression of political dissent, "belief in the political idea of the Union" (p. 132) was frequently cited in records of individuals. The desire for order and the suspicions that naturally arise from a civil war also had a deteriorating effect on various social groups that comprised what the author termed "the other Confederacy" (p. 134), that of Native Americans, African Americans, the foreign born, poor whites, pacifists, religious minorities, and those of varying physical disabilities, especially mental illness. All felt the hard hand of repression from those who feared the world of intrusion that the war created.

In his discussion of Davis's role in the repression of southern rights, Neely demonstrates that Davis probably never realized the contradictions in his complex view that suppression of civil liberties as a result of military necessities was not the same as the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, which Davis regarded as a weapon against political dissent. Neely concludes that Davis in reality acted much like Abraham Lincoln in carrying out his role as commander in chief "when it came to the rights of the civilian populace. Both showed little sincere interest in constitutional restrictions on government authority in wartime. Both were obsessed with winning the war. Both ultimately obeyed their great national mandates to hold on to the territory they had" (p. 167).

Neely claims to have debunked the myth of Confederate government devotion to the protection of civil liberties, and certainly he has shone the spotlight on an area frequently avoided by historians. As mentioned, however, this myth has been long apparent to historians familiar with the letters and diaries of Confederate soldiers and civilians. Neely's contribution is his presentation of a broadly based analysis of case studies that reflects the breadth and depth of civil liberties abuses by the Confederate government and military. He demonstrates that this aspect of the Confederate experience and its ramifications have much to tell us about the impact of the Civil War on Confederate society and culture.

MICHAEL B. BALLARD  
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JOHN C. WILLIS. *Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War*. (The American South Series.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xiv, 239. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

On a summer drive through the Mississippi Delta, one can see crop rows planted to within inches of buildings

and even whole towns, resembling kudzu converging on an abandoned car or a sleeping dog. On the surface, the Delta seems to have remained a changeless region during its short history since American settlement. Yet the northwest portion of Mississippi, lying between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, has inspired countless memoirs and scholarly studies. John C. Willis's gracefully written monograph complements the rest by examining the commercial development of the Delta from a veritable frontier in the 1860s to a plantation empire at the turn of the century.

The Delta's postbellum denizens—southerners (black and white), northerners, and foreigners—dismissed Henry Grady's vision of a commercially diverse New South and reverted to the old monoculture of cotton. The rich soil, some of the best in the world and delivered anew every spring by flooding rivers, was supposed to make Delta pioneers rich. They were rich in tasks if nothing else.

For planters, finding and keeping labor to work the land proved to be the greatest chore. In the older, established areas near the rivers, dominated by the white elite, some landowners executed the state's apprentice law, designed to keep able-bodied blacks at work; a few planters benefitted from convict leasing, and still others tried importing Chinese labor. Ultimately, free black labor prevailed in the region, first in the form of squad labor, which smacked of the old slave system but with wages. By 1867, blacks seeking greater autonomy had convinced cash-strapped planters in much of the plantation district to accept some type of sharecropping arrangement.

The best opportunities for landownership for freedmen and new arrivals lay in the undeveloped backcountry, a seemingly forbidding place of wild animals, swamps, thick cane brakes, and uncleared woodlands where a rough-hewn individualism often undermined community cooperation. Much of the backcountry land was owned from a distance, much of it undeveloped, and all of it heavily taxed. Wanting to avoid public auction from tax seizure, unable to lure affordable labor to clear the land, and unwilling to supervise sharecroppers, many landowners showed a willingness to sell or to rent under terms favorable to freedmen. The backcountry became "the poor man's promised land," where tenant farming was more common than sharecropping and upward mobility was a real possibility (p. 48). During the 1870s and 1880s, black landownership peaked, as did black political strength. One of the great success stories of the period was the founding of Mound Bayou, a farming colony in which 800 black families by 1907 owned 30,000 acres. Throughout the Delta, newly constructed railroads transported cotton, timber, livestock, and people between backcountry and towns, where an emerging class of foreign-born merchants came to replace the once-dominant cotton factor.

But the decades of whites and blacks sharing economic success and political power would quickly devolve into a forgotten time. White Democrats could no

longer tolerate the high taxes of Reconstruction-era government or the potential of blacks controlling eighty percent of the electorate. The disfranchising constitution of 1890, voter fraud, economic intimidation, and good old fashioned violence rendered blacks politically impotent. The worst agricultural depression in history added to such misery. Just at the time that the Delta "wilderness surrendered to cultivation," a process in which blacks played a major role, black farmers were reduced to sharecropping and peonage, establishing the rhythm of life that governed the Delta for much of the twentieth century (p. 114). Large white landowners emerged as the dominant class, a status they enjoy today.

Although offering no important challenges to the many scholars who have studied the postbellum plantation economy, Willis has written an important book that helps to flesh out the Delta's distinctiveness from and similarities to the larger South. But ultimately his history presents a circumscribed view of the past. He assumes, or leaves the impression, that all of life revolves around the political economy. Consequently, he avoids important questions. Although he is dealing with frontier history, for example, he is uninterested in how the undeveloped environment and converging cultures acted upon one another. Jews, Chinese, Slavs, and a host of others added a discernable pattern to the Delta's social fabric, but Willis gives these groups only passing attention. Equally disappointing is Willis's failure to examine the organic connection between the late nineteenth-century Delta and the Blues, the music that articulated the lament of the disfranchised. Willis has otherwise written with a passion and an eloquence that make one want to read more.

JACK E. DAVIS

*University of Alabama at Birmingham*

STEPHEN KANTROWITZ. *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. 422. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, Jr., had a dream, and in that dream, white, male, landowning farmers (i.e. society's producers, in his view) held sway in their individual households and the wider world. In the last third of the nineteenth century, Tillman's dream was threatened by black voters, by renegade whites who helped to form interracial political coalitions, and by non-productive moneyed powers who colluded at the national level with federal authorities. Tillman spent his life fighting these enemies in words and deeds, both of which Stephen Kantrowitz carefully analyzes. The fight required a measure of reform, but Tillman was no radical, his biographer reminds us. Limited by his understanding of Reconstruction, which meant an alliance of inept black officials and traitorous whites kept in power by a tyrannical federal government, Tillman refused to join the Populist Party with its



interracial overtones and federally sponsored subtreasury proposal. Instead, he seized on the free and unlimited coinage of silver as a panacea, and the most significant reforms that he achieved in South Carolina were a state liquor dispensary (established in 1892 and dispensed with by the state legislature in 1907), an agricultural and mechanical college for white males (Clemson University), and an industrial and normal school for white females (Winthrop College).

Tillman's potential radicalism was tempered not only by his views of Reconstruction but also by his class position, Kantrowitz argues, for Tillman was a wealthy man. The son of a planter who had owned forty-eight slaves and 2,500 acres of land, Tillman had become the largest landowner in his township by the end of the 1870s. Tillman's wealth, however, was obscured by his rough, crude manner and appearance; by his persistent attacks on merchants and corporate power; and, most importantly, by the terms his conservative political opponents used in attacking him. Thus, even his former neighbor and first scholarly biographer, Frances Butler Simkins, described Tillman as "a one-eyed rustic."

White small farmers and the landless poor whites who bothered to vote supported Tillman, because he convincingly railed against their conservative enemies, and because he was very successful at annihilating through violent means more radical opponents who might have offered meaningful alternatives. Through his emphasis on Tillman's violence and his elite status, Kantrowitz stresses that physical violence against African Americans and their political allies was organized and orchestrated in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction South by wealthy men. Indeed, the author concludes that by laying the blame "for the worst acts of violence" on poor white men, wealthy whites like Tillman perpetrated a massive disservice not only to southern poor whites whose image has been so maligned but also to the nation as a whole. Such a view, the author explains, "allows white non-Southerners, against all evidence, to blame someone else for the country's continuing struggle over the meaning of race." "Worse still," he continues, "it encourages the belief that the defeat of Birmingham's Bull Connor represented victory over white supremacy itself" (p. 308).

In addition to Kantrowitz's major achievements in relocating Tillman in the southern social structure, and in underscoring the violence that he and his ilk used to regain political ascendancy after the Civil War, the author might have further enhanced our understanding of his subject by more carefully wedding the private and public dimensions of the man's life. For example, did Tillman's view of sex as "the most powerful law in nature," and his most un-Victorian belief in a potent female sexuality, enhance his fears of African-American men and their alleged sexual proclivities? From Simkins, we learn that Tillman's parents never joined "the polite society of Edgefield Courthouse," and that his mother was an ambitious, frugal woman who

increased the family's slaveholdings by over seventy percent and almost doubled its landholdings in the twenty-seven years following his father's death. Does this information not assist us in understanding why Tillman was so easily mistaken for "a rustic," and why he never placed women on a pedestal?

Did, perhaps, Tillman's father's legacy as a Universalist, a fact also unmentioned by Kantrowitz, along with Ben's nonreligiosity, enhance his appeal on the Chatauqua circuit and make his racist pronouncements more acceptable than they might have been had they been couched in Christian fundamentalist garb? Do they help us to understand why a man like Tillman was on the Chatauqua circuit in the first place?

These extensions aside, Kantrowitz has gone a long way in this book in reminding us that the reconstruction of white supremacy in the post-Civil War South did not result from white "racial instinct" but from "hard work," and that it was accomplished in no small measure through physical force. Contemporary U. S. society could well benefit from wide dissemination of these reminders.

GAIL WILLIAMS O'BRIEN  
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JOHN DAVID SMITH. *Black Judas: William Hannibal Thomas and The American Negro*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2000. Pp. xxvi, 386. \$34.95.

Rightly frustrated by mainstream America's long-term attraction to harmful racial stereotypes, contemporary historians of the black experience have been reluctant to engage in research that might serve to validate negative views. While fully warranted, scholarly counterproposals that celebrate subcultural values and lifestyles have done little to enhance understanding of black America's ideological diversity and have obscured the workings of its complex internal class structure. Over time, this sort of selective historical amnesia has the potential to produce a dangerously skewed, overly self-conscious racial narrative dominated by longsuffering strivers and courageous "race men." Here, of necessity, the discordant voices of black nay-sayers are muted to highlight an assumed communal consensus. Political correctness is well served, but objectivity suffers and new stereotypes threaten to replace the old. John David Smith's meticulously researched intellectual biography of William Hannibal Thomas provides a useful antidote to any such romanticization of the African-American past.

To early twentieth-century reformers such as W. E. B. Du Bois, the egotistical, enigmatic Thomas was a self-hating "Negro cynic" who had lost touch with the "inner strivings" of his people (p. 197). Black critics called him a "saddle-colored Judas" and a "modern Haman" in disguise (pp. 203, 224). Even the typically restrained Booker T. Washington considered Thomas "a man without a race" and worked behind the scenes to suppress his writings (p. 209). Indeed, a solid phalanx of community-based opposition greeted

the publication of Thomas's race-bashing *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become* in 1901. Galvanized by an avalanche of negative reviews in the black press, Boston-area club women campaigned to have the book removed from library shelves, while blacks in Memphis threatened to lynch Thomas if he dared to set foot in their city. As Smith acknowledges, these angry, aggrieved protestors were not simply being thin skinned. Unlike more obscure racist tracts, the controversial book sold well for the prestigious Macmillan imprint, received positive reviews in mainstream journals, and soon became a valued source of "insider" information that could be used to advance the backward-looking social agenda of white racial radicals.

Likening himself to John the Baptist as "a voice crying in the wilderness," Thomas was a freeborn "third-generation mulatto" who had served the Union Army with distinction during the Civil War and thereafter labored as a preacher, educator, lawyer, and journalist (pp. 177, 251). He employed a harsh, pessimistic variant of the jeremiadic tradition in order to initiate a reformation in manners and morals among New South freedmen. Tragically, *The American Negro* contained some of the cruelest, most defamatory rhetoric imaginable. Arguing that the "fostering care" of slavery had protected antebellum bondsmen from their own "savage" instincts, Thomas held that most had been carried "beyond their depth" by emancipation (pp. 178, 180). Only those who, like himself, had shed their "negro idiosyncrasies" were exempt from censure (p. 174). Lawless, improvident, and cursed with "an imperious sexual impulse," the vast majority of blacks were considered grossly inferior to white role models (p. 181). They were "the waste product of American civilization" and could be redeemed only through a structured system of race control, reeducation, and "judicially administered whipping" (pp. 176, 187). Finding innate depravity in almost every aspect of black life, the hyperbolic Thomas was a one-man wrecking crew for group self-esteem but insisted that he was merely offering "honest race criticism" (p. 181).

A seasoned historiographer and recognized expert on postbellum racial thought, Smith refuses either to dismiss or to demonize the embittered black Negrophobe. Instead, he artfully and effectively traces the development of Thomas's views, placing them in the context of Jim Crow-era inegalitarianism. Without resorting to undue speculation, he utilizes both modern trauma theory and nonpsychoanalytic insights gained through exemplary historical sleuthing to explain Thomas's purposeful disassociation from blackness. Ultimately, Smith concludes that emotional distress over being identified with "bestial" Negroes and intense physical pain stemming from a wartime limb amputation were central in shaping "Black Judas's" hypercritical, self-destructive personality (p. 183). Although Thomas preferred to be considered a "colored American," his projection of undesirable traits onto darker-complected members of the race could not

mask his loathing for those parts of himself that he identified as "Negro." Providing a fresh perspective on the diversity of the African-American experience, this finely nuanced, dispassionate study of self-imposed racial marginality ranks among the very best of recent biographies and is a major contribution to black intellectual history.

WILLIAM L. VAN DEBURG  
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CHRISTOPHER ROBERT REED. *"All the World is Here!": The Black Presence at White City.* (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xxx, 230. \$39.95.

Christopher Robert Reed adds to the growing recent historiography surrounding world's fairs, more specifically the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. In this book, he addresses the presence and participation of those he refers to as black "diasporans," a group that includes blacks from around the world as well as African Americans. At the time of the exposition, several prominent African Americans, including Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells, contributed to a pamphlet entitled *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, which complained about the lack of black representation on the planning commissions as well as the lack of a separate "Negro Exhibit" to showcase African-American accomplishments since slavery. Reed implies that the existence of this pamphlet has obscured the actual presence and participation of blacks in the exposition both in formal and informal capacities. With this book, he hopes to establish that the Columbian Exposition was, in fact, a pivotal event in the lives of those who attended it as well as a place to demonstrate black intellectual development and unite proponents of differing philosophies for racial uplift. Although Reed concentrates mainly on African-American participation in the fair, he also addresses the reactions of both blacks and whites to the exhibits from Dahomey and Haiti.

While Reed certainly shows that there was a strong black presence at the fair and involvement in its operations, he does little to prove his other points, which become obscured by his use of language. Sentences such as the following, which begins a chapter describing black participation at the exposition, do little to illuminate Reed's purpose: "They met at the fair, or if they did not actually meet, they—a simple, functional, but powerful pronoun conveying the variety inherent in animate and inanimate influences—surely could have" (p. 101). The book is poorly organized and could benefit from thorough copyediting to eliminate both typographical errors and convoluted sentences. As a result of obscure language and poor organization, Reed occasionally appears to contradict himself. In his chapter on social class, for example, he seems to be challenging St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's divi-

sion of the Chicago black community into "respectables" and "nonrespectables," yet for the previous four chapters he has been using these terms to describe the community himself.

Reed's research seems fairly extensive, but at times he belabors trivial points which have little bearing on his overall argument, such as his discussion of whether or not a featured singer's range was adequate to enable her to sing the songs she supposedly had performed at an alternate venue (p. 138). Some sections, such as the chapter on workers at the exposition, are clearer and better thought out, but the tone throughout the book is highly uneven. In addition, Reed's use of extended quotes from modern secondary sources is distracting, although alternatively his somewhat elliptical references to other sources require clearer explanation. His topic is undoubtedly an interesting one, but his book fails to live up to its promise.

JACQUELINE M. MOORE  
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JOY S. KASSON. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000. Pp. ix, 319. \$27.00.

Joy S. Kasson divides her book into two parts: a chronological section called "Performances," and a topically arranged portion called "Perspectives." "Performances" traces "Buffalo Bill" Cody's life from inauspicious beginnings, to an unspectacular first phase of his show spent before American audiences from 1883-1887, followed by a triumphant tour of Europe and spellbinding success at the Columbian Exposition. After 1893, showman Cody squandered his resources by playing the part of a tycoon in the Gilded Age. Part two of the book, "Perspectives," concentrates on Indians in the Wild West show and includes a chapter on "Memory and Modernity."

The author apparently split the book to document the "fictionalizing" of Buffalo Bill and the Western experience through the Wild West show in part one, and added the second section to study the entertainment's impact on two different groups: mainstream Americans and Indians in the show. Kasson uses the term "historical memory" to explain how societies structure and remember their pasts in a manner consistent with their visions for the future. According to Kasson, "historical memory" resulted from Americans and Europeans watching a "fictionalized" view of the frontier and accepting it as reality. As for Indian performers, they were caught in an entertainment that victimized them but provided subtle outlets for self-expression.

While "historical memory" introduces new terminology into the discussion about Cody and his entertainment, the proposition that he and his publicists touted accuracy, while carefully crafting the show, repeats what other historians have argued. What separates Kasson from most others are American Studies and New Western History perspectives. Her American

Studies background produces some excellent analysis of images associated with the show, but the New Western History perspective robs her book of balance. Her showmen are crafty and calculating, and audiences are inert and gullible. Such a view will please many in the historical profession; however, it oversimplifies the process whereby the show became "America's National Entertainment."

Wild West show programs always remained experimental. Applause and ticket sales determined the direction of Wild West shows, as did the mood of America, which changed over time. These factors caused the showmen to adjust their presentations. For example, Buffalo Bill's entertainment took an unexpected direction when cowboys became folk heroes, not because of any predisposition on the part of Cody or his publicists but because audiences in America and abroad elevated cowboys to the status of nature's noblemen and personifications of everything "American." More research would have revealed that viewers often criticized the show, chided its principals, and recognized that the showmen bent the truth. Moreover, Kasson often forgets that shows tried to stay contemporary by reflecting current events. In this regard, the Congress of Rough Riders of the World, militarism, and imperialism as themes in the show after 1893 deserve more attention. If, as Kasson asserts, Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was an American "fiction," it was an attempt to write the great American novel in a very public way, a process made tortuous and historically significant by innumerable rewrites to please legions of observers at home and abroad.

Because Kasson treats the show as fabrication, the people and acts within it become "fictions" within "fiction" that warrant little attention. However, individuals and groups in the show were important because they gave the show dash and color, captivated audiences, and personified those values that propelled the show into "historical memory." Additional research would have enabled the author to present a more complete account of groups such as vaqueros, cowgirls, gauchos, scouts, cowboys, and representatives of the great military powers of the world. Any study of the show needs to recognize the considerable importance of individuals, such as Buck Taylor, Antonio Esquibel, Georgia Duffy, and Della Ferrell.

In interpretation, Kasson's book stresses that the shows created icons, a point made by Richard White's "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill" in *The Frontier in American Culture* (1994). Kasson breaks sharply with Don Russell's sympathetic *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (1960). Her work revives the view presented in *The Making of Buffalo Bill* (1928) by Richard J. Walsh, wherein Cody is a rather average individual catapulted into fame by his partner Nate Salsbury and astute publicists. As for Indians, Kasson's work falls short of L. G. Moses's *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (1996). This is nonetheless a well-written and attractively



illustrated book, and it offers an interesting introduction to Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show.

PAUL REDDIN  
Mesa State College

BRIAN C. HOSMER. *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatlangs, 1870–1920*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xvi, 309. \$35.00.

Brian C. Hosmer's book begins with a simple but unassailable premise: Native peoples have never been passive in their relations with non-Indians, nor have they understood their dealings with outsiders in those terms. While this is hardly a novel approach to American Indian studies, Hosmer does place his subject in a historical context that remains underexamined. The chronological parameters of his study, 1870–1920, mark a time of profound demographic and social collapse for indigenous communities across the continent. The severe challenges that Native peoples faced in these decades are clearly linked to the processes that Alan Trachtenberg has called "the incorporation of America," yet Hosmer presents the capitalist marketplace as an important medium through which American Indians could actively strengthen bonds of community and foster cultural distinctiveness. The period and subject of Hosmer's study allow him to demonstrate the adaptive resilience of Native American communities in even the worst of circumstances, while raising important questions about "the degree to which Indian individuals and social groupings made their own choices" or simply responded to shifts in "global market capitalism" (p. 109).

Hosmer uses two case studies to articulate the challenges and opportunities that native peoples found in market capitalism: the Menominees of central Wisconsin and the Metlakatlangs of British Columbia and southeastern Alaska. Among the Menominee, the last decades of the nineteenth century found the tribe in a struggle with lumber companies that sought to acquire reservation timber through legislative and extralegal action. By a combination of luck and effective resistance, tribal leaders successfully navigated their way through contradictory state and federal policies that sought both to dispossess the reservation of its timber reserves and to integrate individual Indians into the capitalist marketplace. Avoiding the fate of other Great Lakes tribes, the Menominee retained control of their lumber resources, which were exploited by tribal members for both individual profit and the collective financial benefit of the entire Menominee nation. In the process, community was transformed and strengthened as tribal leadership became redefined in ways that favored those who could succeed in regional timber markets.

Metlakatlangs also engaged capitalist markets for

both individual and collective benefit, but the transformations that brought this about were perhaps more extreme than those faced by the Menominee. In the wake of epidemic disease and the onslaught of the Fraser River Gold Rush, the village of Metlakatlan formed out of several Tsimshian bands that came under the direction of the English missionary William Duncan. Through Duncan's energetic and willful efforts, and with the support of English and American missionary societies, the Metakatlan embarked on a number of community-wide entrepreneurial efforts, including fish canning, cordwaining, lumbering, and regional merchandising. Although never completely viable without the financial support of missionary societies, the results were both transformative and stabilizing. This is perhaps best evidenced by the movement of the Metlakatlangs from their village in British Columbia in 1887 to the southeastern tip of Alaska in order to avoid Canadian restrictions on the market endeavors that were at the heart of their community identity.

By the 1920s, both the Menominees and Metlakatlangs were described by government officials as successful models of assimilation. While this assessment undermined any prejudice that Indians were somehow incapable of functioning within market capitalism, it overlooked the simple fact that neither group had actually assimilated. As Hosmer argues, "both societies found in economic development a way to preserve unity, independence, and indeed survival" (p. 219). While such "persistence and innovation" were more often responses to externally limited options than self-directed adaptation, the successes of the two groups indicate "that change was not so mysterious, not so utterly destructive to Indian values, as to be resisted at every step" (p. 151).

Hosmer's book takes up a number of important new directions for the study of American Indian history, including a focus on twentieth-century issues like Native labor, on and off-reservation land use, and the ongoing incorporation of new ideas in a culturally distinct context. In this regard, Hosmer's arguments reinforce the work of scholars he seeks to emulate: Melissa Meyer, David Rich Lewis, and Loretta Fowler among others. This does not make his book derivative, but it does prevent Hosmer from offering significant new insights. Consequently, he is not able to fully reconcile the matter of Native volition with external limitations.

To be fair, this problem has yet to be thoroughly addressed by the field of American Indian history, and Hosmer's comparative analysis of two native groups certainly enlarges our understanding of the political and economic processes that can limit cultural choices. Ultimately, it is the comparative approach of Hosmer's work that is its greatest virtue. By moving beyond a single tribal history, he can more clearly indicate the places where local conditions and cultural particulari-



ties both engage and shape the "world systems" of global capitalism.

MARK SPENCE  
Knox College

MARY H. BLEWETT. *Constant Turmoil: The Politics of Industrial Life in Nineteenth-Century New England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2000. Pp. x, 521. \$40.00.

This tome by the leading modern scholar of the first Industrial Revolution in New England charts the course of organized labor and capital in the region's storied textile industry from the 1850s through the century. The industry's male workers, as reflected in skilled mule spinners impressed with the notion of the family wage, inexorably retreated from a form of confrontational and inclusive unionism that had reached across craft, gender, and nationality for the cautious, male-dominated craft unionism that became the hallmark of the American Federation of Labor. Their employers pursued a strategy of market domination in cheaper goods by resorting to overproduction in order to discourage new entrants, and by relentlessly imposing wage cuts in order to keep down production costs. The resultant class conflict, which was the "constant turmoil" that gives this book its name, produced stilted unions for male operatives best described as the working poor. Despite such poverty, these workmen clung tenaciously to the idea that their manhood hinged on the family wage, on their ability to support wives and children in comfort on their earnings alone. They remained hostile to gainful employment for women (even though female and male children had to work to keep families afloat) and more resistant still to including them in their unions. Thus, working men who lost the class war won a sort of pyrrhic battle in the gender war.

The value of this book lies in its depth of research and capacious vision. No historian of New England textiles has mined its sources more thoroughly or told its story more completely than Mary H. Blewett. She ranges widely across the industrial landscape to give a full and expansive view of the world of the worker, analyzing the relationship between values and stores of experience brought by Lancashire and French-Canadian immigrants to New England, on the one hand, and industrial experiences, on the other. She carefully and convincingly follows the interplay and separation between class and ethnic consciousness, offers revealing biographical sketches of local labor leaders, and gives a good sense of the thinking of ordinary men and women, especially after 1865 or so. If readers do not need to guess what was on the mind of Blewett's workers, neither do they need to puzzle over the thinking of their employers. Her book provides a model study of the making of a provincial elite. It follows textile entrepreneurs from home (or mansion, really) to boardroom in a telling interpretation of their extravagant living standards and reveals patterns of

intermarriage and inheritance that gave rise to firms integrated horizontally through kinship as well as formal organization. The author's strikingly candid discussion of mill management is strengthened significantly by comparisons with alternative policies followed by paternalists and more flexible employers in the region and elsewhere. Blewett demonstrates that her employers flatly rejected any accommodation with unions or, seemingly, with individual workers. It was not for nothing that the Fall River entrepreneurs among them were known as the toughest in the industry. Better than any other historian has, Blewett explains why.

The book also has some disappointments, however. A promising discussion early in the text of middle-class Fall River's populist politics is never realized. Given the rich and important literature on the middling ranks in the industrial unrest of Gilded Age America, it is surprising that Blewett passed up an opportunity to address this aspect of social relations. As Herbert G. Gutman and others have shown, the loyalty of the provincial middle class weighed heavily in the balance of industrial disputes; it also strongly influenced local politics in places like Fall River, where in the 1880s and 1890s industrialists successfully courted small businessmen and perhaps some segments of skilled labor as well through a law and order campaign premised on prohibition and control of the police, and aimed at the industrial working class. An analysis of the social affinities of middling folk could offer an additional explanation as to why an otherwise skilled and relatively well-organized working class in Fall River won only a single strike in the half century covered by this book. It might also offer some insight into how the hegemony of the city's hard-boiled industrial elite actually played out. Much of the book is focused on Fall River itself at the expense of other textile centers. In addition, the text is burdened both by excessive detail that sometimes overwhelms the argument at hand and by loose integration between narration and analysis. Some analytical passages, many with an historiographical bent, appear stuck on, almost as afterthoughts.

That said, this is still a remarkable achievement. It is easily the most distinguished work of its kind ever done and likely to remain the word on its subject for some time to come.

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SARAH DEUTSCH. *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 387. \$35.00.

Scholarship of the past three decades has made persuasive arguments about women's transformational roles in shaping American culture. Through their voluntary groups, early forays into professions, and sheer numbers in the industrial workplace beginning in

the mid-nineteenth century, we now know that women of all socioeconomic backgrounds effected great change despite their political and economic marginalization. Sarah Deutsch breaks new ground by offering convincing evidence of how women shaped American life in a literally more concrete way: by actually changing the physical layout of the city (in this case, Boston) in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Deutsch offers compelling evidence that women were hardly passive victims of urbanization but rather were themselves active urban planners, as they opened voluntary organizations and businesses in the heart of the male-dominated city, started playgrounds and settlement houses, boldly strode across assumed gender lines into public spaces, and generally shaped much of Boston to fit their interests. "The increasing ability of women to negotiate the urban terrain on their own terms was not a mere by-product of some relentless process called 'modernization,'" Deutsch argues, but rather "resulted from the determination of individuals and organized groups to redesign the city for their own purposes" (p. 284).

Deutsch finds that Boston, in the decades straddling the turn of the twentieth century, offers an insightful laboratory for the study of women's activism, for it typified, among other factors, the "female majority, expanding boundaries, a relatively large female labor force, numerous female associations, ethnic and racial diversity, and political struggles between Yankee reformers and immigrant or ethnic political machines" (p. 4). Historians traditionally have not mined women's proactive roles in the bricks-and-mortar shaping of urban geography and Deutsch tackles a large subject. Her polished, well-crafted, impeccably documented study is built on countless examples of women's everyday lives, as she shows how women "reconceived" the city and "challenged the dominant idealized sexual division" (p. 4).

Unlike the straightforward evidence left behind by the male architects and corporate titans who planned Boston's thoroughfares and new skyscrapers, Deutsch instead turns to more unconventional methodology in determining how women envisioned their city. She finds middle-class women easier to follow through their own documentation of reform and voluntary activities: abundant annual reports, meeting minutes, and the physical locations of their organizations, such as the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, which the founders established in the hub of Boston's business district. Working-class women left behind the story of their lives largely through labor movements and workplace activities. Deutsch argues that middle-class white women were far more preoccupied with redefining notions of public space, since they had been precluded from it for so long. Working-class and poor women, in their day-to-day struggles to earn a living, take care of their children, and find adequate housing, expressed far less concern for pushing boundaries, since they crossed such lines every day simply to survive.

But progress was not always linear, for "progress" held various meanings, and attaining it often resulted in solidity or divisiveness among women of different backgrounds. In the rapidly changing urban landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "jockeying for social identity was so complicated partly because there was no consensus on the rules"; women of various backgrounds saw "urban femininity" from vastly different perspectives (p. 51). Nonetheless, women plowed forward, moving from community activism to coveted seats on the school board and eventually to policy making at City Hall. Over the seventy years covered in the study, Boston women went from having few public spaces in 1870 to relative public freedom by 1940.

Deutsch has organized her study thematically rather than chronologically, allowing the reader to understand better the volatile issues and events in which women—and men—of disparate backgrounds combined and often combusted. In the lively and revealing chapter entitled "The Moral Geography of the Working Girl (and the New Woman)," Deutsch explores just how dizzying was the confluence of the socioeconomic mix of no less than the following: middle-class matrons, wild girls "inclined to lewdness," New Women, German drinking halls, racial mixing, Chinese opium dens, middle-class slumming parties, interracial marriage, single women living alone in boarding houses, and prostitution. Perhaps most representative of the difficulty in understanding shifting moral geography were college women, who openly flaunted behaviors of the middle and working classes, "redrew the lines between orderly and disorderly women and blurred the lines between themselves and working girls" (p. 77).

Deutsch's study is reminiscent of earlier groundbreaking work in the gender studies of Suzanne Leacock, Linda Gordon, and Mary Ryan, among others, who awakened us to the influence women exerted despite their second-class social and economic status. The richness of this book lies in opening a new avenue of dialogue about the active stance women took in redrawing the city map and asserting their presence into the male urban dominion. Deutsch humanizes the statistical data and engagingly brings to life the stories of the women who changed urban living. She reveals and unravels the highly complex and often unpredictable relationships that comprised late nineteenth and early twentieth-century urban life. The reader feels the energy, the momentum, of women organizing and agitating their way through the cityscape and attempting—against and despite odds—to feminize the modern American city.

KATHLEEN WATERS SANDER

*University of Maryland University College*

ROBERT KANIGEL. *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency*. New York: Viking. 1997. Pp. xi, 675. \$34.95.

What might be "the one best way" to help Americans understand the life of Frederick Winslow Taylor? Accomplished biographer Robert Kanigel efficiently introduces readers to the originator of scientific management in an account that skillfully blends technical detail with a broad historical context.

"Taylor's name is not as familiar today as in 1912," Kanigel contends, precisely because his creation, scientific management, "so permeates the soil of modern life we no longer realize it's there . . . Taylor bequeathed a clockwork world of tasks timed to the hundredth of a minute, of standardized factories, machines, women, and men. He helped instill in us the fierce, unholy obsession with time, order, productivity, and efficiency that marks our age" (p. 7). In an age when supervisors monitor computer keystrokes of telephone service agents, when business gurus tout "total quality management," it is tempting to see Taylorism everywhere. Kanigel seeks to demonstrate where the philosophy of scientific management came from and how Taylor made it so compelling.

Initial sections trace how a privileged youngster, seemingly headed for Harvard, abandoned academic stress for an industrial apprenticeship in post-Civil War Philadelphia. Part three (1879–1886) covers Taylor's years as a boss at Midvale Steel, when his fight against institutionalized slowdowns and rule-of-thumb guesswork laid the foundation for what would become scientific management. Implementing differential pay rates and breaking down work routines with stopwatch timing, Taylor sought "a new paradigm of order, standardization, and system . . . Taylor was dragging Midvale into a new industrial epoch where . . . the messy, casual way of the old shops would no longer do" (pp. 222–24).

Part four (1886–1900) reviews Taylor's career as an expert consultant to various companies. Kanigel provides superb descriptions of Taylor's experiments at Bethlehem Steel, which defied expectations by proving that super-heated tools doubled metal-cutting speeds. Part five (1900–1910) details how the resulting demonstrations astounded engineers and industrialists worldwide. Aided by his crowd of disciples, Taylor transformed his accomplishments into legend, giving neatly packaged presentations to ever-larger audiences. Louis D. Brandeis's assertion that efficiency measures could save American railroads one million dollars per day catapulted scientific management into national headlines.

Before reaching the end of Taylor's life in part six, Kanigel interrupts himself with a survey of Taylorism's influence throughout the century to come. He analyzes why Taylorism's utopian promise caught the imagination of both American liberals and Soviet communists, even as critics accused it of degrading labor. Kanigel stresses that scientific management provided tangible advantages over old-style factory operations. Production efficiency enabled employers such as Henry Ford to raise wages while lowering consumer prices. Millions, finally able to afford a car or other luxuries,

considered that an acceptable exchange for ceding shopfloor control. Taylor reminds modern readers, jaded by the availability of free pens and cheap televisions, to keep abundance in perspective. "As we push buttons . . . it can be easy to forget that in the 1870s and 1880s, when Taylor was coming up, making things was not so taken for granted . . . [D]ecry his influence, damn his practices, and condemn his insensitivity as we may, we cannot forget that some part of our material prosperity can be laid at his door" (p. 18).

Strengths of this book include vivid technical accounts of nineteenth-century metalworking and machine-tool testing. Kanigel also provides subtle yet convincing links between Taylor's life and the evolution of his philosophy, emphasizing the psychological impact of being thrust into a working-class environment. Kanigel concludes that, ironically, the supremely independent Taylor could never have tolerated his own regulations. "If there was tragedy to his life, it was . . . that he hadn't the imagination to conceive a world in which many might share the freedom and autonomy he took for granted" (pp. 545–50).

Like Taylor in dramatic enthusiasm, Kanigel's writing occasionally tangles in mixed metaphors. "Taylorism was the express train that, early in the twentieth century, bore us full tilt to the future, one from which, like it or not, we could never get off. Such was its seductive hold that it could seem as if all of modern life was bewitched by a Taylorist demon" (p. 10). Yet it is Kanigel's fascination with Taylor that provides such a rewarding overview. Other historians offer more in-depth accounts of Taylor's time studies, planning departments, and specific labor conflicts; Kanigel's book should prove valuable to a wider audience of historians and the general public.

AMY SUE BIX

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REGINA LEE BLASZCZYK. *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 380. \$39.95.

As Regina Lee Blaszczyk argues in this perceptive and dense history of china and glassware manufacturers and retailers, "consumption for ordinary people was made in America" (p. 1). Lured by prices lowered by mass production, images fashioned by savvy designers, and self-definitions of the good life, immigrant to upper-crust consumers furnished their houses with pottery and glassware in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Manufacturers imagined their customers, as the title suggests, through their collaborations with retailers and with other new professionals, including home economics experts, industrial designers, and market researchers. In the end, however, all were beholden to the consumers, whose diverse tastes and varied spending abilities created seemingly endless opportunities for both success and failure in the home furnishings industry.



Blaszczyk traces those successes and failures by exploring the archives of several home furnishings companies, conducting oral histories with approximately thirty persons involved in the industry from the 1930s through the 1990s, and scrutinizing many years worth of trade journals. Her extensive research reveals a great deal about the manufacturing side of the consumer culture equation. In the case of home furnishings, Blaszczyk argues convincingly, manufacturers were clear in their role as responders to rather than creators of consumer demand. As a result, this history of china and glassware purchased by American consumers is a business history as well as a history of the development of what might be called a "people's aesthetic." Designers of Wedgwood pottery learned to set aside personal preference in favor of consumer taste; manufacturers of pottery sold at F. W. Woolworth and other five-and-dime stores went even further, relying on the ideas of chain store pottery buyers rather than formally trained artisans. By the turn of the twentieth century, American firms produced most of the pottery purchased by "the poor and middle classes," while foreign manufacturers still produced ninety-five percent of the ceramics purchased by the rich (p. 91).

In each of her case studies, Blaszczyk weaves together a history of technology, design, marketing, and consumer analysis. One chapter, for example, focuses on the Corning Glass Works, pioneers of Pyrex glass cookware. This corporate tale is remarkable not for its smooth and easy read but because of the ways in which Corning struggled to understand and then meet the demands of its consumers. Relying on home economists, advertising executives, and market researchers, Corning managers believed they could "capture, cage, and control the consumer" (p. 209). The consuming public, however, had its own ideas about design, color, price, and standardization, and the Pyrex story makes clear how powerful consumer interests are.

Manufacturers of pottery and glassware generally ignored the purchasing power of male consumers. Edward Libbey, president of the Libbey Glass Company, was one exception. Libbey understood the need to develop nascent consumerism in men. He saw that young men decorated their college dormitory rooms, and older men continued to purchase certain household accessories. Libbey then targeted young men with stories of how masculine glassware ornamented the offices and homes of the wealthy. The Steuben Glass company paid close attention to men half a century later, providing "clean cut, and strong" glassware (p. 271). Most other manufacturers, however, sometimes to their favor but often, Blaszczyk argues, to their detriment, focused almost exclusively on imagining the female buyer.

The rise of the pottery industry in the United States accompanied the consumer acculturation of immigrants. One of this book's most interesting discussions is that of the relationship between the industry and the Woolworth chain. The "woman with the shawl" (p.

103) saw pretty dishes, something that could be displayed, as the epitome of American respectability. As a result, the chain store and the pottery industries grew simultaneously and in conjunction. People "who ate rather than dined" (p. 111) challenged many professionals' notion that the common people hoped most to imitate not only the practices but the aesthetic of the wealthy. What Blaszczyk's research reveals is that working and middle-class consumers had their own distinctive tastes and took pride in making what they saw as independent decisions around color and style. Dime store pottery came to have a distinct look that dime store consumers relished rather than avoided.

This study explores not only the business decisions but also the industrial developments that shaped the glassware and pottery industries in the United States. Experiments in design and new technologies affected sales, competition, and the artistic quality of products. Decals replaced painted china; new glazes challenged the decal hold. The most successful products, though, linked technological advances with attention to style. Fiesta tableware provides an example of the weaving together of industrial and artistic expression in products for everyday living. Blaszczyk makes a convincing case that those who study consumer culture can benefit from greater understanding of these links between manufacturers, consumers, and the many professionals who influence the place where those two meet: the product.

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DONALD T. CRITCHLOW. *Studebaker: The Life and Death of an American Corporation*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 273. \$39.95.

Despite its flaws, this is clearly the best book yet on the failure of Studebaker as an automobile manufacturer. It is emphatically a policy study, for Donald T. Critchlow's primary concern is how management decisions were made, not styling or horsepower. Tradition played a significant role in shaping corporate culture and strategy at Studebaker, until rejected by new executives in the 1950s.

In 1852, Henry and Clement Studebaker opened a small blacksmith and wagon-making shop in South Bend, Indiana. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company made a plausible claim to be the world's largest vehicle manufacturer. The five brothers were demanding but paternalistic employers who put a strong emphasis on quality, creating "a unique institutional mentality" (p. ix) which carried over into the automobile age. The firm moved reluctantly into automobiles, led by Frederick Fish, the son-in-law of John M. Studebaker, the last of the founding generation. In 1911, Fish yielded control to Wall Street interests that took the Studebaker Corporation public and recruited the dynamic



Albert R. Erskine to lead the firm into the new era. It was Erskine who closed out the wagon business in 1920 and made Studebaker one of the leading independent automobile manufacturers of the 1920s. Erskine skillfully portrayed Studebaker as a generous and caring firm that paid good wages and offered attractive benefits. Late in the decade, Erskine tried to expand into both luxury and low-priced models, a disaster worsened by continued payment of generous dividends well into the Depression. By March of 1933, Studebaker was in receivership and Erskine was unemployed.

Studebaker workers sought better working conditions through unionization, although Critchlow's account shows little familiarity with the American Federation of Labor's halting efforts to organize industrial unions, and misidentifies the C.I.O. by its later name rather than the original Committee for Industrial Organization. The new corporate leaders, Paul Hoffman and Harold Vance, raised enough capital to remain in business and eventually signed a contract with the United Auto Workers Union that provided for a small wage increase but sharply limited the power of abusive foremen.

World War II meant round-the-clock production on cost-plus military contracts and four prosperous years for the company and its workers. Studebaker was first in the market with new models after the war, and business was good until 1950. Then came declining sales in the face of strong competition from the Big Three, along with high labor costs, loose discipline in the plants, and factional disputes within the union. The only remedy was a merger with other independent automobile firms, but the Studebaker-Packard deal of 1954 joined two weak firms in a hurriedly arranged combination with no clear plans for the future. Two years later, Studebaker-Packard needed help from the Eisenhower administration to avoid bankruptcy. Critchlow covers the sad decline of Studebaker in detail, with particular emphasis on the failure of the firm to invest in capital equipment. Management turmoil and bitter labor disputes further weakened Studebaker, and late in 1963 the board of directors ordered a halt to automobile production in South Bend. Unfortunately for historians, the corporate records say nothing of how or when the decision was made.

Critchlow writes clearly, although there are an annoying number of minor errors of fact. Far more serious was his decision to place all of his statistics and much of his commentary in the endnotes. There are fifty-seven pages of notes to support 191 pages of text, forcing readers to shift constantly to find the full story. The author relies very heavily on the corporate archives, including clippings from the trade press, but many points lack references. Although he makes good use of existing oral history collections, he did no interviews of his own for the book.

Critchlow sometimes suggests that Studebaker's cause was hopeless, in the face of impossibly strong competition, but he also blames both management and

labor for a long series of bad judgments. Strangely, he gives little attention to marketing, although in the view of many critics Studebaker's greatest problem was not building automobiles but trying to sell them. This is certainly not the final word on Studebaker, but no one interested in the fate of America's smaller automobile manufacturers can afford to neglect Critchlow's study.

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NANCY MARTHA WEST. *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*. (Cultural Frames, Framing Culture.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xviii, 242. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

Snapshot photography may be ubiquitous in contemporary popular practice, but serious attention to its history is far too rare. Nancy Martha West's engaging and well-documented book, however, provides a lively and imaginative study of George Eastman's brilliant marketing of Kodak cameras. By focusing on advertisements from the first Kodak camera in 1888 through the 1930s, West creates an interdisciplinary context for the snapshot's transformative influence on American culture and consumerism. Kodak did nothing less, she persuasively argues, than help to shape our culture's ability "to see, to remember, and even to learn" (p. xv).

In the preface, West admits a private motivation: snapshots symbolize a reclamation of her own father's loss. Nostalgia, she writes, is both her point of view and her critical subject. Then, by analyzing stages in Kodak advertising, West touches on salient themes in American history. Documenting Kodak's accent on ease of use, simplicity, and playfulness, she proves Eastman's marketing genius.

In chapter two, we learn of Kodak's vital link to bourgeois leisure, vacations, automobiles, and the rise of amateurism through ever more effective advertising campaigns. Of particular interest is West's research on the "Kodak Girl" (also discussed later in the context of the "Vanity Kodak" and fashion), who perfectly matches the contemporaneous New Woman. The Brownie, introduced in 1898 at a price almost everyone could afford (\$1), finally served, West writes, to fully democratize the camera. Linking the Brownie with nostalgia, modern conceptions of childhood, and toys, West further explores crucial American ideals.

West's most compelling chapter, however, deals with the fact and symbolism of death in snapshots and their advertising. By constructing the intriguing notions of photograph as "relic" versus "antique," her research reveals core metaphysics in images that both deny and embrace death. Roland Barthes, in *Camera Lucida* (1980), reinforces her analysis of the most emotional and poignant aspects of the medium. Weaving together Kodak advertisements with postmortem and spirit photography, West argues that earlier representations allowing for sorrow and loss were replaced by those of timelessness, youth, and vitality. And in her

coda, West briefly discloses the "hushed up" "Death Campaign," wherein Kodak literally expunged death not only in photography but from its own advertising.

Her analysis of that slippery concept, nostalgia, is particularly engaging. While often dismissed as delusional escapism, West believes that nostalgia is a "potentially valuable mode of feeling" born of "necessity, resistance, even hope" (p. 10). As noted in the context of the Autographic Kodak's advertising during World War I, photography promised to "function as a means of survival, even if the price of that survival is 'stories' that omit much more than they tell" (p. 199).

Kodak snapshots, West writes, allowed people to "arrange their lives in such a way that painful or unpleasant aspects were systematically erased" (p. 1). In much academic literature, it is almost as if scolding historians disapprove of snapshots, "blaming" them for erasing the truth of pain, death, divorce, illness, and conflict from human lives. But why "blame" photographs for not telling us the stories we barely tell ourselves? Could it be that we all still demand or expect a "truth" promised, but always denied, by photographs?

Despite the book's provocative, thoughtful, and thorough approach, there are some points I wished were discussed in more detail. A deeper analysis of the photographic album and its concomitant history in constructing nostalgic narratives seemed notably absent. And despite reproductions of Kodak's extensive advertisements, I wondered why there were not any snapshots to illustrate crucial ideas, alongside some consideration of their formal ingenuity. Kodak's global presence in European markets (perpetuating American cultural ideals?) by the turn of the century is another neglected topic. And there seems ample opportunity to tiptoe into the present, with disposable Kodak cameras still promising ease of use, spontaneity, and fun.

Quibbles aside, this book offers an excellent and needed overview of Kodak's impact, the history of advertising, and issues of gender and childhood, death and nostalgia. In the end, I think, West understands that intellectualizing the snapshot becomes difficult, given its undeniable power. Her book allows for that ineffable quality while providing a firm foundation of research.

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JOSEPH E. TAYLOR III. *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 421. \$34.95.

This book by Joseph E. Taylor III describes the forces leading and responding to salmon decline in the Pacific Northwest. At the heart of the book is the century-long effort to replace dwindling runs through salmon prop-

agation, overseen by hatchery managers and federal and state fishery officials. Efforts to "make salmon" failed miserably and actually exacerbated salmon decline. Neither fish making nor taking was entirely within the control of fishers or fishery officials. The biology of salmon, the particularities of rivers, and the periodic influence of El Niño, natural forces not well known or even identified in the early years of salmon propagation, confounded people's understanding of salmon decline and efforts to restore salmon runs. The social side of the story is complex as well. Development in general, not just fishing, destroyed salmon, and fishing was not a uniform activity but one shaped by equipment, race, ethnicity, and spatial distribution. Taylor complicates the story of salmon decline, telling us we need to abandon "simple stories" that identify scapegoats but fail to protect salmon. Readers may wish to consult Jim Lichatowich's *Salmon Without Rivers: A History of the Pacific Salmon Crisis* (1999), which makes many of the same arguments but from the point of view of a career fisheries biologist.

The historiography of the book, with its sturdy scholarly apparatus (147 pages of notes, including a long bibliographical essay, accompany 257 pages of text), won the American Society for Environmental History's George Perkins Marsh award and the acclaim of important historians, including William Robbins, Richard White, and William Cronon (who provides a foreword). Taylor's prescriptive gestures *beyond* writing history, however, raise concerns about his (and any historian's) approach to nonacademic environmental forums.

Taylor's historical interest stems from a present crisis and the need for a history that is "more accurate and, ultimately, more useful" than the scapegoating that has shaped debate about salmon (p. 254). His account of nineteenth and early twentieth-century fishery science and management contributes significantly to a more accurate understanding of the past and leads to his most compelling recommendation: "stop making salmon" (p. 257). But Taylor rashly extends himself to prescribe guidelines for "how to help people without hurting salmon" (p. 257). His thorough documentation ceases at about 1970 (though Taylor never defines the chronological limits of the book). Without seriously engaging who is involved now or the precise terms of contemporary debate, the passionate frame of the book leaves the impression that Taylor is alone since the 1970s in calling for a "multidimensional perspective" in "resolving the salmon crisis" (p. 12). This is unlikely.

Many environmental disputes attract something like the "roundtable" Taylor imagines at the end of the book, but his version appears in a vacuum of information about efforts to get stakeholders and experts together to assess environmental problems. Taylor pictures a conversation where "everyone is there, but before anyone can speak, they must first say a mea culpa for their contribution to the problem," beginning "with suggestions of how each group could limit their

impact on salmon and salmon habitat" (p. 255). (Salmon, of course, might be on the table, but not at it, much less offering mea culpas. In the foreword, Cronon notes that "speaking for salmon" is "difficult," suggesting that it is possible. Thankfully Taylor does not attempt this.) "The broader our perspective," Taylor says, "the less patience we have for snap answers" (p. 257). But Taylor has effectively cleared the imagined table of any voice except his own, and any lack of patience is an obstacle at real roundtables. Some modesty is in order about the role of historians in environmental analysis and conflict resolution. The historian, if one is included, does not set the rules for conversation. At best, Taylor can document the grueling fortunes of fisheries and habitat management. Beyond that, assuming someone invites him to the table, he must participate as one voice among others. How Taylor interacts with policy makers and fishers, or what roundtables exist where his scholarship is invited, remain unknown.

Taylor's emphatic call for "everyone's" mea culpa is troubling as he does not offer his own. Worse, he reminds us that anglers' pro-salmon newspaper and TV ads use timber and hydroelectric power, affecting the salmon they wish to preserve (p. 254). A caution about glass houses: this book made of paper, published through Weyerhaeuser's Environmental series, is an environmental conundrum with particular relevance to the Pacific Northwest salmon habitat. The prosaic obligation to offer a limited history (which Taylor does very well), locating it in a documented context of contemporary debate (which he does not), would place Taylor's claims within the kind of "multidimensional perspective" he recommends. Although Taylor gestures beyond historiography, the book rings false in that regard.

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DAVID VAUGHT. *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920*. (Revisiting Rural America.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 280. \$38.00.

With all that has been written about rural labor relations in California, it is surprising that so little has been written about rural employers. In this book, David Vaught makes the argument that growers need to be understood on their own terms. Vaught seeks to understand the growers in their "cultural context," but this is surely the book's most problematic element.

The author revisits a number of thorny subjects, including the infamous Wheatland riot of August 1913. Vaught presents many new aspects of the confrontation and the subsequent political turmoil surrounding the trial of two members of the International Workers of the World (IWW). He navigates the thicket of progressive agencies and misplaced intentions with ability, and the detail of this discussion is definitive.

Yet when Vaught concludes that the events of Wheatland diminished the growers' "credibility as cultural guardians," he reasserts an insubstantial argument.

Growers talked an attractive rural ideal, and why not? When Fresno and Davisville literally came into bloom with young orchards during the 1890s, they did exemplify a garden ideal. They were gorgeous places where the density of settlement created a landscape of vineyard, home, and town with virtually no precedent. That growers reveled in the beauty they created and dedicated themselves to building a more progressive society as a reflection is an interpretation that makes sense. Social goals and the physical alteration of space go hand in hand, influencing and reinforcing each other. Ian Tyrrell's *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (1999) is a more elaborate argument for a garden ideal in California.

The problem for Vaught arrives when growers discovered that they could not harvest their twenty-acre orchards with family labor alone. Vaught finds himself in the same position as the growers he depicts: caught between a vision of rural community and the economic necessities that threatened to undermine it. Time and again, growers chose the latter to the point that the subject of rural community appears and disappears from the narrative almost at the same instant. It may be time for some corrective to the materialist/economic school of interpretation, but with no tangible political manifestation, grower idealism remains a cultural artifact in Vaught's account, which explains little about why they behaved the way they did.

The fact that some growers and civic leaders believed that the raisin business should/could be "more than manufacturing" belies the existence of others who believed it should be just that. Farming is not manufacturing, but what other farmers in the United States of 1900 even thought to make the comparison? That thought and the action that followed it remain a compelling way to understand what made fruit growers different from other farmers. Vaught makes an effective turn when he takes on Carey McWilliams and *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory farm Labor in California* (1939). The factual selection and egregious exaggeration replete in that book have long stood in the way of understanding, though it inspired more than one generation of reformers. Vaught is entirely correct to make an issue of the book and to bounce his own ideas off its uncritical popularity.

This study is strongly researched and cleanly written. It offers no better rebuke to the "Factories" model than its intimate account of a Davisville almond grower, following him to town and back to secure his workers. This is the book at its best, revealing the quotidian workings of orchard labor, the face-to-face relationships that have remained obscure for too long.

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YONG CHEN. *Chinese San Francisco, 1850–1943: A Trans-Pacific Community*. (Asian America.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 392. \$45.00.

Yong Chen's book sets out to examine the forces that informed the creation and evolution of San Francisco's Chinatown. To this end, Chen does a masterful job of explaining the multiple perspectives that contributed to the trajectory of this community.

The first half of the book details the material conditions of the Chinese in San Francisco up to 1906. This section avoids the standard tracking of the history of racial oppression visited upon the Chinese in America and instead offers the reader a glimpse into the everyday lives of Chinese people in San Francisco. Gleaned from personal accounts of the era, the text portrays work issues, postal service, food preferences, travel habits, and entertainment. In doing so, Chen demonstrates how the very features that provided a sense of home life for the Chinese in America became the evidence used by nineteenth-century white racists to attack the alleged "yellow peril." Accordingly, the community's Chinese medicine shops, a source of comfort and security for the residents, could be used by racists to prove the immutable foreignness and "inferiority" of Chinese life.

The remaining chapters argue persuasively for the emergence of a self-consciously trans-Pacific sensibility in Chinese America, beginning with the 1905 Chinese-American boycott of American goods, which aimed to end America's Chinese Exclusion laws. The threat perceived by white America that the Chinese government might intervene and join the boycott created a linkage that Chen tracks for the remainder of the text. Chinese governmental intervention failed to materialize, however, and the boycott ultimately failed. But Chen notes that the next year, following the great San Francisco earthquake, when white city officials sought to relocate Chinatown to the city margins, the Chinese government did intervene. This allowed the rebuilding of the Chinese community in its original location, averting an international incident over an urban renewal project. In return, the Chinese community institutionalized the habit of sending funds back to China in times of national need, such as during the famine of 1907. This became an enduring relationship as the fledgling Chinese republic welcomed the foreign investment that Chinese America offered, while the Chinese in America came to believe that a strong republican China could best serve their local interests. Unfortunately, the new republic did not gain in strength, and Chen details the linked fortunes of China and the Chinese in America until the abolition of the harshly anti-Asian Exclusion Law at the end of 1943. As the government in China weakened, Chinese America took it upon itself to control its own fate by polishing its image, policing prostitution and opium consumption, and influencing political policies. Furthermore, Chen places in tension the notion of the Chinese in America as both settlers and sojourners to

assert a sort of trans-Pacific Chinese nationalism. Clearly, many who could afford to travel between their new homes in America and their old homes in China qualified as transnational.

Chen has written a richly detailed study of the forces that shaped Chinatown. Beyond this, the text serves as a useful introduction to the historical issues confronted by Chinese America and points the way for further study in depth.

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CATHERINE MULHOLLAND. *William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 411. \$35.00.

William Mulholland, arguably one of the most important figures in the history of Los Angeles, has not been well served by historians. It is distressing to read so many books and articles that repeat earlier errors, fail to do the research necessary for a balanced portrait, or begin with a preconceived, biased viewpoint. Yet this has been Mulholland's fate as putative biographers and writers (it really hurts to see some of the authors of hatchet jobs referred to as historians) have created a general impression of Mulholland and his adopted city that permits the movie *Chinatown* (1974) to be accepted as a "historical" source.

Historians delving into the Owens Valley-Los Angeles water dispute, still controversial almost a century after its inception, have skirted the biographical issue, utilizing the controversy's main participants without examining their lives and careers. Omitting biographical research reduces the people involved to names representing political positions and robs a narrative of vitality and a sense of the human condition. It also masks less than a total research effort.

Catherine Mulholland has witnessed an evolution of sorts in Owens Valley-Los Angeles historiography over the past half-century, beginning with Remi Nadeau's *The Water Seekers* (1950) and on through the writings of William L. Kahrl, Abraham Hoffman, John Walton, Robert A. Sauder, and Margaret Leslie Davis, among others. All serious studies of the controversy to a greater or lesser degree neglect the question of biography, usually providing at best a sketchy profile of Mulholland's life. Davis's *Rivers in the Desert: William Mulholland and the Making of Los Angeles* (1993) purported to be a biography but left out the first fifty years of his life. Catherine Mulholland, the granddaughter of William, seeks to provide a full-scale biographical study that also examines Los Angeles at its most pivotal moment in history: the decision to grow or languish on the issue of water.

The author quickly dispels any reader's doubts about a relative doing an objective study. She accomplishes this challenge through research into sources neglected or unknown to previous scholars. Painstaking and judicious mining of local newspapers; a major file of



Mulholland correspondence unavailable until the 1990s; archival collections at the University of California-Los Angeles, Berkeley, Stanford, the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP), and the Huntington Library; and critical use of secondary sources attest to Catherine Mulholland's diligence in setting the historical record straight and creating a biography that is neither adulatory nor malicious.

For a topic that has been extensively written about, Catherine Mulholland provides much that is new. She traces her grandfather's family history in detail and follows his career from his humble beginnings as a ditch tender to chief engineer of the Bureau of Water Works and Supply, an earlier version of the DWP. People who appear as names in other studies are identified as to their background, position, and beliefs. Mulholland's service to the Los Angeles City Water Company is fully explored, as are the city's struggles to free itself from that private company's control of the Los Angeles River's distribution system. The events leading to the city's obtaining water rights to the Owens River, and the roles played by Fred Eaton, Joseph B. Lippincott, the Watterson brothers, and politicians and critics are fully described. Only at the end of Mulholland's career, with the tragic failure of the St. Francis Dam, does the narrative falter, as the author refers readers to J. David Rogers's recent scientific analysis as to the causes of the dam's collapse.

Rich in detail, perceptive in analysis, and objective to a degree that should fully allay any suspicions of filiofetism, this biography sets a standard for research that dares historians examining Mulholland or the water controversy to ignore the book at their peril. There should be no excuse in the future for sloppy research or repetition of old factual errors. All that remains now is to reeducate the public so that seeing the movie *Chinatown* no longer makes someone an instant expert on how a corrupt Los Angeles stole the water from the Owens River.

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CRAIG PHELAN. *Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor*. (Contributions in Labor Studies, number 55.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2000. Pp. 294. \$65.00.

In this study of Terence Powderly's role as leader of the Knights of Labor (KOL) from 1879 until 1893, Craig Phelan seeks to rescue his subject from historians' condescension. The idealistic Knights grew rapidly in the 1880s, becoming the largest and arguably most important American labor organization of the nineteenth century. Yet by the mid-1890s, the organization was largely extinct. Despite its short life, the order's dramatic rise, its relative inclusiveness, and its rich tradition of protest have made it a popular subject among labor historians since the 1970s.

Even as the "new labor history" has explored the

Knights, it has focused almost exclusively on the organization at the local level. Phelan's book returns our gaze to the national level of the KOL, with a resolute emphasis on institutional development and elite leadership. The emphasis by historians on the community level has led not only to a neglect of the national institution, he argues, but also to an inaccurate view of grand master workman Powderly. New labor historians have castigated Powderly as a weak, foolish, and arbitrary leader who must bear some of the responsibility for the death of the Knights. Phelan asserts, to the contrary, that Powderly, "despite many shortcomings, possessed the makings of a great leader."

Born into a family of Irish Catholics in the anthracite country of northeast Pennsylvania, Powderly moved to Scranton at the age of twenty, in 1869. He began working as a machinist and quickly emerged as an influential union activist. Initiated into the KOL in 1876, Powderly rose rapidly within the order and won election as grand master workman only three years later. Phelan portrays Powderly as an effective leader of the KOL, particularly during the early years of his tenure. Despite certain shortcomings—he was an emotional and often sickly man, prone to long bouts of illness—Powderly also possessed great charisma and true leadership skills. He campaigned hard and successfully to get rid of the organization's secrecy, which paved the way for its phenomenal growth during the 1880s. Phelan nimbly examines Powderly's position on several key policies, and along the way he demonstrates the inaccuracies in historians' perceptions of the grand master workman. Powderly indeed felt ambivalent about strikes, argues Phelan, but he did not react to them with knee-jerk opposition, as some have said. Likewise, Powderly's reaction to trade unions was not nearly so hostile as historians have argued. Phelan more generally positions his subject as a child of industrial capitalism rather than the small-town boy looking backward to preindustrial morality.

Powderly was comfortable with the highly democratic and decentralized structure of the KOL, and until the final years of the organization he reinforced it whenever possible. Phelan sees this decentralized character as the greatest strength and weakness of the order. It helped make the order attractive to many different people in diverse locations, but it also encouraged factionalism and made it difficult for Knights to survive the employers' attacks that mounted in reaction to the "Great Upheaval." Even as these attacks pushed the order into decline, Phelan argues, "Powderly provided bold, creative and forceful leadership." Yet he also notes that the decline made Powderly autocratic, foolish, and inclined toward paranoia, which sounds like a recipe for trouble.

This important book brings a much needed, honest, and very well-researched appraisal of Powderly's strengths and weaknesses. Readers should note that this is not actually a biography of Powderly, since key parts of his life—his role as mayor of Scranton and his

work with Clann na Gael, for example—receive very little attention. Reading Phelan's study, one thinks also about how interesting it might be to contextualize Powderly more carefully in terms of his gender and race. Phelan repeatedly mentions that rank and file Knights saw Powderly as a role model for his manliness, for example, but he does not really examine what that meant or why it carried such power. Now that Phelan has so skillfully begun the project of reassessing Powderly's role in the KOL, perhaps historians will be able to ask questions such as these.

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HOWARD KIMELDORF. *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. x, 244. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

During the early twentieth century, labor organizations in the United States were formed in the shadows of the opposing ideologies of capitalism and socialism. While the American Federation of Labor (AFL) championed unions in the context of existing economic arrangements, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) sought to remake the entire society. But it would be a mistake to conclude that workers joining these labor organizations were promoting the organization's overarching ideology. At the local level, unions were built not as the result of the transformation of workers by theory or doctrine but out of working people's ongoing search for a viable strategy for gaining power at the workplace. Whether affiliated with the AFL or the IWW, workers practiced the art of the possible, with few demonstrated preconceptions about the proper orientation of their union. This is the argument of Howard Kimeldorf's book.

Kimeldorf suggests that the negative propaganda that the AFL and the IWW each propagated about the other has for generations obscured their practical similarities. Both groups sought power "at the point of production": that is, through the direct use of economic muscle rather than by means of political influence. True, the membership of the AFL, representing largely skilled workers, was exclusive, and the IWW, representing the unskilled, was radically inclusive. In actual practice, however, each labor organization often adopted the approach of the other if that approach created a viable power base.

Kimeldorf's evidence consists of a series of struggles among two groups of workers, Philadelphia longshoremen and New York City culinary workers, to form successful, stable unions. In a gripping narrative that spans three decades, from the 1900s to the 1930s, Kimeldorf argues that job control in both industries was the key to controlling workplace conditions. Such job control was ultimately achieved through direct action at the point of production, what Kimeldorf calls

"syndicalism, pure and simple." Workers did not immediately or inevitably embrace this tactical approach, however; it took years for them to learn what worked and what did not. Kimeldorf is sensitive to the multiple forces that determined workers' options and, in particular, to the ways that race and gender divisions shaped workers' strategic positions. The result is a fascinating and ultimately persuasive story of how workers remade their unions to conform to the logic of the industry.

Kimeldorf's focus on labor's search for tactics that worked is part of an emerging post-Cold War labor historiography that has freed itself from the need to straightjacket workers' battles within the century's ideological wars. This approach has some useful historiographical consequences. For example, in Kimeldorf's narratives, the traumatic effect of the post-World War I Red Scare recedes from the foreground, and important continuities between pre- and postwar unionizing efforts emerge. Kimeldorf's case studies also add to a generation of scholarship that has rehabilitated the reputation of the AFL by documenting the militancy and tactical persistence of AFL workers at a local level.

Fending off left-wing distortions of the AFL and right-wing distortions of the IWW, Kimeldorf is indeed "battling" for American labor. Yet in order to make his theoretical point Kimeldorf uses some reductionist language, creating caricatures of past scholarship that then require combative language on his part to dismiss. Alternatively, he could have acknowledged and built on pathbreaking recent historical scholarship that support his arguments, particularly with regard to rehabilitating the AFL. A second problem is Kimeldorf's refusal to discuss workers' own perceptions of what was happening, a decision that seems to ignore the importance of workers' constructions of their own world views as a factor contributing to their commitment to sustaining their organization. One longs to understand the story Kimeldorf tells through the cultural lenses of workers' own lives. To cite just one example, how did workers who created inclusive unions understand the way they overcame their cultural prejudices? Kimeldorf cites a lack of sources to explain this lacuna, yet at the very least he could acknowledge the importance of this line of research. Overall, however, this book is a valuable reminder that workers' actions need to be understood in the context of the real challenges they faced, rather than as fodder for more distant ideological wars.

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HOWELL JOHN HARRIS. *Bloodless Victories: The Rise and Fall of the Open Shop in the Philadelphia Metal Trades, 1890-1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 456. \$49.95.

Howell John Harris won the Taft Prize in Labor History for his influential 1982 book *The Right to*

*Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s.* In that book, he followed a dialectic of World War II managerial ideologies where a fierce anti-union, anti-New Deal outlook warred with a business-class progressivism, eventually resulting in a triumphant synthesis of business realism by the late 1940s. This book is a narrower study in place and focus but much broader in its time frame, as it traces the roots of these same business-class ideologies from the beginning of the twentieth century through the New Deal. Harris focuses on the Metal Manufacturers Association of Philadelphia (MMA), a group of small and mid-size fabricating firms founded in 1903 for the sole purpose of reversing the initial successes of craft union organizing at the turn of the century.

We learn rather more than we want to know about the MMA and Philadelphia in these pages, but Harris convincingly shows that the MMA was typical of other local trade associations, both in each of the subperiods covered here and in the overall trajectory from 1900 to 1940. He also shows that Philadelphia, the third largest city in a very eastern-centric U.S., was an industrial power center that both reflected and led the manufacturing core of the national business class.

Likewise, metalworking was "the heart of the Open Shop movement" (p. 1) during this period, and associations of smaller metalworking firms needed class consciousness and collective action more than the giant producers did. The giants could afford to go it alone. The smaller firms needed to coordinate their activities if they were to avoid being whipsawed by unions. This coordinating function is exactly what the MMA provided, and it was, therefore, a place where class unity was forged in debate and mutual aid among businessmen with both complementary and competing interests.

The interplay of managerial ideologies in the process of building business-class solidarity is the fascination of Harris's study. When unions challenged member firms (as in 1903–1905 and 1919–1922), the MMA coordinated lockouts, strikebreakers, and blacklists. When unions were not a threat (as for most of the 1920s), the MMA promulgated various elements of business progressivism, from personnel management to full-blown welfare capitalism. Whichever tack it took, until 1936 it was overwhelmingly successful in nurturing a union-free environment. But then in three small strikes, its greatly refined traditional methods proved woefully inadequate when faced with a neutral Philadelphia police force, labor-friendly state and federal governments, and an entirely new form of labor solidarity in the Congress of Industrial Organization's (CIO) United Electrical Workers. The MMA—like Philco and some other large firms—was amazingly quick to accept defeat, walking away from its Open Shop mentality and embracing a new realism by the spring of 1937.

The book spends a great deal of time on a relatively small and, by itself, insignificant group of local businessmen in order to illustrate concretely a central idea:

that "the history of American business' engagement with the labor problem is in general a history of changing values, not simply of changing calculations by narrowly economic men" (p. 284). In his portraits of different business leaders, Harris reveals complex (and usually likable) human beings trying both to do the right thing and to pursue their self-interest. But in the end, he does not argue for his central idea nor even ask the relevant questions this rich institutional history raises. For example, did the strength of progressivist Quakerism in the Philadelphia business class (about which we learn plenty) have anything to do with how quickly and decisively the MMA capitulated to a still fragile CIO in 1937?

In the absence of such analysis, the basic sequence of events—three decades of effective union busting abandoned in a flash—suggests a rather more mechanistic interpretation. Namely, for all its intelligence and good intentions, the only thing the business class (as opposed to some of its individuals some of the time) actively responded to was superior economic and political power. Though Harris surely meant to suggest otherwise, the lesson of the story as he tells it here is that business realism emerges not from a dialectic of thought in relation to changing circumstances but purely and simply from a narrow calculation of relative power.

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MARC DOLLINGER. *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 296. \$35.00.

HADASSA KOSAK. *Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881–1905.* (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2000. Pp. x, 220. \$16.95.

What do a 1902 boycott of kosher meat by housewives on the Lower East Side of New York and a riot in 1882 on Ward's Island, where indigent Russian Jewish immigrants were housed, have in common? Hadassa Kosak links these examples of communal solidarity and violent political action to labor organizing in the garment industry. They constitute what she terms the "oppositional cultures" of immigrant Jews in New York at the turn of the century.

Kosak's work focuses on a subset of Eastern European immigration from 1881 to 1905. Those Jews who immigrated to the United States before 1905 were more likely to live in small towns without access to a secular culture and to have no experience with industrial labor. Rather than viewing these immigrants as "stunned," as did Irving Howe and others, Kosak argues that they were highly politicized. She succeeds at reframing the nature of political activism and analyzing the conditions that enabled it, and in so doing she has made a powerful contribution to Jewish labor history.



Kosak builds on the scaffolding of more than thirty years of labor history that explores the relationship between culture and class formation. She integrates this scholarship with recent sociology that views culture as a dynamic process on which political actors draw. From this theoretical loom she weaves a compelling story about the development of an immigrant Jewish political culture that departed from traditional trade unionism. Immigrants' new "cultural code" of radical and militant democracy devoted to justice created an American Jewish culture whose perspective on work and citizenship integrated elements of the old and new worlds.

Kosak draws together several contexts necessary to understand this political culture. In addition to the more familiar historical work on immigration in the period from 1881 to 1905, she explains with admirable economy the complexities of the period's garment industry. Unlike their American counterparts, immigrant Jewish garment workers were not united by "craft," given the industry's fractionalization of work. Therefore, Jewish workers created a political language devoted to social and economic rights rather than simply fair wages. The shop became a social space creating solidarity between more and less skilled workers as well as subcontractors and workers. Ethnic and neighborhood ties led to widespread support for workers and their demands for justice.

Immigrants relied on self-help organizations (*Landsmanschaften*), which offered an effective, democratic civic tradition and encouraged mutual reliance. The geography of New York's Lower East Side further supported that civic tradition of mutual support. Jews' overwhelming presence in one neighborhood and one industry enhanced their awareness of their own poor conditions, which intensified the development of a shared political culture and language. They also drew on a shared biblical tradition that provided a framework for understanding oppression.

Kosak concludes that long after a Jewish working-class and community disappeared, its political language of militancy and solidarity persisted. What political culture evolved is the question raised by Marc Dollinger's history of Jews and liberalism in modern America. Dollinger examines the understudied period from 1933 to 1975 from the perspective of public policy positions taken by the major national Jewish organizations. His close analysis of those positions allows him to map the changing nature of Jews' commitment to liberalism and hence Jews' relationship to the nation.

Liberalism promised American Jews a tolerant and pluralistic society that maximized the rights of a minority group. "Acculturation," the process through which Jews championed liberal political change, "cut like a double-edged sword." It strengthened American Jews, allowing them to fight for unpopular causes; at the same time, it limited their effectiveness in fighting for Jewish rights, particularly during the Holocaust, as well as other minorities' rights, as in the case of the internment of Japanese Americans. The dilemmas of

acculturation form the book's message: that any understanding of Jewish political strategies must be sensitive to the changing nature of American ethnic experience and to the impact of "local issues on national ones." American Jewish liberalism was therefore not a commitment to abstract principles but to Jews negotiating their place in a dominant culture shaped by political realities.

The book begins with the New Deal. Dollinger effectively describes how Jewish professionals helped to shape Franklin D. Roosevelt's approach to social welfare. They advocated national funding controlled by autonomous organizations for the special needs of Jews and other minorities. The rewards of acculturation, however, dramatically compromised American Jews' ability to respond to the genocide of European Jewry. Efforts to criticize Germany, support Zionism, or even advocate for America's entry into the war were blunted by equating what was good for Jews with what was good for all Americans. The major Jewish organizations certainly debated the appropriate degree of accommodation, but in the end few rejected the equation. Postwar political issues from anticommunism to affirmative action intensified questions of where American Jews stood in relationship to the dominant society. Dollinger carefully traces the shifts toward conservatism and inwardness and away from alliances with minority groups. He concludes that Jewish accommodation in the future will require a very different set of partners in a more multicultural America.

Liberalism and accommodation emerge in this analysis as blunt instruments. They result in an account that describes more than it analyzes American Jews' self-directed priorities. Dollinger's discussion of accommodation certainly acknowledges, but does not systematically analyze, the impact of social class on Jews' changing positions. Are there any differences between class interests and accommodation that explain the changing nature of Jewish political coalitions?

While the book's central contribution is its careful tracking of diverse political positions among national organizations, this is also its limitation. It is not Dollinger's intent to encompass the entire range of Progressive or Jewish activism. But neither may one claim to have written a political history of this period without it doing so. Such a work will require analysis of American Jews' stake in a nation they were increasingly in a position to define and of the social and cultural forces that continued to create oppositional cultures.

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EVELYN A. KIRKLEY, *Rational Mothers and Infidel Gentlemen: Gender and American Atheism, 1865-1915*. (Women and Gender in North American Religions.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 198. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.



Freethought was an outlook that rejected Christianity in favor of "rationalism," or a mix of Comtean positivism and Darwinian evolutionary thought. Its popularity peaked between 1865 and 1915. Evelyn A. Kirkley examines Freethinkers' attitudes toward gender during these years. She contests scholarly claims that most Freethinkers supported women's rights. Freethinkers believed that Christianity appealed to emotions and that irrational women were its main supporters. Hence many Freethinkers viewed irrational women as an obstacle to the triumph of Freethought.

Despite this consensus about female religiosity, Kirkley identifies several distinct approaches to gender in Freethought. She estimates that twenty-five percent of Freethinkers were "biological determinists" who felt that women were irrational and hence the permanent dupes of organized religion. This group supported "separate spheres." Another twenty-five percent were "historical constructionists" who felt that women's allegiance to Christianity was due to their lack of educational opportunity. They supported Free Love, rejected separate spheres, and praised masculine domesticity and the New Woman. The remaining fifty percent were what Kirkley calls "sphere synthesizers" (p. 64). This group, whose gender system Kirkley lauds as "unparalleled," retained a separation of "home" and "world" yet elevated the moral worth of the home, while insisting that men and women could freely "move between" these "spheres" (p. 66).

There are several problems here. Kirkley's analysis of Freethought itself is superficial. She lauds their "rationalism" but does not interrogate their use of the term. She ignores the eugenic concerns that permeate the Freethought quotations she presents. She seems surprised that Freethinkers who advocated Free Love practiced monogamy; this betrays a limited understanding of Free Love ideology. Her handling of "separate spheres" demonstrates the problems plaguing the phrase. She identifies separate spheres as a construct derived from antebellum sources but then uses it as a reality against which to laud the "unique vision" of the "sphere synthesizers," whom she praises for "blurring" those spheres (pp. 65, 63).

Kirkley presents Freethinkers as trailblazers for late twentieth-century concerns, but only by misreading both periods. For example, she argues that many Freethinkers were "historical constructionists" who "anticipated" today's view that gender is socially constructed (p. 50). However, she defines "historical constructionism" as simply the belief that women have been oppressed historically by the church. Kirkley therefore calls Matilda Joselyn Gage, a Freethinker who called for women to become "truly woman . . . a perfect feminine being," a historical constructionist and a forerunner of contemporary feminist thought (p. 83).

Stripped of Kirkley's interpretive gloss, Freethought ideas about gender seem typical of their time. Kirkley cannot see this, because she is unfamiliar with recent

and classic works in women's history. For example, Kirkley announces the sphere synthesizers' radical belief that because women were mothers, they should be educated. She seems to have never heard of the concept of "Republican Motherhood."

Kirkley's historical methodology is poor. For example, she insists that only sixty percent of Freethinkers supported female suffrage. She derives this figure from the proportion of Freethought pro and anti-women's suffrage articles that appeared between 1865 and 1915. We never learn whether anti-women's suffrage articles were more common in the 1870s and 1880s than in the 1890s or 1900s, since Kirkley treats the entire fifty years as one historical moment. Thus she cannot explain why Freethinkers passed a pro-suffrage resolution "without dissent" in 1890 and continued to pass such resolutions throughout the decade (p. 130).

While writing about the gendered behavior of Freethinkers, Kirkley explains, she "realized that every sentence reflected both late-nineteenth-century Freethought and my own experiences in late-twentieth-century academia" (p. 137). Having struggled herself to balance home and career, she was delighted to find that Freethought "synthesizers" believed woman was "free to have a career, a family, or both" (p. 68). Yet the synthesizer she quotes explains that woman "will always be the principal factor of the household, the home-maker . . . and comforter of man" (p. 69). This statement hardly anticipates even the "have it all" variety of today's feminism.

Kirkley has unearthed evidence of a debate about gender within Freethought circles. Unfortunately, her insistence on finding historical presages of her own experience blinds her to the nuances of this debate.

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NAN ENSTAD. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 266. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.50.

Participation in consumer culture, argues Nan Enstad, was not necessarily a conservative experience for American workers. Using the 1909–1910 strike of New York City garment workers—the so-called Uprising of the Twenty Thousand—as a starting point, Enstad seeks the sources of working-class identity and consciousness among the predominantly female labor force. Enstad reasons that neither the popular press nor labor leaders recognized or acknowledged the women's own uniquely class-specific sense of self. The press sought to discredit the strikers by emphasizing their disorderliness, showy if not fashionable clothing, and boisterous immodesty. The well-intentioned but presumptuous labor leaders who assisted the "girls," as they called them, regarded and rendered the working women as serious, poorly clad, and frail from overwork

and exploitation. Neither image, Enstad aptly observes, accorded wage-earning women any political or social agency.

Enstad looks backward from key contests during the 1909 strike and seeks the sources of women's distinctive behaviors and attitudes. Strikers, for example, insisted on dressing up for picket duty, donning expensive silk underwear, large and fancy hats, and stylish but impractical French heels, much to the dismay of elite supporters like Lillian Wald and other members of the Women's Trade Union League. They also boldly and publicly (although also rather indirectly) denounced sexual exploitation by their employers. Enstad finds the inspiration for these modes of representation in dime novels, inexpensive fashion, and popular films, all products aimed at and consumed by working-class women during the Gilded Age and Progressive era. Dime novels, Enstad contends, were read by working women as melodramatic defenses of women's position as wage earners and thus offered them a heroic status denied them by the larger culture. Mass-produced fashion enabled them to dress like middle-class ladies but with unique twists that marked the style as working class and their own. Films, particularly adventure serials with roots in dime novels, enabled working-class women to dream about a different world populated by heroines like themselves who were brave, independent, and employed. Taken together, Enstad maintains, these elements of consumer culture provided wage-earning women a "working ladyhood" that challenged middle-class arrogance as well as working-class gender and family relations. The practice of working ladyhood not only made women feel both virtuous and autonomous but it also validated a measure of freedom and independence for them at work, emboldened thousands of garment workers to walk off their jobs in November 1909, and helped them transform public space by picketing.

In this thoughtful and compelling book, Enstad takes issue with many historians of culture, labor, and women. To those who dismiss consumer culture generally and working-class consumers in particular as conservative if not reactionary, Enstad offers twenty thousand assertive, job-conscious, and class-conscious women. To challenge those who attribute the failure of the 1909–1910 strike as well as the limited success of trade union organization among working women to the women themselves—because they allegedly were either too timid or too materialistic and focused on the wrong goals—Enstad exposes the class bias of female and male middle-class observers. Enstad's argument is provocative and important because she tries to see the world, and the women themselves, through their own eyes. Moreover, although she emphasizes the inventive and creative efforts of working-class women to define an oppositional subjectivity from popular culture, Enstad is not unaware of the ironic limits to freedom imposed by capitalism. The argument is, perhaps, speculative in places. Lacking a great deal of evidence of working-class women's own perceptions, Enstad at

times relies heavily on middle-class sources or her own clever yet credible reading of the fiction, fashion, and films consumed by working women. She also pays a bit greater attention to the producers of than to the consumers of popular culture. And she makes the 1909–1910 strike too unique and transformative; working-class women in other, earlier, strikes were just as bold and assertive. Some consideration of the larger historical context of women's involvement in labor protests, therefore, would have enriched the analysis. Nevertheless, Enstad's imaginative reading of the goods consumed by working-class women in New York City at the turn of the twentieth century offers a fresh and illuminating perspective on and advances our understanding of the lived experience of work and leisure in the Gilded Age and Progressive era.

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NANCY C. UNGER. *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 393. \$39.95.

"The supreme issue, involving all the others, is the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many" (p. 103). Robert M. La Follette, the prophetic icon of midwestern progressivism, wrote these words in his autobiography nearly a century ago, in the context of the industrializing, urbanizing world then being born, yet they seem more relevant than ever in our "postindustrial" moment of rapid change. La Follette is a figure of first importance in American political history precisely because the issues he so persistently grappled with, mostly flowing from the dangers of concentrated wealth and its corrupting effects on the ideal of self-government, remain urgent to those who are today interested in preserving and reinvigorating democracy. The thought of this man who, for decades, waged a war of uncompromising vigor and principle against the encroachments of private greed on the public interest, underscores the alarming absence of such voices in the globalized Gilded Age of the twenty-first century. Aside, arguably, from Ralph Nader, they don't make American politicians like this anymore, individuals admired "because they are honest and fearless and stand for something" (p. 4), and that is our loss.

Nancy C. Unger's biography gives us a survey of the public life and private struggles of this flawed giant, who, in many ways, is a case study of the strengths and weaknesses of charismatic moral leadership. Based upon reams of personal correspondence and other documents, we learn about La Follette's difficult childhood in rural Wisconsin, marked most profoundly by the early death of his father, Josiah, an event that fostered in the son a lifelong sense of inadequacy, an unquenchable thirst for approval, and a perfectionist drive to do "right" at all costs in the family's name (p. 15). Unger follows young Bob through his school years, during which the indifferent student discovered a gift

for passionate, theatrical speaking that would become his signature. "La Follette without oratory," Unger writes, "is like Beethoven without music" (p. 38). As a young man, La Follette met and married Belle Case, who, though a formidable force in her own right (she was the first woman graduate of the University of Wisconsin Law School), largely subordinated career aspirations in the interest of having a family and supporting her husband's pursuits. Belle was an active, assertive partner, however, and emerges in the letters as a steadying influence on her husband, who was prone, as his fortunes rose and fell, to the destructive temptations of vanity, self-righteousness, and overwork—the wages of his messianic approach to the fight against abusive privilege.

La Follette rose quickly in Wisconsin politics and by the turn of the twentieth century had come to embrace many of the (then radical) elements of the Populist revolt against the power of railroads, banks, and political machines—tinged with a strong dose of Social Gospel evangelical fervor. As governor, he enacted a program of corporate regulation, worker protection, and good government measures that would make him a national figure. Unger does a solid job guiding the reader through La Follette's stormy, highly visible tenure in the U.S. Senate and offers many insights into his rivalry with another man of capacious drive and ego, Theodore Roosevelt. La Follette lost the decisive round in his feud with TR, forfeiting leadership of Progressive forces in 1912 to the ex-president as the result of an infamous meltdown at the podium during a long speech in Philadelphia, a humiliating, uncharacteristic loss of control undoubtedly caused by the fatigue and stress that were his constant companions. La Follette never fully recovered from that disaster, though he continued to uphold the deteriorating Progressive cause through the traumas of Woodrow Wilson's decision to enter World War I (which he vehemently opposed) and the conservative "normalcy" of the 1920s, when, despite failing health, he mounted one last campaign for the White House.

La Follette was a key link between the Populist-Progressive reform movements of the early twentieth century and the New Deal innovations of the 1930s. He was also a radical dissenter, a militant, crusading moralist in the classic American tradition, and one of the most influential members in the history of the Senate. Unger's study, while adding valuable information to our understanding of La Follette the man (and handsomely illustrated, with three dozen photographs and political cartoons), is ultimately disappointing for a number of reasons. The author's style throughout is utterly conventional and by the numbers, and her dutiful march through her subject's writings and letters leaves one with a wealth of detail about illnesses, diet, vacations, moments of self-doubt, and other private matters at the expense of more fully examining the elements and contradictions of La Follette's evolving politics—and how they fit within a broader context. The author is from the earnest "what-he-had-for-

breakfast" school of biography, and too frequently succumbs to clichés and the genteel sentimentality of the Victorian genre of genealogy. In 1855, Josiah La Follette "was presented with a son" (p. 11); (Bob) La Follette "was then seventeen and, like his state—indeed his nation—about to embark on yet another journey of great transition" (p. 30); "the winds of political change were about to blow" (p. 104). Among the many issues that demand further exploration are, for example, La Follette's positions on race (where the isolated references here are thin and unconvincing) and the nature of his relationship with other dissident figures of the period (William Jennings Bryan and, even more intriguingly, Eugene V. Debs). A deeper and more analytical study of La Follette remains a high priority for students of American democracy.

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ELISABETH S. CLEMENS. *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890–1925*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 459. Cloth \$58.00, paper \$19.95.

The good news for historians of modern U.S. politics is that political history is not dead. The bad news is that some of the best work in this field is being done in departments of political science and sociology. Graduate-level courses in U.S. political history since 1865 regularly include the work of political scientists like Stephen Skowronek and political sociologists like Theda Skocpol. Along with a handful of other social scientists, these scholars have elucidated powerful yet supple frameworks that increasingly draw on archival-based research. Loosely defined as the American Political Development (APD) school, its quest for generalization amid the messy details of history has eclipsed older functionalist models in the social sciences and an approach labeled the "organizational synthesis" in history.

Elisabeth S. Clemens has distilled many of the lessons embodied in the APD literature and added a few of her own in this brilliant monograph. The book is a detailed history of the Progressive politics of labor, agriculture, and gender in three states: California, Wisconsin, and Washington. Roughly half of the book is devoted to case studies. The variation between states and the structural explanation that Clemens offers for it substantiates the claim that states served as laboratories for political experimentation. It is only in her concluding chapters that Clemens extrapolates the patterns discerned in the case studies to national politics. Careful to distinguish the difference between state level and national policy making—particularly the role played by the federal judiciary—Clemens's generalizations are illuminating.

Like much of the APD literature, the level of detail that supports the argument can occasionally overwhelm the reader. Nevertheless, the benefits of Clem-

ens's painstaking approach are well worth the struggle. The first two chapters make it clear that the stakes are high: Clemens presents a theoretical framework that explains how the polity adapts to demands that are not fulfilled through two-party system politics. More specifically, she asks how some of the issues that partisan politics repeatedly ignored—like the right of women to vote, or the right of employees to fair working conditions, or the right by farmers to the kind of state support that other businesses enjoyed—made their way onto policy agendas in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The answer, Clemens argues, is through a two-stage process of destabilization aimed at the old system and the “crystallization” of a new kind of politics—interest group politics.

Treating this story as a highly contingent drama, dependent on the agency of nonelites, and explaining how the repertoire of available modes of organizing varied from state to state, Clemens brings the people back in. To be sure, this was the major contribution of the “new” social history. What distinguishes Clemens's account is her determination to follow the story even though the Cross of Gold remains intact, the strikes eventually end, and women gain the right to vote. In fact, Clemens shows how the history of more radical actions on the part of producers and women yielded innovations that would later shape mechanisms of direct democracy, like the primary, referendum, and recall. Most surprisingly, even interest group politics is shaped by these destabilizing developments.

For Clemens, who insists on following policy demands through to implementation, the populist and third party influence is just a start. She documents the way, for example, that farmers and women in California drew on the past practices of business lobbies to define policy demands more specifically and to disaggregate these demands from broader political agendas. Although Clemens credits women with the greatest degree of innovation, she places transformation into a public interest group in a broader context that reaches back to the organizational revolution of the late nineteenth century. Nor does she view innovations as proprietary. Just as some groups drew on the techniques of business to destabilize a system of partisan politics during the Progressive era, interest groups on the right adapted some of these very same techniques in the 1920s to champion conservative ends.

In the place of functionalist explanations like modernization, hegemonic explanations like corporate liberalism, or selective explanations like the rise of the middle class, Clemens offers us a template that encompasses “the people” without guaranteeing their eventual triumph or oppression. Interest group politics did not automatically appear as an alternative to partisan politics. Rather, it was nurtured and developed by innovators who often had tried a number of alternatives first. It was the product of decades of activity during which Americans learned, and eventually naturalized, the language of group interest. Although prominent political scientists found the nation awash

in it by the 1920s, its roots lay in state and local activities reaching back three or four decades, Clemens argues. Over that period, popular movements learned how to narrow their claims. While falling short of the social democracy envisioned by some populists, the organizational repertoire from which activists drew broadened the range of options available to interest groups. Thus women's groups, though using some of the same techniques as business lobbies, turned far more readily to state intervention than business did. And states, particularly California, some times returned the favor, eagerly subsidizing the delivery of services through private groups.

Clemens effectively synthesizes an approach to the modern American polity that explodes the artificial barriers between the “people and the interests” reified by Progressive historiography and recapitulated by the “new” social history. Although it is not her primary objective, by writing a definitive account about the ways in which group politics was naturalized, she lays the groundwork for an understanding of state/society relations that accurately portrays the fluid boundary between the public sector and private associations in the early twentieth century. With its emphasis on human agency, contingency, inclusiveness, citizen participation, and even the social construction of its object of study, this may be the book that rekindles interest in “interest.” Told by Clemens, this is a story that demands that class, gender, and (although Clemens does not treat it explicitly) race be considered by students of modern American politics. As such, perhaps it will also revitalize political history—even in history departments.

BRIAN BALOGH  
*University of Virginia*

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET and GARY MARKS. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. 379. \$26.95.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks provide a useful overview of the ideological, demographic, and structural factors that inhibited the development of a viable socialist movement in the United States. Unlike many Western European nations and Australia and New Zealand, the United States lacked any formal social-democratic participation in its national government during the second half of the twentieth century. (Not coincidentally, the U.S. also had the smallest percentage of workers—eighteen percent—covered by union contracts.) Using a comparative approach, the authors explore historical, regional (local, state, and federal), and social factors that shaped the American political-economic system and then suggest reasons for American “exceptionalism” in the context of other nations' systems.

In a straightforward way, Lipset and Marks enumerate many of the factors that have discouraged the laboring classes from challenging the hegemony of the two procapitalist political parties, the Republican-



Democratic "duopoly." The "winner-take-all" system of elections was not conducive to the kind of coalition building that might have allowed socialists to act as power brokers at the national level. The ethnic diversity of the workforce, pervasive liberal and antistatist ideologies, and the lack of working-class consciousness all doomed the efforts of socialists to challenge industrial capitalism at the ballot box.

The authors also consider the history of the Socialist Party in the United States, suggesting the tension between strategists who insisted on ideological purity and those who wanted the party to accommodate itself to opportunities as they came along (especially during the 1930s). The party never came near to gaining the endorsement of either the Catholic Church or the American Federation of Labor, two institutions that would have enabled it to appeal to large numbers of blue-collar workers.

This book, then, is a study in failure: why the socialists were unable to create and sustain a Socialist Party, why they did not appeal to mainstream labor unions, and why they could not gain the support of either major political party. The authors conclude that a combination of ideological issues ("values") and institutional structures all contributed to the triumph of partisan-political dominance.

Part of the book is devoted to debunking conventional theories about the failure of socialism. For example, a chapter on political repression examines the fate of the Socialist Party in several cities and states around the country and concludes that "repression of leftists was never as extensive in America as it was in several European countries before World War I, and not nearly as severe during the interwar years in fascist states" (p. 260).

For a study of American "exceptionalism," this book pays surprisingly little attention to racial ideologies and their effects on the history of the laboring classes. Indeed, the grand sweep of the nation's history suggests the profound significance of those ideologies in shaping not only the workplace but a (stunted) working-class consciousness as well. The presence of a large group of permanently subordinated workers (supposedly identifiable by the color of their skin) shaped whites workers' views in a number of significant ways. In certain areas of the country, poor whites left black menial workers behind and went directly into semi-skilled jobs. Many poor whites counted on ascending a ladder of upward mobility, knowing that blacks would remain on the lowest rungs of the labor force. The notion of "whiteness" thus had a powerful effect on the consciousness of working-class whites, although that consciousness had less to do with class formation than with whites' own "race-based" prerogatives.

That the authors spend virtually no time exploring racial ideologies is all the more surprising considering their comparative scope and their interest in the diversity of the American labor force. Still, in this book, the theme of diversity centers upon religious and

ethnic differences among white workers, not upon the great "racial" divide that separated blacks from whites.

In sum, the book pays little attention to one of the key elements in American exceptionalism: ironically enough, the preservation of certain early modern, Old World beliefs that the poor must be segregated and subordinated from the rest of society, both to insure that the dirty work gets done by a specific group of people and to give the privileged group a sense of possibility based upon a "meritocracy." In the history of the idea of whiteness, then, lies a good deal of the reason why socialism failed in America.

JACQUELINE JONES  
Brandeis University

JAMES R. BARRETT. *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 352. \$34.95.

William Z. Foster was a giant of American working-class history and a major leader of the American Communist movement during its three decades as a force in American politics and society. After years of seasoning—and extreme privation—as an itinerant worker, Foster proved to be a "brilliant organizer and strike leader" (p. 2). In the era of World War I, he led vitally important organizing campaigns in meatpacking and steel, before casting his lot with the Communist Party in 1921. From that moment, the trajectory of his life and worldview would be shaped less by his indigenous working-class experience than by the influence—at times the dictates—of the international Communist movement. Thus, it is perhaps fitting that Foster died "in the shadow of the Kremlin" (p. 2). To historian and biographer James R. Barrett, the place of Foster's death and the direction of his life from the 1920s onward reflect Foster's growing isolation from "the lives and concerns of most American workers" (p. 272) and, more fundamentally, "the tragedy of American radicalism."

Foster was born in 1881 and raised in Skittereen, an Irish neighborhood in Philadelphia. His mother was a devout Catholic who bore twenty-three children, most of whom died in infancy. His father was an unskilled worker who "devoted most of his energies to Irish republicanism, amateur athletics, and street fighting" (p. 10). The family's unrelenting poverty compelled the precocious William to quit school and go to work at age ten. Although he remained a voracious reader, he soon abandoned his mother's Catholic faith and developed a sense of alienation from, and contempt for, Skittereen and its "half-starved, diseased, [and] hopeless" inhabitants (p. 15). By 1901, Foster's parents were dead; his family had largely disintegrated, and Foster had become a "rootless young man" (p. 17).

This experience placed him in sharp contrast to another giant of American working-class history, Eugene V. Debs. Debs was also the son of immigrant parents, but unlike Foster he was deeply rooted in the

world of skilled workers and the value system of his midwestern community, and his gradually evolving socialism reflected those roots. Foster became a socialist at an earlier age than Debs, but long before his conversion to communism his politics had become an expression of his alienation from American society and his contempt for democratic values. His formative years, in Skittereen and as an itinerant unskilled worker; his membership in the Industrial Workers of the World; his encounter with British and French syndicalists during his extended sojourn in Europe—all pushed him toward an intense hatred of every vestige of “capitalist civilization” and alienation from any belief system that was not rooted in “scientific” rationality.

In this respect and many others, Foster was a bundle of contradictions. In spite of his alienation from mainstream society, he became increasingly determined to penetrate and lead the mainstream labor movement. In spite of his contempt for bourgeois institutions, and his belief that children were a diversion from the class struggle, he married the “gentle and sensual” (p. 61) Esther Abramowitz and adopted her three children. He became a much-admired labor organizer who believed that trade unions served as spontaneously revolutionary instruments, but he never relinquished his contempt for the unorganized working-class masses whom he derided as “sodden,” “inert,” and “stupid” (p. 67).

Over the years, Barrett has earned recognition as a distinguished labor historian. In Foster’s vast experience, unrivaled organizing ability, and utter devotion to the cause of the working class, Barrett sees the roots of an authentically American labor radicalism. But he believes that Foster’s experience in the Communist Party (CP) constituted the undoing—or the tragic remaking—of that radicalism. According to Barrett, the CP was an authentically American phenomenon, and no one embodied that aspect of the party more clearly than Foster himself. But over time, in the factional wars that convulsed the party in the 1920s and in the sporadic but ultimately decisive intervention of the Comintern in the American party’s internal life, Foster was transformed from an independent American radical to an obedient—and enthusiastic—Stalinist. By the time he finally emerged as the party’s unrivaled leader, his worldview had become terminally dogmatic. Notwithstanding the larger context of the Cold War and McCarthyism, Barrett believes that Foster was disproportionately responsible for the party’s “decimation” (p. 226) in the decade and a half after World War II. (The CP came out of the war with more than 75,000 members; by the end of the 1950s, only about three thousand remained.)

Historians and labor activists will continue to debate whether Foster’s career provides an appropriate historical foundation for American labor radicalism. In doing so, they will have the benefit of not one but two outstanding biographies of Foster. (Edward P. Johanningsmeier’s *Forging American Communism: The Life*

of William Z. Foster appeared in 1994.) But both biographies raise important questions—for this reviewer, at least—about Foster’s worldview *before* he became a Communist. His recurring diatribes against the “sodden,” “inert,” and “stupid” masses reveal that Foster had little sympathy for flesh-and-blood workers and little faith in their capacity to find their way in the world without the guidance of a self-appointed vanguard. Moreover, he ignored or, worse, reviled the dense networks of faith, family, and ethnicity that characterized, and gave meaning to, the lives of the vast majority of America’s industrial workers. Foster was, undeniably, a man of great courage, conviction, and ability. But like Johanningsmeier, Barrett has convinced this reviewer that for those of us seeking a path toward an American labor radicalism, Foster’s career and worldview offer a dead-end street.

BRUCE NELSON  
Dartmouth College

DAVID A. MOSS. *Socializing Security: Progressive-Era Economists and the Origins of American Social Policy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. 264. \$39.95.

Disturbed by the rise of corporate capitalism and heightened conflict between labor and capital, reformers during the Progressive era sought to restrain big business, ensure social stability, and establish uniform standards for the fair treatment of working people. In this perceptive study, David A. Moss considers the activities of the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), a pioneering advocacy group whose efforts to enhance the security of wage earners helped lay the groundwork for the modern welfare state.

Founded in 1906, the AALL was spearheaded by leading turn-of-the-century economists such as Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and John Andrews. Situating themselves between labor and capital, these men regarded themselves as “scientific stewards” who would objectively apply their expertise to the study and resolution of critical social problems. AALL activists were guided by several key assumptions. They believed that worker unrest was caused by a profound sense of insecurity over fluctuation in income and living standards. Therefore, if workers received benefits that would offer them assurances of security, they would be less volatile and disinclined to embrace radical political alternatives.

Rejecting more intrusive forms of state intervention, the AALL sought to use the profit motive in order to prod employers to assume greater responsibility for the security of their employees. As Commons argued, employer behavior would change only if businesses were forced to bear the cost for accidents, injuries, and unemployment. As a result, the AALL sought legislation that would compel employers to improve working conditions by creating financial incentives for them to adopt a preventive approach.

Moss skillfully describes the political constraints

that confronted AALL reformers. During the Progressive era, courts often rejected federal attempts to regulate non-interstate commerce as unconstitutional. Concurrently, states feared that they would be placed at a competitive disadvantage if they acted alone in passing protective legislation. AALL leaders also encountered opposition from labor leaders and employers, both of whom feared that state intervention would inhibit their freedom of action.

Through an incisive examination of key AALL campaigns, Moss evaluates the organization's performance in the political arena. One of AALL's most notable successes was its effort to outlaw the use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Through careful research, the AALL documented that phosphorus caused disfigurement and was able to gain enactment of a federal tax that made its cost prohibitive. This approach was viewed as too constitutionally controversial, however, to be applied more broadly.

More often, the AALL worked at the state level. There it successfully obtained workers compensation legislation, in part because employers already faced with liability costs did not view such payments as a new expense. But in attempting to gain approval of compulsory health insurance, the AALL could not overcome strenuous opposition from insurance companies, doctors, and voluntaristic labor leaders. It would not be until the more favorable political circumstances of the New Deal that major legislation enhancing the security of workers could be passed. Moss argues convincingly that the AALL's efforts helped shape the New Deal's political strategy and established providing security as the underlying principle behind its reform agenda.

Moss makes an important contribution to our understanding of how the American welfare state evolved. He blunts the corporate liberal thesis suggesting dominant business influence over Progressive-era reform by revealing a more complex interplay among the disparate forces shaping social legislation. Most importantly, he illuminates both the vibrancy and limitations of the AALL's vision and the enduring difficulties facing reformers seeking to expand the regulatory role of the American state.

Of necessity, this study focuses on political elites. Yet because AALL reformers insisted that workers most needed a sense of security, it would have been useful to consider the extent to which workers themselves shared this belief. Although Moss does contrast the AALL's approach with that of other reformers, he might have expanded his analysis to include the views of muckrakers, clergy, labor advocates, and more radical reformists in order to place the AALL's efforts in a broader context.

Moss's conclusion that the notion of security has gained widespread acceptance is perhaps too sanguine. Indeed, the recent weakening of unemployment and workers compensation, failed attempts to enact national health insurance legislation, and the dislocation

posed by globalization suggest that the quest for security in America remains elusive.

ROBERT BUSSEL

Pennsylvania State University

PATRICK D. REAGAN. *Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning, 1890-1943*. (Political Development of the American Nation: Studies in Politics and History.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 362. \$40.00.

In this book, Patrick D. Reagan reports three central findings: that great continuity characterized pre-1933 and New Deal planning programs; that the United States exhibited a distinctive approach to planning; and that the work of New Deal-era planners was influential in the shaping of public policy in the postwar era. Through biographical chapters that examine the careers of the five men who comprised the variously named New Deal planning apparatus, Reagan is largely successful in demonstrating the validity of the first two propositions, but his book is less convincing in arguing for the third. He makes it clear that Frederick Delano, Charles Merriman, Wesley Clair Mitchell, Henry A. Dennison, and Beardsly Ruml, all of whom held key positions at one time or another in the New Deal planning agency eventually called the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), embodied continuity with earlier planning initiatives. They built on their rich pre-1933 experience in city planning, war mobilization, and Hooverian associationalism. At the same time, these men recognized that the Great Depression called for greater state involvement. Rejecting statist models of planning prevalent in the 1930s, they also departed from Herbert Hoover's nongovernmental associationalism to posit a distinctive American variant of economic and social planning.

Part of Reagan's problem in showing that the work of New Deal-era planners was influential in the political economy that emerged after World War II stems from his difficulty in explaining exactly what FDR's planning apparatus consisted of and what it did. Under its various rubrics, the planners conducted studies of such subjects as natural resources and regional development. If "planning" means simply economic policy, then perhaps Reagan's claims for lasting influence are plausible, since each of the able New Deal planners promoted ideas and policies, versions of which were adopted after World War II. But if "planning" implies any sort of long-range program outlining regional development, industrial targeting, manpower recruitment and training, or infrastructural improvement, it is difficult to see that Delano, Merriman *et al.* exerted the sort of influence Reagan credits them with. After all, as Reagan acknowledges, "Roosevelt's attitude about planning [was] as an ad hoc, piecemeal operation subject to the political needs of the moment" (p. 214). Given the agency's budgetary limitations, admin-



istrative uncertainty, and political vulnerability, its long-range impact seems questionable.

Still, Reagan's biographical approach works well in establishing the continuity and distinctiveness of planning initiatives during the first half of the twentieth century. His extensive treatment has the virtue of presenting the abstractions of the "organizational synthesis" in concrete terms. Reagan's account of railroad executive (and FDR's uncle) Delano's role in coordinating the efforts of Chicago authorities and economic elites in planning the Windy City's early century land use and infrastructural development provides a case study in public-private collaboration. World War I "voluntarism" takes on concrete meaning when seen through the activities of paper manufacturer Dennison in a variety of wartime economic mobilization agencies. Reagan's account of political scientist Merriman's efforts to bring civic elites and political leaders together to improve public administration likewise provides useful specificity. These three men, along with Mitchell and Ruml, played important roles in the various public-private advisory and research projects established under Secretary of Commerce (and then President) Hoover's aegis. Indeed, so frequent and overlapping was the activity of all of these men in the Hoover circle that at times Reagan's otherwise lucid narrative seems repetitious and even tedious.

Based on massive archival research and extensive knowledge of the published literature, this book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century political economy. Reagan's accounts of the careers of FDR's planners provide an excellent means by which the grand themes of the organizational synthesis can be grasped in terms of the real world of early twentieth-century America. Reagan's thoughtful discussion of the range of public debate on planning and political economy likewise provides a clear focus for issues often slighted in the existing literature. Even if FDR's planners may not have stamped an indelible mark on postwar public policy, they were substantial men whose careers tell us much about distinctive American approaches to economic and social coordination in the first half of the century.

ROBERT H. ZIEGER  
University of Florida

DAVID T. BEITO. *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 320. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Few topics reveal the cyclical nature of historical interpretation as clearly as the history of the welfare state. Consensus historians of the 1950s celebrated the welfare state as the triumph of liberal reason, while new left historians of the 1960s attacked it as a betrayal of socialism and a tool of class domination. The Reaganite assault on welfare in the 1980s led to a moral rehabilitation of the welfare state as a key player in the broader progressive struggle for social justice, a

historiographical trend that perhaps reached its peak with the publication of Daniel T. Rogers's *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (1998). David T. Beito's history of fraternal societies raises important objections to this revitalized progressive narrative. Examining the role of fraternal societies in providing sick benefits and life insurance, Beito sees in the rise of the welfare state less an improvement in material social services than a decline in the cultural value of mutual aid. Ultimately ambivalent about the adequacy of fraternal societies to respond to the economic complexities of the twentieth century, Beito nonetheless convincingly argues that fraternal organizations embodied values that appealed to a broad range of Americans across lines of race, class, gender, and ethnicity.

Beito traces the roots of American fraternalism to the rise of Freemasonry in England during the eighteenth century. The prominence of Masons among revolutionary leaders such as George Washington and John Hancock did much to widen the appeal of Masonry in the early republic. By the Jacksonian era, fraternal societies were in the mainstream of the explosive growth of voluntary associations that Alexis de Tocqueville noted as one of the distinctive features of American democracy. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), founded in 1842, set the standard for subsequent fraternal organizations. The IOOF instituted a clear schedule of payments and benefits to replace the random disbursements of earlier benefit societies. In the spirit of democracy, it viewed benefits as entitlements rather than as charity or relief. Still, democratic rights entailed moral responsibility, and the IOOF withheld benefits from members it deemed to have violated its moral code through habitual drunkenness, profanity, or lasciviousness. From 1830 to 1877, IOOF membership rose from 3,000 to 465,000, its values clearly striking a responsive chord with American men of the period. Against Mary Ann Clawson's *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (1989), however, Beito insists that fraternalism was not merely a white male phenomenon. He examines a number of African-American organizations, such as the Grand United Order of Saint Luke, the International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor, and the Household of Ruth. Like their white counterparts, these organizations distinguished between the deserving and undeserving poor and demanded that their members be thrifty, frugal, and hard working. Beito stresses that such values cannot be viewed as a strategy of middle-class control. The moral requirements of fraternal membership were essential to establishing the ethic of reciprocity that distinguished fraternal aid from mere public charity. In this respect, Beito's work provides a useful corrective to previous histories of fraternalism and social reform.

The book is somewhat more predictable when it examines the fate of these nineteenth-century virtues in the twentieth century. The increasing bureaucrati-



zation of health care threatened the close personal ties fostered by the fraternal societies. Fraternal societies branched out from granting benefits to operating hospitals, orphanages, and nursing homes but found themselves lacking the financial resources to compete with private insurance companies and meet the increasing demands of state regulation. Still growing into the 1920s, still strong through the 1930s, fraternal societies began a precipitous decline in the 1940s. The Great Depression proved too taxing on the resources of the fraternal societies, and their traditional health and welfare services devolved to the state and the private corporation. The continued efforts of fraternal societies to regain their past prominence merely postponed the inevitable. In 1942, the African-American Order of Twelve Knights opened its Taborian Hospital in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, to provide low-cost health care for the poor of the Mississippi Delta; in 1967, persistent regulatory infractions led to a take-over of the hospital by the federal government. For Beito, what the people of the delta gained in terms of technical medical care they lost in terms of community pride. Current debates about health and welfare would benefit from memory of this loss.

CHRISTOPHER SHANNON  
University of Notre Dame

AMY SUE BIX. *Inventing Ourselves Out of Jobs? America's Debate Over Technological Unemployment 1929-1981*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, with the assistance of the Hagley Museum and Library. 2000. Pp. x, 376. \$45.00.

In this comprehensive intellectual history of debates about automation and its social consequences in the United States between 1929 and 1981, Amy Sue Bix draws on an exceptionally broad range of primary and secondary sources. Although the nature and extent of technological unemployment can be seen as issues of interest primarily to management, labor, and engineering specialists, Bix rightly understands automation as an issue of enormous cultural and social significance for the entire society. Consequently, she goes beyond the opinions of experts to survey the pronouncements of political leaders, the proceedings of public agencies, the pages of professional trade journals, and the panoply of popular books and magazine articles published over the years addressing the promise and peril of replacing human labor with machines.

Bix reports that anxieties about automation emerge most fully in times of economic stagnation and decline. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the periodic recessions of the postwar period, and the "stagflation" of the 1970s, certain sectors of the public have attributed economic downturns to the unemployment and underconsumption caused by technological unemployment. Spokespersons for industry (especially its most automated sectors) have consistently held to the belief that in the long run automation always leads to

higher employment because increases in productivity translate into economic growth. Just as the automobile industry ultimately produced more jobs than the blacksmithing trades it displaced, each new form of cybernation has been heralded as a creator rather than a destroyer of jobs. Opponents of automation, by contrast, have generally conceded the connections among automation, productivity, and progress but have attempted to address the uneven burdens shouldered by individual workers and communities when job-killing machines replace human labor.

Bix surveys these contrasting positions in exhaustive detail. It is, in fact, rather amazing to see how static the debate has remained over the years despite dramatic changes in the forms that automation took and clear differences in its impact in different historical and social moments. Like the Bourbons after their restoration to power, the two sides in this debate over the years seem to have forgotten nothing but also learned nothing. Technophobes portrayed automation in a sinister light, as the triumph of impersonal rationality over the human spirit, while technophiles clung to a fundamentalist faith in increased productivity and profit as the indisputable engines of human progress.

This book succeeds splendidly as an intellectual history of automation as it has been generally understood for most of this century by business and labor leaders, intellectuals, engineers, politicians, and publicists. As broad as Bix's sources are, however, we need to hear from an even broader range of social actors before we can be confident that we understand the causes and consequences of technological unemployment. Rank-and-file longshore worker Stan Weir, for example, has argued that containerization came to the waterfront not so much as a way to increase productivity but rather to break the control over the purpose, pace, and nature of work that west coast longshore workers won in their 1934 strike. He alleges that the Department of the Navy and the leadership of the International Longshore Workers Union conspired with the companies that controlled shipping to develop the technology of containerization as a way of changing the fundamental power relations between management and labor everywhere, not just in longshore work. For Weir, automation on the docks not only killed jobs but, more important, destroyed the dignity and democracy that collective action by workers had created there. Containerization changed the physical and social relationships between workers; it also transformed the relationships between portside communities and longshore work, destroying one of those few sites in American society where democratic and egalitarian social relations were nurtured and sustained.

Similarly, Venus Green's superb scholarship on the specific price paid by black women workers when the telephone industry became more automated, and Dan Schiller's remarkable work on how contemporary digital capitalism is transforming both work and consumption, present in-depth discussions of dimensions of the automation question that appear only sporadically in

Bix's study. The voices that Schiller, Green, and Weir rely on rarely have the social status accorded the intellectuals chronicled so carefully by Bix, but their views have validity and importance nonetheless. Bix's sources contain important and indispensable evidence about automation, but we also need to seek out sources that force us to see that there is more at stake in these fights than a binary opposition between the proponents of progress and the supporters of superstition.

GEORGE LIPSITZ  
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ANGELA J. LATHAM. *Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press/Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2000. Pp. xi, 203. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Angela J. Latham introduces her book with a story about her grandmother's sly "switch." In the 1920s, her grandmother had bobbed her hair, flapper style, but kept a braid or switch to pin into her bob so that she could maintain her respectability as a midwestern schoolteacher. Later, she posed as a single woman so that she could keep her job after she got married. Latham reads the braid-wearing as a pose, too, classifying both strategies as performances, examples of how public and private gender identification are managed by details of appearance and presentation.

Latham amplifies this insight as her thesis: that during the gender-role transitions of the 1920s, women's everyday visibility in the current fashions and their visibility in popular theater were parallel sites of contentious performance. Latham creatively connects the two public arenas; theatrical revues and burlesque provoked well-known controversies and censorship, but mainstream clothing trends of the 1920s—short skirts, the chemise, silk hosiery—were also widely condemned as "a visual synopsis of all that was morally wrong with American women" (p. 69).

Latham devotes two chapters each to fashion and to theater, the last of which analyzes in depth the text and censorship of a racy 1920 play by Avery Hopwood, *Ladies Night in a Turkish bath*.

The story of the "switch" is also a clue to this book's methodology and theoretical framework. A theater historian by training, Latham deploys what she calls "historical performance ethnography," a study of past performances that aims "to identify to the fullest extent possible the sensory experiences represented in the archives of history" (p. 14). Latham successfully demonstrates this approach when she pinpoints particular controversies—a court case involving a fashion contract, the introduction of the one-piece women's bathing suit, the censorship of Hopwood's play—and carefully analyzes the multiple discourses and strategies of the dispute. In a remarkable chapter on women's swimwear, Latham traces the interplay of reli-

gious, civic, feminist, and capitalist arguments and their mixed results: a series of regulations and censorship, a more "liberated" female bather, a more exacting concept of femininity as decor, and exploitation of the "bathing beauty" for tourist attractions, pageants, and revues.

As this suggests, Latham interprets the more liberated clothing styles of the 1920s cautiously, reminding us that women were more often contained than freed by fashion codes and controversies. Moving from 1920s fashion to popular entertainment, Latham is similarly interested in the "ideological terrain between the censure and sanction of female display" (p. 101). Thus in describing the contentions around burlesque and the higher-class revues, she cannily connects the censorship and the show-business hype as parallel "binding proscriptions against women" (p. 104). While reformers crusaded for decency and modesty, big-time producers such as Florenz Ziegfeld and Lee Shubert crusaded for narrowly defined standards of female beauty. The effect of both discourses on women, Latham argues, is bodily shame.

The originality and value of this book is its extension of the concept of "transgressive performance" to include fashion as well as popular theater, thus positing a continuum of "the flapper, the chorus girl, and other brazen performers." Latham describes "the flapper look" as an image and pose, and she carefully points out that she is not speaking about all American women; however, I remain curious about who, exactly, was included or excluded by the term "flapper." The illustrations show flappers who are white and upper class, but Latham claims that "working women" were often the most public examples of flapper fashion. Did this include working-class women such as factory workers? Black women? Immigrant women? Similarly, the growing visibility of "lesbian chic" in the 1920s—certainly a transgressive pose and performance involving both fashion and theater (the censored plays of Shalom Asch and Edouard Bourdet)—is oddly omitted, even though the flapper style overlapped in some ways with boyish chic. Because these marginalized groups truly posed a threat to mainstream ideas of American womanhood and erotic appeal, I wonder how flapper performance expressed, deferred, assimilated, or mollified these other images. Richly documented and written in a lively, jargon-free prose, Latham's book is sure to be part of our ongoing conversations about the female body as locus of social change in the 1920s.

LINDA MIZEJEWSKI  
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JULIE A. WILLETT. *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 249. \$55.00.

Studies that add an important human activity to the historical record, and that by the same token give historical context to a daily activity, should be greatly

treasured. Julie A. Willett's study of hairdressing is not without precedent, but it offers an unusually comprehensive look at a significant twentieth-century industry and female preoccupation. And it has puns, not only in the title but also the heading for chapter one, which in best historian's fashion delves into the roots of the phenomenon.

This is not, however, a playful history. It offers a twofold focus on race and on work experience and training. Successive chapters deal with the industry's origins, predictably in the first two decades of the twentieth century; with a major surge in training during the 1920s; with the impact of the Depression and accompanying organizational efforts to improve working conditions and professional status; and with the heyday of the local shop, amid the labor shortages of World War II and the expansion of prosperity and beauty concerns in the 1950s. A final chapter, a bit diffuse, traces developments since the 1960s, with a focus on ongoing substantial segregation along with increasingly complex African-American women's hairstyles; some changes in relationships with men, including unisex shops and the temporary surge of long hair styles for men; and the spread of chains and bigger business forms. While this final segment offers useful data, it is safe to say that the heart of the study lies in the industry's first half century.

The attention to race is unusually consistent and, on the whole, rewarding. Chapter one begins with the African-American side of the industry, which is attributed to African hairstyle traditions, some of the domestic experiences of slavery, and the concern with expression through appearance. Work as beauticians provided African-American women with an important alternative to domestic service. Euro-American beauty parlors grew up separately but in parallel. Here, too, there were opportunities for work and also for small business proprietorship for women. Male intervention was greater on the white side, with efforts to tout male hair stylists, often with European cachet, and the impact of department stores and other big businesses on the practices of the trade. Treatment of each period continues the chronicle of lively developments on both sides of the segregation divide. The organizing activities of the National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association (NHCA), which resolutely ignored African-American practitioners, can be compared with the important efforts of leaders like Marjorie Stewart Joyner, in Chicago, to enhance professional status and educational opportunities for African-American workers. The segregation theme is unavoidable, as it continues, Willett argues, to the present day despite modest crossover opportunities.

Training and work conditions form the second theme, here with a bit more attention to the Euro-American side of the ledger if only because of more abundant documentation. Low pay, long hours, and demanding and often unsafe machinery match up with largely unsuccessful efforts to establish clear professional standards and status. The sheer proliferation of

beauty schools (high school courses, however, gain less attention) and their usually rural or lower-class recruits constrained major improvements. However, the NHCA did win some support from the National Recovery Administration during the 1930s, and greater prosperity and more work alternatives continued an upward trend in the two ensuing decades.

Willett has abundant documentation for her two major themes in an impressive number of memoirs and photographs as well as professional periodicals and training literature. There is, however, less statistical framing than one might wish.

A third potential theme gains less attention. Willett correctly calls the beauty salon a female space, despite occasional male intrusion and a few early interactions with barbers. Recollections of the importance of trips to the salon in small-town women's culture provide brief spice, as do related comments on the importance of hairdressing to 1920s young people defying parental standards, to rural women on the occasional excursion to town, and to teenagers in the 1950s getting ready for a prom. But there is no full analysis in any of the periods, and therefore no real periodization, beyond some comment on changing styles, of what the experience meant to the women patrons involved. Here there is opportunity for more imaginative exploration that will build on Willett's solid foundations.

Not perhaps to dye for, the book is a highly competent addition to the history of women, race, and labor in the twentieth century, conditioning over appreciation of all these topics.

PETER N. STEARNS

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ROBERT M. CRUNDEN. *Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism*. New York: Basic Books. 2000. Pp. xvii, 475. \$35.00.

In "Echoes of the Jazz Age" (1931), F. Scott Fitzgerald observed that the spirit of revolt characteristic of the early 1920s petered out not with the onset of the Depression but, instead, during the boom, around 1927. The historian Warren I. Susman, who delighted in noting that he was born that year, likewise used to insist that the date had more significance for students of culture than did 1929.

Robert M. Crunden's book is, on one level, an extended essay on the same point. The author, who died shortly before his book appeared, made the case for a distinctive "first jazz age" from 1919–1926 by exploring the lives and careers of more than a dozen American modernists: musicians, painters, architects, and writers. The figures whose late 1920s reorientations he considers include Paul Rosenfeld, Paul Strand, John Dos Passos, Charles Sheeler, and Langston Hughes.

Four features of Crunden's portraits are of special value. One is his use of the space of the city to frame the first section of the book. Another is the author's knowledgeable inclusion of musical as well as literary



history—notably his effort to restore the place of Chicago in the development of jazz. A third strength is Crunden's explicit attention, in four central chapters, to relationships between mentors such as Alfred Stieglitz and Igor Stravinsky and the protégés who, like Georgia O'Keeffe and George Antheil, were by 1927 fighting to stand on their own. Finally, Crunden's discernment, in the book's last section, of the fascination with the occult many of his protagonists exhibited is a useful reminder that the modern temper entailed more than aggressive rationality.

Crunden's almost fiercely biographical method rests on an evident antipathy to literary theory; at one point, he cautions his readers to "resist the impulse to overanalyze" (p. 356). Yet his occasional departures into textual explication, as in his reading of Wallace Stevens's "The Comedian as the Letter C," are invariably rewarding. Less satisfying is the definition of modernism that ostensibly unifies the book: "a language that outsiders developed as a way of expressing their inability to find psychologically satisfying places in the larger society" (p. 2). The "outsider" concept is, by itself, not precise enough to explain why Crunden's subjects turned to art as opposed to radical politics, or how their version of "outsideness" differed from that of Nathaniel Hawthorne or Henry Adams.

Although this book is curiously disengaged, even in the notes, from other historical overviews, it is in a sense the obverse of Henry F. May's *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time* (1959), which claimed that a rebellion against Victorian convention, instead of arising after World War I, actually began before the war. Even so, despite Crunden's conception of the book as a sequel to his volume on American salons between 1885 and 1917, most of his portraits indicate that his subjects embraced modernism prior to the "first jazz age." Furthermore, to the extent that Crunden's study perpetuates the image of a "jazz age" at all, it represents a step backward from the efforts of other scholars to emphasize the social conflicts, uneven prosperity, political tensions, and middlebrow institutions that made the period something other than the "greatest, gaudiest spree in history" that "Echoes of the Jazz Age" described. The book also inevitably invites comparison with Ann Douglas's *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (1995), another broad treatment of the modern urban sensibility in which race plays a central role. While both books explore the commingling of black and white artistic traditions, Douglas advances the view that figures such as Ethel Waters or the poets of the Harlem Renaissance actively appropriated white influences to forge their own African and Euro-American styles. Although Douglas may be faulted for overgeneralizing, her interpretation leads her to position an exuberant modernism at the heart of American popular culture. By contrast, Crunden, limited by his "outsider" construct, wrote more negatively about the "bleaching" of the blues and the psychic burdens that "ambivalence" placed on African-American artists.

Crunden's insistence that his book was "history, not criticism" also means that it avoids much reflection on the aesthetic achievements or moral frameworks of its central characters. If Crunden had lived, perhaps he might have chronicled—and evaluated—the appeal of the "collectivist solidarity" that took hold of Hughes and many others after 1927. Questions about how the language of "outsiders" became the vocabulary of a wide public remain open as well, but Crunden's lucid portraits will assist future historians in answering them.

JOAN SHELLEY RUBIN  
University of Rochester

ERIN A. SMITH. *Hard-Boiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 215. Cloth \$64.50, paper \$19.95.

Erin A. Smith's book belongs especially to that branch of cultural criticism termed the "sociology of reception." Her goal is to imagine how the typical readers of pulp fiction—who, she argues, were predominantly white, working-class nativist males—read that literature and, more important, what social lessons they took from it.

Noting the recurrent difficulty that working-class historiography confronts because of the frequent absence of documents, Smith suggests that working-class life can be reconstructed indirectly by a look at the cultural products workers consumed and an interpretation of values they internalized in that consumption. Smith proposes two modes of analysis. In her first part, she looks at the discourse *around* pulp fiction. On the one hand, she examines the discourse that is literally around the fiction: that is, she reads the ads that dotted pulp magazines for what they might reveal about the desires encouraged in working-class readers. For instance, the many advertisements for self-improvement (such as body building courses or correspondence school programs in job training) offer an individualist image of worker amelioration that Smith contends parallels the pulp story's emphasis on loner heroes who try to imprint their will on the world.

On the other hand, Smith argues the interest of looking also at a discourse more metaphorically around pulp fiction. That is, she examines available documents from publishing houses (in order to pinpoint the targeting they engaged in); readers' letters to the editors; readers' responses to publisher surveys; and critical assessments of the literature (for instance, a large body of contemporary writing by educators and reformers on the supposed effects of pulp writing). Smith's approach is fairly straightforward: she looks at these discourses as material traces in which workers express attitudes or have them expressed for them by arbiters of cultural taste.

In the second part of her book, Smith looks at the pulp fictions themselves, interpreting them as narratives of working-class life. Generally, she constructs an image of such life from classic works in history and



sociology and then posits that this image finds parallels in the style and subject matter of pulp fiction. In particular, Smith examines working-class life in terms of Taylorization, Fordism, and a shift from skill to personality as a means for getting ahead (here, she relies strongly on Warren I. Susman in arguing that self-image and self-presentation came increasingly in the twentieth century to be the markers of worker success). Smith then sees the literary works as allegories of these processes of labor. For instance, she posits that the speed-up and fragmentation in assembly line production finds its representation in the break-neck pace of pulp narratives and in the fact that characters often only have a limited perspective on the world around them (detectives, for instance, must try to construct larger narratives from isolated little details, and, in the tough-guy tradition of detection, they often fail at gaining such meaning through rational means). Likewise, Smith suggests that the emphasis in pulp fiction on reading characters through their look and through clothing (as in Raymond Chandler's detailed description of dress) serves as a veritable form of training for readers: they learn that worldly success is about self-presentation and an ability to read the clues that others throw off in dress, demeanor, speech, and so on.

As intriguing as this reading of literary works as dramatizations and documentation of social history might be, it is necessary to recognize that it is an act of interpretation. The only thing that "proves" that pulp fiction is about the world of work—and that there are social lessons that the targeted readers take away from these works—is Smith's contention that this is so. Here, perhaps, we come up against the limits of a sociology of reading, especially when there are few other documents of just what workers actually did with the literature. Such a sociology is frequently itself a form of reading that assumes that social attitudes can be read off of literary works. Nonetheless, as a reading, Smith's interpretation of pulp fiction as directly political and social represents a nice way of imagining just what the meaning of this literature might have been for its readers.

DANA POLAN  
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GREGG MITMAN, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 263. \$29.95.

Gregg Mitman examines wildlife films, from the travelogue-expedition genre of the 1920s, through films like *Flipper* (1963) that domesticated wild animals, to recent movies that carry mixed cargoes of conservation and internationalist vision. His book emphasizes the issue of artifice representing or screening nature, here artfully presented as the camera's lens interposing and transforming the viewer's understanding of nature.

Hollywood conventions of drama and entertainment influenced the making of wildlife films. Nature film

photographers walked a narrow trail between a desire to bring an authentic recreation of nature to the audience and popular demand for drama and excitement. The 1910 film, *Roosevelt in Africa*, fared worse at the box office than an unauthorized version of Theodore Roosevelt's adventures that faked a scene of the brave hunter killing a lion in a studio. William Douglas Burden and his wife Katherine felt forced to simulate parts of their hunt for Komodo dragons that they could not capture in the field. The staged excitement was not enough to capture a producer, but their expedition to the East Indies was the inspiration for the wildly popular *King Kong* (1933).

Makers of wildlife films mixed science with showmanship. In *Trailing African Wild Animals* (1923) and *Simba* (1928), Martin and Osa Johnson used Hollywood's comic and dramatic conventions to capture popular audiences. Endorsement from the American Museum of Natural History bolstered the Johnsons' reputation and brought the museum into the world of Hollywood. Despite avowals of accuracy, these films utilized fabricated narrative and action. Mitman suggests that "integrity and the issue of character" were essential criteria for distinguishing "the scientist from the showman and authenticity from artifice" in wildlife films (p. 204).

Scientists and conservationists shared an intense concern over the issue of authenticity in wildlife and ethnographic films, fearing that misrepresentations of nature might harm the cause of conservation. After release of *The Silent Enemy* in 1930, questions arose regarding the authenticity of Chief Long Lance, who played an Ojibwa. Actually of African-American, white, and Lumbee and Catawba Indian heritage, Long Lance grew so despondent over the controversy that he eventually committed suicide. Scientists worried over the accurate portrayal of animals' life histories. Conservationists felt that the tribulations of the film crew and their direct engagement with nature substantiated a film's authenticity. Films produced without a desire for commercial exploitation of nature were considered more authentic than others (in 1930, the sensationalist *Ingagi* featured gorillas cohabitating with women, clearly failing the test of authenticity).

Human discomfort with the commercial exploitation of nature for purposes of entertainment, argues Mitman, "reveals how much we wish nature to appear pristine, set apart from the hands of man" (p. 206). Indeed, wildlife films reinforced notions of the wilderness as unspoiled. During the 1950s, for example, Disney photographers shooting the True-Life Adventures series found the Pacific Northwest an ideal setting to portray pristine wilderness. Mitman joins other authors who emphasize wilderness as a notion constructed in human imagination. In these accounts, nature loses some of its substance and conservation efforts seem reduced to cultural hubris. The author demonstrates the arrogance of preserving Africa for the ecologist and the tourist but risks minimizing

honest contemporary concerns regarding the animals or the land itself.

Film conventions molded popular expectations of nature that shaped how venues such as Marine Studios and Disney's Animal Kingdom near Orlando, Florida, employed artifice in presenting wildlife to the public. Marine Studios found it necessary to veil the aggressively amorous behaviors of dolphins from public view at the facility and in film. It is notable that film editors seeking dramatic footage left the countless hours of naturalists' patient observation on the cutting room floor, creating public expectations that field experience never matched. Popular culture, in turn, shaped film conventions. During the 1950s, television programs like Marlin Perkins's *Zoo Parade* looked to nature for animal stories that reaffirmed American family values.

Mitman makes a significant contribution to literature examining cultural perceptions of nature, elegantly and convincingly explaining how film shapes popular views of nature, animals, and the environment. Although his book will be of keen interest to historians who study science, culture, and environmental history, a wider audience including wildlife scientists also will find it of considerable interest. Illustrated by thirty photos, the book is a page-turner. There is some danger, however, that historians under its influence will drive through cities late at night, begging video store clerks for a copy of *The Private Life of the Gannet* (1937) or *King Kong*.

JAMES A. PRITCHARD  
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CHRISTINE BOLD. *The WPA Guides: Mapping America*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1999. Pp. xvi, 246. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$20.00.

Christine Bold's book is not a comprehensive guide to the four hundred volumes the Federal Writers' Project (FWP) produced under Works Progress Administration (WPA) auspices between 1935 and 1943, nor an overview of all the state guides written either. Rather, she has selected three states (Idaho, North Carolina, and Missouri), one city (New York), and the highway route series to highlight the struggles that occurred among editors and writers in the process of compiling the state guidebook series. It will not come as a surprise to any students of the New Deal that the archives have revealed evidence of plenty of tension between the federal bureaucracy and regional interests, political differences within local provinces, or racism and sexism everywhere. Although the guidebooks were publicized as "'discovering'—rather than 'creating'" America (p. xv)—that is, they were believed to be less fanciful than what was being produced on the other arts projects—Bold shows that appropriation of the documentary genre meant only that the published guidebooks were more effective in covering up the ongoing arguments that plagued all the arts projects over how America should be defined.

It is the descriptions of the fights, squabbles, strikes,

and show downs, of Harold Rosenberg traveling from the central office in Washington, D.C., to Missouri to take the whole thing in hand and get out the product, that make this book a useful addition to New Deal history and a pleasure to read. Some of the exchanges had to do with the stylistic and formal uniformity that Washington insisted on. Writers were not to use the passive voice; editors in the central office felt they had to exercise some restraint in the "best of" categories that every state offered, as well as the hundreds of towns that got to be described as the "crossroads" of wherever; the tours *had* to be organized north to south, east to west, which elicited protests from just about every state office that such a routing seemed to make no sense to the way people locally got from place to place. The national director of the FWP from 1935 to 1939, Henry Alsberg, combined an ideological conviction of the importance of regionalism and an equally firm belief in his own ability to define the regional from the vantage point of Washington, D.C., which, of course, infuriated people in every region he dealt with.

Washington did meet its match, however, in Idaho state director and historical author Vardis Fisher (author of four quasi-autobiographical works written between 1932 and 1936 and then of a twelve-volume series begun in 1943 chronicling the history of man, from the Neanderthal to Fisher's stint in the FWP). Fisher managed to write his own personal guide to Idaho, concentrating on Idaho's natural resources, presenting the landscape as the last bastion of masculine primitivism, and he beat out everyone in getting his state guidebook published first. Washington lost every battle it had with him. I could not help but be rather cheered up by this account, in the way that Americans tend always to discount the Washington attitude as insufferable, even when one agrees with the basic policy. The political correctness of its time can seem as priggish then as now. And the stakes do not appear to be enormous (although perhaps this is just a Californian dismissing Idaho). Fisher's Idaho reads like bad Hemingway, a bit over the top, idiosyncratic, silly, but colorful.

Of course, when we are reading racism, it is harder to take the side of the politically incorrect. There is no doubt that Sterling Brown, the "National Negro affairs editor," had a tough job and did it admirably, trying to coax racists, even of the most liberal sort, to include material on and for African Americans. But I wondered as I read how it might have been the case that there, too, this central (national) view of race really was only one view and must have come up against not only the reactionary white racists of the South but also the different views of African Americans themselves. Indeed, the New Deal archives contain all sorts of deviant accounts by all sorts of people, such that attempts at nationalizing the Negro or women or the South, or even the state, come to seem heavy handed, creating generalizations that cover up historical specificities, fissures, dissent. Bold's study nicely delineates the specificities.

What I am unclear about is what lessons we learn from the struggles she uncovers. We now expect to find battles for power and threats of censorship in all descriptions of culture. Were the New Dealers less conscious of their will to power, either because they lacked the language we have at our disposal or because they were interested in finding a popular, united front? It is hard to think so. But even if they were, consciousness may not, in itself, lead to a tempering of the need to win whatever struggle is at hand. The point, perhaps, is that in letting us see what some of those struggles were over, we may be better able (as citizens? as readers of culture?) to decide for ourselves how we wish to be mapped.

RENA FRADEN  
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LANDON R. Y. STORRS. *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era.* (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 392. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Landon R. Y. Storrs begins her exploration of the National Consumers' League (NCL) in the New Deal era with a brief discussion of Kathie Lee Gifford, Robert Reich, contemporary sweatshops, and, yes, the National Consumers' League in the 1990s. This organization, founded in the 1890s by affluent women and accused even early on of being little more than a maternalist white women's reform organization, has a rich and compelling past as well as a promising future. Activists of today can learn a great deal from the history of this female reform organization as it has struggled with industry and the state as well as with other feminist and reform organizations.

Challenging the supposed demise of white women's autonomous reform organizations following the franchise, Storrs details the efforts of the NCL during the 1930s. With a focus on wage and hour regulations, the league succeeded due to a combination of factors: its federated structure, low membership dues, efforts to recruit students, antiracist and feminist stance, and effective and connected leadership. Recognizing that employers responded to coercion rather than citizen or consumer demands, and drawing on its successes during the Progressive era, the league pushed its New Deal "friends in the White House." It managed to convince government leaders that the Depression was, as early leader Florence Kelley stated, the result of the nation's "past planless conduct of industry." Relief demanded reform, and the NCL promoted what Storrs convincingly terms "feminist social democracy."

The NCL pursued its labor standards agenda in the midst of the Great Depression with a surprising degree of success. One of the league's goals was to use women-only regulations as a wedge to open governmental obligations to all workers. This pitted them not only against powerful voices in government and indus-

try, particularly in the South, but also against powerful voices in the National Woman's Party, which opposed any sex-based legislation. Storrs captures the conflict between the National Consumers' League and the National Woman's Party with clarity and fairness, outlining the risks of each group's strategies. She ultimately sides with the NCL, arguing that sex-neutral policies did emerge from women-only labor standards laws. However, as she acknowledges, shared leadership and governmental changes in the labor standards area in the late 1930s diluted both the message and the accomplishments of NCL activists.

Storrs chronicles the North-South rift in politics that makes the NCL story so remarkable. In the early years of the Depression, the league focused on creating labor standards committees state by state, a daunting task requiring enormous coordination of people and resources. The New York Labor Standards Committee, for example, represented over fifty women's, civic, labor, and religious groups. The league succeeded in developing similar alliances in many other northern and midwestern states. However, a labor standards committee formed in only one southern state, the border state of Kentucky. NCL leaders, realizing the need to work nationally rather than strictly regionally, and determined to meet the needs of the most marginalized workers, pushed for further reform in the South. Those who joined the NCL in those efforts were among the few southerners willing openly to challenge the race-based class system so firmly entrenched. In this story, as with others in this rich history, Storrs recasts white women's reform efforts in a compelling new light. She also makes clear that the concept of ethical consumption itself has merit and can form the basis of progressive social change.

This expertly researched and richly woven history is followed by three useful appendixes—National Consumers' League Officers, 1933 and 1941; Biographical Data on Fifty Consumers' League Activists in the 1930s; and Selected Landmarks in the History of Labor Standards Regulation—as well as a detailed bibliography.

JENNIFER SCANLON  
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LEE J. ALSTON and JOSEPH P. FERRIE. *Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State: Economics, Politics, and Institutions in the South, 1865–1965.* (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 170. \$49.95.

Historians may be misled by the title of this slim book by two economists. This book is not really about "economics, politics, institutions in the South, 1865–1965," as the volume's subtitle promises. Instead, Lee J. Alston and Joseph P. Ferrie focus primarily on a much shorter period, particularly emphasizing the voting behavior of southern Congressmen from the

New Deal to the Great Society. As an economic explanation for the legislative action of southern Democrats, illuminating "how Southerners' desire to maintain the system of paternalism helped shape federal social welfare policy in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s" (p. 1), the book is valuable both to historians and practitioners of the "New Institutional Economics."

The authors provide a quick overview of "paternalism" in the period from Emancipation to the 1930s, insisting that they intend "no value judgment" in their use of the word "paternalism" (p. 13), a term that they define simply as "the behavior exhibited by landowners toward their agricultural workers and the reciprocal behavior displayed by workers" or what has "in other contexts been described as a patron-client relationship" (p. 7). Their attempt to discover "an economic logic" to paternalism is plausible and only occasionally marred by the jargon of the authors' discipline. (Landlords, Alston and Ferrie explain, demanded subservient demeanor from their tenants because deference may be "a consumption good in the utility function of landlords" [p. 26]).

Southern congressional opposition to federal welfare spending cannot be understood either as solely motivated by racism, according to Alston and Ferrie, or, as southern politicians explained it themselves, as a matter of local rights and opposition to centralization and "socialism." Rather than studying "the fiery orations" of southern Congressmen (p. 61), the authors look to actions and economic interests, always asking, in effect, *Cui bono*?

Three case studies are the heart of the book: southern opposition to the inclusion of farm workers in the Social Security Act, southern resistance to the operations of the Farm Security Administration, and southern support for the Bracero Program, an arrangement for admitting short-term Mexican agricultural laborers to the United States (1942–1964). In each case, southern agricultural interests, especially cotton planters, sought to maintain informal, paternalistic customs that kept farm labor, especially black labor, plentiful and dependent on employers for credit, housing, emergency help, medical care, and a modicum of old-age security. "Many of the welfare programs contemplated during the New Deal," assert Alston and Ferrie, were "already present in one form or another" (p. 59) in the South. A rival source of benefits would undermine the South's system of producing cotton. (Although Alston and Ferrie do not underline the point, more *generous* benefits, from any source, would also threaten the racial status quo.)

Thus southern Democrats were, above all, defending paternalism in keeping agricultural workers out of Social Security's "old-age insurance" program until 1950, and in curtailing and, eventually, killing (1946) the Farm Security Administration, with its schemes of tenant purchase, cooperatives, "rehabilitation loans," and written contracts. Although only Texas and Arkansas employed significant numbers of Mexican workers, southern Congressmen were also indirectly

supporting paternalism, according to Alston and Ferrie, by voting for the Bracero Program. If Mexican workers were not available in California and the southwest, black agricultural workers might have been drawn out of the South by higher wages elsewhere.

To clinch their argument, Alston and Ferrie point to an evidentiary dog that did not bark: "The point to which we wish to draw attention is the curious behavior of Southern Congressmen in the 1960s." Though they had the power to do so, they "no longer blocked the expansion of [federal] welfare activities" (p. 132). The reason for this action (or inaction) is that southern politicians had a "declining economic incentive" (p. 133) to defend paternalism and, in fact, now had a motivation to encourage black migration out of the South in the new circumstances created by the civil rights movement and the mechanization of cotton agriculture.

This book might usefully have been extended to 1970 to include the impact on southern cotton growers of the federal minimum wage for farm workers. As scholar-journalist Nicholas Lemann observed of the Mississippi Delta: "The minimum wage finally forced the planters . . . to drop their long-cherished self-conception as landed gentry presiding over a mild paternalistic system." Imposed in 1967, the minimum wage led to instant unemployment for thousands of black laborers and spurred both the dramatic "chemical revolution" in cotton culture and the completion of the mechanization of cotton production. By 1970, virtually all upland cotton was cultivated and harvested in ways that rendered most farm workers economically irrelevant.

On its own terms, this is a persuasive book. One wishes, however, that the authors had given greater recognition to the limits of paternalism—an arrangement, after all, in which the dominant whites only fitfully kept their end of the bargain. The eminent Mississippi planter/politician LeRoy Percy, for example, is mentioned for his public condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan in 1923. This example of enlightened self-interest—the protection of African Americans from intimidation for the sake of labor peace—might have been compared with Percy's behavior in 1927, when the Delta paternalist was willing to risk the lives of thousands of black farm workers rather than to help them flee the great Mississippi flood and, perhaps, never return.

ERIC ANDERSON  
*Pacific Union College*

MELISSA WALKER. *All We Knew Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919–1941*. (Revisited Rural America.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 341. \$42.50.

With an extensive collection of oral histories, family papers, and government reports, Melissa Walker harnesses a gender perspective to tell the story of social and economic transformation in the rural region com-



monly called Appalachia. Because the term "Appalachian" has become encrusted with stereotypes of poverty and rawness, she uses the label "upcountry South" and focuses on three noncontiguous areas: eastern Tennessee, northwestern South Carolina, and southwestern West Virginia. Common characteristics included foothill and mountain geography, marginal agriculture with a high tenancy rate, and a largely white population with southern racial attitudes. Although these areas were relatively isolated in the early twentieth century, the intrusion of the federal government and capitalist industries in the interwar years brought the inhabitants new opportunities and more consumer goods, but also the loss of some characteristically agrarian social patterns. A traditional way of life in which women had key community and family roles was transformed into one in which women's economic roles were marginalized and their informal networks of mutual assistance were replaced by alien organizations and agencies.

The book's title, coming from an oral history, is a curious choice, given the extended record of factory and domestic manufacturing, mining, tourism, and forestry in the region. The contradiction points to the need for sophisticated interrogation and interpretation of oral histories. Minimally, we need critical consideration of the context in which the oral histories were collected and how the subjects were selected. Just as with more traditional sources, we need ways to process contradictory accounts, standards for separating good data from bad data, and respect for the limitations of the evidence. In this study, as elsewhere, much historical information on the poor comes through the interpretations of social workers. Walker acknowledges probable misrepresentations, but there is yet more work to be done in decoding these accounts and combining them with quantitative data to sharpen our understandings of the realities that poor people faced.

The structure of the book, in which historiographic issues are raised almost exclusively in an appended bibliographical essay, presents some difficulty for the academic reader. We do not know how the data were culled or whether there might also be material for alternative interpretation. We read "some scholars maintain" (p. 97) and "one historian has called" (p. 210) without being told which scholars or which historian have put forth these ideas. Further, the presence of quotes without full and precise citations is surely unusual for books reviewed in the *AHR*.

The image of traditional, familial, personalized rural community giving way to individualized, depersonalized urban society appeared in anthropology as the folk-urban continuum formulated by Robert Redfield in 1947 in the context of a Mexican village. It was immediately critiqued by Oscar Lewis. Succeeding anthropologists, who typically spent a year or more living in different peasant communities, amply demonstrated that social and psychological reasons, as well as economic reasons, drove people from their homes. Soon the folk-urban continuum was so thoroughly

demolished that an anthropologist could no longer score points by setting Redfield up and knocking him down. Yet the model lives on in popular imagination and in a surprising number of works on rural America. It may indeed work here, but I won't accept it without solid evidence.

For example, we read repeatedly that mutual aid networks declined when people left their farms. But where is this carefully considered rather than posited? To my eyes, the most spectacular instance of mutual aid described in the book occurred not in a farming context but in a West Virginia mining strike led by Mother Jones, an urban-bred Irish immigrant. Those who accept the rural-urban continuum may find their beliefs confirmed in Walker's account; and those who doubt or question will be frustrated by the paucity of evidence for the claims.

This book may serve as a base for further investigation. It contains a rich assortment of hypotheses that might ground future studies. Even better, it may lead us to look beyond these hypotheses toward new questions of gender, class, race, politics and ecology in rural studies.

DEBORAH FINK  
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JANET IRONS. *Testing the New Deal: The General Textile Strike of 1934 in the American South*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

Janet Irons's book proves yet again that labor history provides a window to view and understand America. The inner workings of American governmental policy, American society (especially in the South), and labor issues that divided and continue to divide management and workers are all considered and treated deftly. Irons probes large questions: what was the nature of the New Deal? What was the nature of the working lives of men and women in southern textile mills before and during the New Deal? And, after more than sixty years of silence, what was the significance of the general textile strike of 1934? Irons reveals the paradoxical nature of the New Deal's relationship with labor using southern textile workers as a case study. The New Deal inspired labor without providing the wherewithal for southern labor to succeed. While southern textile workers responded to FDR and the New Deal enthusiastically, they soon learned that pieces of the New Deal pie were sliced thinly indeed.

Irons debunks earlier conclusions that the 1934 strike had been "organized and inspired by the northern-based United Textile Workers Union" (p. 5), or that the strike—premature in its execution—was yet another example of the inability of southern labor to fend for itself. Irons dismisses this labor version of the "cultural captivity" thesis and argues convincingly, instead, that "the indigenous southern organizing that led to the strike makes clear that southern textile

workers did not suffer from any cultural defect that made them less committed to unionism than their northern counterparts" (p. 175). Rather, the 1934 strike—involving fully two-thirds of the southern textile labor force and representing the most extensive labor protest in the history of the South—was the culmination of years of cultivation by southern workers of "customary rights," established work practices developed in the pre-World War I period. In fact, Irons identifies four stages of development for southern textile unionists: 1901–1929, when southern textile workers held mill owners accountable for ensuring "customary work practices"; 1929–1933, when disruption of these long-held "customary work practices" led southern workers to seek greater regional organization; 1933, when the inauguration of FDR and his New Deal inspired southern textile workers to reject southern elites in favor of dependence on the federal government; and 1934, when workers called for a general strike after realizing that New Deal rhetoric failed to match reality.

The 1934 strike brought the workers full circle; they returned to the traditional methods of direct action of the early years of the twentieth century. While the author makes it clear that New Deal developments such as the Wagner Act and the Congress of Industrial Organizations did not represent the starting point for understanding the "labor insurgency" of the 1930s but were instead the products of a generation of struggle, Irons also understands that the "schizophrenic" nature of the New Deal introduced a new dynamic in the struggle. While New Deal rhetoric mobilized southern workers to act, the New Deal never really allowed them to succeed. After all, Roosevelt built his Democratic majority in Congress by coupling a northern working-class base with southern Democratic elites. Both southern Democratic elite mill owners and New Deal reformers remained committed to the progressive principles of scientific management, blinding them—or causing them to ignore—the evils of the "stretch-out," a practice that increasingly alienated southern mill workers. As southern workers knew from firsthand experience, efficiency and justice were not always compatible.

Irons presents these arguments systematically and convincingly. What is lost in the telling, perhaps, is the passion and pathos of the 1934 strike. In the book's conclusion, the author includes a quotation from journalist W. R. Gaylord. Writing in November 1934, Gaylord concluded that the strike "in the mill hells of Alabama is rich with material for the writing of an epic poem. It may be that out of its throes will come a poet who lived it through, who will sing its song for the nation to hear" (p. 181). Her book is not that poem, but after a silence of sixty-six years Irons probes the meaning of the strike ably and well.

JAMES DUANE BOLIN  
Murray State University

G. C. WALDREP III. *Southern Workers and the Search for Community: Spartanburg County, South Carolina*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 272. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$17.95.

This is a welcome contribution to the literature on southern working-class culture. Concentrating on the informal structures of textile workers' lives in Spartanburg County, South Carolina, in the 1930s, G. C. Waldrep III seeks a language for the "private transcript" (p. 168) of their history. He employs such official documentation as newspapers, government records, and union archives but relies most heavily on workers' oral histories. From these, Waldrep hopes to recover the "interior social life" (p. 6) of mill villages, especially during a brief period of worker militancy from 1934–1936.

The historical context is the national textile workers strike of 1934 and its aftermath. Animated by a belief that Christianity demanded humane treatment for those struggling to earn their daily bread, Spartanburg workers were emboldened when the United Textile Workers of America (UTWA), an American Federation of Labor (AFL) union, began a southern organizing campaign in 1933. Inspired by the promise of New Deal labor law and by the Pentecostal inflections of their holistic vision of unionism, they joined thousands of others in the South to pressure the national union to strike over increased production quotas (the infamous stretch-out). Angry with employers who violated mutual unwritten rules of social and shop-floor conduct, Spartanburg militants cast the strike in moral and communitarian terms. Bitterly disappointed when the UTWA accepted a defeatist settlement imposed by the Roosevelt administration, union locals in Spartanburg endured the firing of many of their activists and lost faith in the remote agencies of the UTWA and the New Deal industrial relations system. The county's UTWA locals maintained their opposition to the feudal authority of their bosses but lost the connection with other southern and national workers that galvanized the 1934 movement. Later strikes at the Tupac, Saxon, Spartan, Beaumont, and Inman mills that "held workers' memories" (p. 82) more tightly than the 1934 strike were strictly localized and easily broken. By 1936, UTWA membership was an anemic ten percent in Spartanburg County. Efforts to organize the county mills by the Textile Workers Organizing Campaign (TWOC) of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) subsequently failed, and after 1938 "none of the mills involved in the events of the 1930s were ever organized by any union of any kind" (p. 184).

Waldrep attributes the recession of southern unionism and the faulty historical canon claiming that southern workers lacked a collective vision to several key factors. Hostile management exercised absolute control over employment and housing and thus could deprive workers of their identity as villagers and neighbors. The bureaucracies of TWOC and the Na-

tional Labor Relations Board, to which Waldrep ascribes near demonic status, misinterpreted the Spartanburg workers' integration of unionism with the daily rhythms of social, spiritual, and cultural life. And, in broader terms, historical discourse has evolved to the point where southern textile workers in the 1930s have been rendered silent. At the core of their reality, says Waldrep, were "pain," "hope," and "fear," not "marginalization," "coalition-building," "hegemony," or "quiescence." To understand the workers of Spartanburg, we must learn their "social lexicography" and "experientially acquired knowledge" (pp. 2-3).

Waldrep's humane, eloquent, and convincing thesis is incompatible in at least two important respects: his tendency to overstate the evils of union administration and to minimize the central importance of race in southern labor relations. First, Spartanburg County workers no doubt were frustrated by the remoteness of business unions and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). A bitter strike at Clifton in 1949-1950, however, which Waldrep documents in one of his final chapters, derived from workers' resistance to a company campaign to invalidate their hard-earned Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA)/CIO contract, which had been in force since 1942. The strike bitterly divided the community, leaving the contract battered but intact. Waldrep indicts the TWUA for undermining the social continuity of Clifton by dividing neighbors. This seems disingenuous: in an environment permeated by "fear," workplace contractualism arguably was a step in the right direction. Second, textile employment was rigidly divided along racial lines, with blacks admitted only to the most subordinate work. The exclusion of blacks from white definitions of community, grounded in whites' "unwillingness or inability . . . to accept black workers into their ranks," reflected the "least salutary aspects of southern society" (p. 118). Subsumed in a compelling case for the regeneration of a language that captures the true condition of the oppressed, it is inconsistent for this book to reduce to euphemism a central weakness of southern labor's struggle for a just community. Waldrep does not absolve racism among white textile workers, but he does not satisfactorily confront it.

JOHN HENNEN

Morehead State University

BRUCE NELSON. *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xlv, 388. \$39.50.

In the first pages of this book, Bruce Nelson reveals an ugly truth: white laborers felt no working-class solidarity with black labor. When black workers challenged white perquisites, whites staged wildcat strikes or harassed blacks caught outside their designated space. Nelson is a "new labor" historian, having authored *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (1988), focusing on a radical

West Coast labor movement. And Nelson, who worked nine years as a truck assembler, machine operator, warehouseman, and longshoreman, has the necessary insider status. Nevertheless, Nelson now agrees with critics of the new labor history who have charged that scholars dedicated to class consciousness have overlooked race. "There was a widespread, and largely unconscious, tendency to portray the working class as white (and usually male)" (p. xxii), Nelson admits. More recently, Robin D. G. Kelley has documented how white workers defined class in racial terms, and David R. Roediger looks at worker-created whiteness. Here Nelson builds on the work of Kelley and Roediger.

Nelson divides his book in two parts. The first section looks at longshoremen and the second at steelworkers. For both longshoremen and steelworkers, the bottom line is that rank-and-file white laborers enjoyed segregation and insisted on maintaining it. In both trades, though, there were moments, fleeting opportunities, for working-class solidarity.

In New York, empire-building Anthony "Tough Tony" Anastasia negotiated a medical clinic that helped black as well as white longshoremen. Anastasia's successor, Anthony Scotto, supported the 1963 March on Washington and boycotted South African ships. In San Francisco, Australian-born Harry Bridges, the covert ally of Communists, less covertly sided with blacks. During the 1934 strike, he journeyed to black churches, preaching class solidarity across racial lines. In the steel industry, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, formed in 1936, pledged itself to "absolute racial equality" (p. 185). The white rank and file resisted, but even so, steel workers achieved what Nelson calls "a moment of equilibrium" (p. 212) in 1950, and for a few years thereafter. A positive economy and a determination by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) chief to promote racial equality allowed labor leaders to offer black steelworkers protection and respect. It also offered them white union leader Howard Strevell, who was outspokenly in favor of equal rights.

These were brief, fleeting interludes in a grim picture. After telling his readers about Anastasia and Scotto, Nelson carefully reminds them that the two could not really accomplish much. White stevedores customarily rewarded fellow ethnics with the best jobs. Under Anastasia and Scotto, blacks remained on the outside, working the worst, most menial jobs, treated as "casuals" or "extras." Even Bridges's efforts were compromised: he put seniority and rank-and-file democracy ahead of racial progress. And the "moment of equilibrium" proved painfully brief. In 1954, the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate public schools "hit the Deep South like a bolt of lightning" (p. 222), sparking massive resistance. Increasingly, labor leaders found it difficult to sympathize with the plight of black workers. When a white foreman sent a letter of protest to the *Atlanta Constitution* after a Mississippi jury acquitted the killers of Emmett Till, other white

workers forced him off the job. He called on his union for help, and union leaders refused to intervene. Union leaders, in fact, began using rhetoric that foreshadowed George C. Wallace, Richard M. Nixon, and Ronald W. Reagan.

In 1995, Dan Carter published *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism and the Transformation of American Politics*, arguing that Wallace, Nixon, and Reagan appealed to alienated white laborers, "Reagan Democrats," threatened by more aggressive black demands, with demagogic rhetoric. Blacks, in other words, endangered "the wages of whiteness." Nelson makes a similar point, treading a thin line between "what if" and "what never could have been." At every step, union leaders' tentative steps toward racial equality ran into a solid wall of white resistance. Rank-and-file white workers on docks and in steel mills relentlessly opposed efforts to put class ahead of race.

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP  
San Francisco State University

ANDREW EDMUND KERSTEN. *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941-46*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. x, 210. \$35.00.

Andrew Edmund Kersten has produced a solid regional study of one of the most important agencies of the New Deal era, the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 created the committee in June 1941 in response to pressure from African-American labor activists, principally A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. As Kersten successfully demonstrates in focusing on the committee's career in the Midwest, the FEPC—while not ending employment discrimination during World War II—did make a significant contribution toward fighting discriminatory practices and challenging long-held views about black inferiority in the workplace. The author is on solid ground when he suggests that the real importance of the FEPC lay more in chipping away at racial stereotypes and conventions than in ending employment discrimination in one fell swoop. Kersten gives more credit than several previous scholars to the committee's ability to resolve cases of employment discrimination, at least in the northern part of the Midwest, and he credits the agency itself, not wartime manpower dislocations, for opening up labor markets to black men and women. "The committee did not eliminate employment discrimination during World War II," Kersten admits. "In fact, it represents the limits of wartime liberalism . . . [But] the FEPC accomplished much . . . [M]ere job openings [during the war] in no way guaranteed employment for minority workers" (pp. 2, 4).

In an introduction and eight chapters, Kersten takes us through an examination of the FEPC's activities and effectiveness in Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, St.

Louis, and other areas in Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The author is careful to conclude that positive results were much more likely in the northern part of the Midwest, just as they were more likely in the northeastern states than in the southern U.S. Yet not a whole lot of analysis is provided as to why that is so, beyond, of course, reference to subregional variations. We are left to wonder what, exactly, it was about southern climes that restricted advancement in ensuring fair employment. Some attention to the ingrained racial biases and ethnic homogeneity of the regions that were most resistant to the FEPC—both within and without the Midwest—might have proven beneficial.

Kersten is more successful in demonstrating that the FEPC served a positive role in reeducation and postwar modeling for job fairness—and in arguing that the committee should rightly be considered as a child of the New Deal. Its critics, especially in the South and West, certainly viewed it as such. The book also provides a good example of how both the "old civil rights history," with its emphasis on federal activism and national movements, may be fruitfully combined with the "new civil rights" historiographical emphasis on local movements and personalities. Perhaps most refreshingly, Kersten's book joins a growing recent body of literature, including books by Timothy J. Minchin, Ernest Obadele-Starks, and Kimberley L. Phillips, which provides a corrective to 1980s and 1990s-vintage labor histories that often romanticized the degree of interracial cooperation within the ranks of organized labor, especially in southern settings. Kersten's inclusion of the infamous Cincinnati wildcat "D-Day Strike" of 9,000 United Auto Workers members to protest the upgrade of seven black machinists relays the depth of racial hostilities within the ranks of organized labor—and the sometimes-yawning gap between the attitudes on racial equality of local and national leaders versus the membership of their local unions. This 1944 Ohio incident is remarkably similar to the 1943 race riot in Mobile, Alabama, where an FEPC-ordered upgrade of a handful of black welders led to the attack on African-American workers by thousands of pipe-wielding white unionists. In Alabama, as elsewhere, management incompetence—to say nothing of active aggravation of racial animosities—played a large role in the violence.

Perhaps the most intriguing chapter is the last. Here Kersten examines the forces that led to the political demise of the FEPC in 1946, laying special emphasis on the "conservative coalition" of congressional Republicans and southern Democrats, from the gentlemanly Richard B. Russell of Georgia to the intemperate Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi. The southern enemies of the FEPC (and their Republican counterparts, especially in the West) successfully used Red Scare tactics to vilify and defeat renewal of the FEPC, an agency that was "following the Communists' lead . . . [and] going against God's law . . . [in creating] a mongrel race . . . [and pushing the country] into a



communistic state" (p. 129). Extreme reading now, perhaps, but this was strong stuff in the post-World War II South and, evidently, parts of the West and Midwest. Acutely interesting is Kersten's account of how these conservative, anti-labor forces at first sought to kill the committee slowly, by strangling its funds, a strategy eerily reminiscent of the 1980s Reagan administration's attack on labor laws and agencies such as the National Labor Relations Board.

In examining these issues and drawing other carefully qualified conclusions, Kersten addresses several important historiographical questions and provides a solid contribution, using a regional study as his vehicle.

GLENN FELDMAN  
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Birmingham

DANIEL KRYDER. *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State during World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 301. \$29.95.

There can be no doubt that World War II triggered major reforms in federal racial policies. The question posed by Daniel Kryder is why those racial reforms were so limited in scope. He examines African-American wartime participation in factories, army, and agriculture within the context of the two main goals of the central government: the full mobilization of wartime production and survival in office. Kryder argues that limited racial reforms were designed to serve the central government's purpose rather than as ends in themselves. According to the author, "policy was essentially the result of statesmen's attempts to retain public office and maximize the manpower and economic product of an uneasy collaboration with race organizations pursuing new rights and privileges" (p. 26).

This is essentially a study of wartime race relations and policy making in vital areas of the national mobilization for war: the acceleration of black migration to northern cities, the increased racial tension on southern farms, southern black recruits sent to southern military bases, racial violence in the army, and the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

However progressive Franklin Delano Roosevelt's wartime race relations policies might have appeared, they were primarily designed to promote the full mobilization of industrial production and the maintenance of the party coalition. White southern Democrats wanted to maintain the racial status quo, and African-American militants, such as A. Philip Randolph, were determined to challenge it. Because historically wars had "served a progressive liberating function" for African Americans, they and their allies demanded civil rights reforms from the Roosevelt administration, especially during presidential elections. Roosevelt responded with some strategies of limited racial reform developed during World War I and the New Deal: namely, the appointment of African

Americans to key advisory positions and the so-called "Black Cabinet." However, Roosevelt and his race relations strategists were oblivious to the fact that African Americans saw such appointments as mere tokenism, designed to coopt the black elite and draw the black masses into the Roosevelt coalition.

In 1941, Randolph's threatened March on Washington Movement forced the Roosevelt administration to change some of its strategies regarding racial reforms in employment. The resulting partial reform was Executive Order 8802, which created the FEPC. While this pleased many African Americans, it did not calm the administration's fears of racial violence in the capital or resolve the conflict between the government and the radical African-American leadership. What the FEPC did do, however, was coopt Randolph's threatened march.

The logic of war mobilization of the nation's human resources required war makers to design strategies to manage "potentially debilitating class, race, and ethnic conflicts." The FEPC was one of the major agencies government officials hoped would accomplish such ends. Managing race relations in the armed services created more difficulties for the government. African-American soldiers from northern states stationed in southern army camps resisted racist treatment by the army and white civilians. Segregated training camps caused one member of the Black Cabinet to resign in protest; and racial violence at camps forced army officials to adopt new techniques of race management such as enforcing a policy of equal access to recreational facilities. Ultimately, government officials decided—in part because of the presidential election—that the best race management policy was to send African-American troops overseas.

On southern farms, the Agriculture Extension Service (AES) used conservative southern African-American leaders to offset the more militant northern African-American leaders in implementing the government's racial policies for greater utilization of black labor. These race management policies and various white coercive measures did not stop black out-migration to northern states. It was demands for wartime mobilization rather than a quest for racial justice that shaped the federal government's racial policy and both encouraged and dampened the spirit of the emerging civil rights movement.

This study contributes much to our understanding of the politics of race management during World War II. Kryder has illuminated many dark corners of racial policy formation, revealing the ulterior motives of wartime policy makers who often used African Americans as pawns and were more interested in the demands of war mobilization than in racial justice (i.e. unaware or unwilling to concede that racial justice would contribute to the mobilization effort). The only shortcoming of this study is the lack of a fuller and more consistent discussion of the link between this

period of racial policy formation and the postwar civil rights movement.

RICHARD W. THOMAS  
*Michigan State University*

SHIRLEY ANN WILSON MOORE. *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963*. (The George Gund Foundation Imprint in African American Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 232. \$40.00.

This spirited survey of African-American culture and politics in California should be a vital case study, for, according to Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, the World War II mobilization caused Richmond to undergo “a greater number of acute and long lasting changes than did any other city in the nation” (p. 41). The book mostly concerns the 1940s and proceeds in rough chronological order to monitor not only tensions between blacks and whites but also intraracial conflicts between men and women, so-called old-timers and newcomers, and conservatives and radicals among African-American workers, leaders, and organizations. It is strengthened by extensive endnotes but weakened by a relatively loose organizational scheme; there are no section headings within the very wide-ranging chapters.

Moore’s book adds to the large literature on the effects of in-migration and war mobilization on the racial evolution of American cities. The author argues that such dynamics in this semirural town departed from those in established cities in two ways. First, Richmond’s black history was made almost entirely by workers until a middle class took root in the 1950s. This theme is very well served by the sustained and impressive use of oral history interviews. Second, the town’s very small prewar, nondefense industrial and manufacturing base failed to provide sufficient employment for African Americans once the wartime boom had passed. For these and other reasons, the local “culture of expectation” largely went unfulfilled.

Moore’s most compelling analysis concerns the town’s industrious women, who played particularly vital roles despite facing a “triple-yoke of oppression”: racism, male notions of propriety, and residency in a town considered unsophisticated by area residents (p. 20). Domestic employment produced new knowledge, steady incomes, and often the ability to secure work for their husbands. During the war, women cared for the community’s children through “absence exchanges,” taking turns taking time off from work (p. 68). Later, their work as proprietors of social clubs and restaurants again made them job brokers and cultural leaders. A very brief discussion of the Depression and New Deal emphasizes the civic work of such associations and the coping strategies of black residents. Some hunted yardbirds to sell as produce.

While only twenty-nine African Americans lived in Richmond in 1910 (out of nearly 7,000 inhabitants),

15,000 arrived from 1942 to 1945, and the community turned itself into an “urban industrial workforce” (p. 39), mainly via the Kaiser Company’s shipyards, where blacks comprised twenty percent of the workers. Abundant and very rich interview data testify to the sense of opportunity, autonomy, and prosperity that attracted Americans to the area. But in the undemocratic arsenal, black workers faced discrimination in hiring, union membership, pay, and promotion, often at the hands of the Boilermakers Union.

Indeed, many of the war’s social effects are negative. The manic pace of in-migration and production—assembly lines as well as taverns ran around the clock and bay area ferries carried floating welding schools, for example—threatened to overwhelm city government. Overcrowding plagued schools, housing, and jails, if the arrest record is any indication. The rapid social dislocation also worsened race relations, as city elites singled out African Americans for blame and segregated schools, stores, and cemeteries for the first time, although there was apparently very little racial violence. The disproportionate release of black workers from wartime jobs further undermined black families, for many civilian employers refused such workers as well.

Increasingly, however, the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) managed its conservative/radical split and tapped the energy of newcomers to launch crusades against the razing and construction of housing, segregated lunch counters, and stores that refused black patrons. Oldtimer/newcomer splits characterized early struggles in local politics, but by the early 1960s, blacks comprised twenty percent of the city’s residents and gained seats on the city council; the first black mayor gained office in 1964. The resiliency of the community, Moore argues, stemmed in part from folk practices and culture imported from home states.

Richmond’s promising culture of expectation was, Moore concludes, largely unfulfilled despite black agency and activism. This is a bit surprising, since, in this account, most if not all obstacles provided avenues to success. For example, a black auxiliary union, plagued by complaints of mismanagement and corruption, provided “an important step in the process of black urbanization and proletarianization” through which residents expanded their power “beyond their numbers” (p. 59). Moore suggests readers judge the black Richmond project by a local standard: attaining the freedom to start lives anew. Given the standard chosen and the evidence presented, it is difficult to argue with the author’s overriding optimism about and celebration of her fascinating subject material. Scholars of western race relations and urbanization will find this book’s thematic suggestiveness a particularly important asset.

DANIEL KRYDER  
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

MARC GALLICCHIO. *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. x, 262. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

In the past few years, an increasing number of historians have investigated the links between African Americans and U.S. foreign policy in the twentieth century. The benefit of such an approach has been immediately apparent, for it allows scholars to examine simultaneously two of the most important developments in American history during the 1900s: the rise of America to the status of a superpower in world affairs and the African American struggle for equality and civil rights. In his new book, Marc Gallicchio makes a significant contribution to this dynamic field of study.

Gallicchio argues that, beginning in the late 1800s, a number of African-American leaders started to develop a worldview far different from that of their white contemporaries, who defended U.S. imperialism through references to the Darwinian struggle for survival and the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. That new worldview took the form of what the author refers to as “black internationalism.” African Americans saw distinct connections between the domestic racism they faced on a daily basis and American imperialism. They concluded that a vicious circle was at work: racism against black Americans was the same as that used to bolster U.S. imperialism, while U.S. imperialism and oppression of people of color abroad served to give additional support to discrimination against African Americans at home. In short, race—not economics, or military strategy, or geopolitics—was the key factor in both the domestic and international arenas.

This African-American understanding of the interconnections between racism and imperialism is well covered in a number of other works, including Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (1996); Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (1997); and Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944–1963* (1986). Gallicchio, however, adds an important element to this story by focusing on African-American perceptions of Japan and China during the first half of the twentieth century. He argues that a number of black Americans began to develop very strong and positive attitudes toward the Japanese, particularly after the latter’s battlefield successes against a white power in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. African-American respect and admiration for Japan further increased after World War I, when the Japanese representatives at the Versailles Peace Conference fought to include a statement denouncing racism in the League of Nations charter. The defeat of the Japanese resolution, orchestrated by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, merely served to reinforce the black internationalists’ belief that race continued to be a defining element in world

affairs. Despite the failure at Versailles, more and more African Americans came to see Japan as a “champion” for people of color around the world.

When Japan embarked upon building its own empire in China during the 1930s, African Americans, most notably Du Bois, applauded the effort. According to Du Bois, Japanese rule of China was preferable to the continuing European and American domination of that nation. A number of African Americans also viewed China as an Asian “Uncle Tom,” toadying to the wishes and whims of white Europeans and Americans. However, the black internationalist outlook went beyond such considerations and consistently sought to link domestic and foreign policy issues in the minds of American officials and the American public. African Americans constantly pointed out the costs of discrimination in the United States, arguing that American racism adversely affected relations with Japan and other non-white nations. Thus, only through breaking down the walls of discrimination at home could America hope to sustain itself in a “rising world of color” comprised of the seventy-five percent of the world’s people who were brown, black, and yellow.

Japan’s attack on the United States effectively squelched African-American attempts to portray the Japanese as liberators and defenders of nonwhite peoples. Partly this was due to the efforts of the U.S. government to muzzle black Americans who took a less than wholehearted anti-Japanese stance. These efforts, as Gallicchio notes, were sometimes hilariously inept, but the message was clear: praise or sympathy for Japan was treasonous. The increasing evidence that the Japanese were merely replacing the imperialism of the Europeans and Americans with their own equally brutal variety of exploitation also helped to dissipate pro-Japanese sentiments in the African-American community.

With the Japanese thus discredited, African Americans gradually turned their attention to China. As the only non-white member of the Big Four alliance, China came to be seen as a worthy alternative to Japan. With so many African American troops serving in the Far Eastern theater (particularly in units constructing supply roads from India and Burma into China), it seemed an opportune time to secure a lasting and powerful bond between black and yellow. Here again, African Americans were to be disappointed. The Chinese never reciprocated the African American interest and signs of friendship. Chiang Kai-shek, intent on winning the war against the Japanese and keeping his Communist enemies in China at bay, never pressed the United States on racial matters either during or after the war.

The author makes a convincing argument that many African-American intellectuals and writers supported Japan and, to a lesser extent, China, throughout the first half of the 1900s, but he is less successful in terms of illustrating the depth of those feelings among the African American community at large. Though he makes excellent use of African-American newspapers



and journals, the evidence concerning any widespread feelings about Japan—or black internationalism as a whole—is largely anecdotal in nature: reports of conversations overheard on street corners, scattered letters to the editor, and so forth.

Gallicchio concludes that black internationalism failed as a mechanism to establish links between African Americans and people of color in other nations or to significantly influence U.S. foreign policy. In addition, he suggests that the African American belief that foreign “champions” such as the Japanese or Chinese would involve themselves with America’s civil rights problem was sadly misplaced. These nations had no real sustained interest in America’s race problem. In sum, the author concludes, there were “low returns on black internationalism as an approach to foreign policy making” (p. 212). However, he also believes that “its real value may have been in its power to rally the disparate elements in the African-American population for the long battle against discrimination that awaited it at home” (p. 212). Here the book would benefit from a more in-depth conclusion, one that compared and contrasted the black internationalism of the first half of the twentieth century with the African-American outlook during the Cold War. For that latter period, scholars such as Plummer and Mary Dudziak (in numerous articles and her recent book, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* [2000]) conclude that the civil rights issue had an important impact on America’s foreign policy and, perhaps more important, that Cold War necessities had an impact on the progress of civil rights legislation at home.

All such criticisms aside, this book is an extremely valuable contribution. It extends our understanding of the development of an African-American worldview back into the late 1800s, and its focus on black Americans’ perceptions of Asia takes us into virtually uncharted territory, since most scholars have focused on African-American views of and opinions concerning Africa. All historians interested in the subject of African Americans and U.S. foreign relations will need seriously to consider Gallicchio’s study.

MICHAEL L. KRENN  
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MARK A. STOLER. *Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance and U.S. Strategy in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 380. \$37.50.

In this exhaustively detailed and documented study, Mark A. Stoler charts the pivotal and unprecedented role of the uniformed heads of the United States armed forces in formulating foreign policy during World War II. The crucial step in this development was the formulation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) after Pearl Harbor, a body that reported directly to the president and increasingly was in agreement with him on fundamental approaches. This increase in military

influence continued after the war’s end, and it was bought at the expense of the civilian heads of the departments of state, war, and navy.

A unified American policy was long hindered by disagreements among civilian and military leaders. Steadily, the military would unify in opposition to the department of state, especially over the latter’s support of a United Nations organization after the war. The JCS thought this concept naïve and unworkable, preferring to trust the Big Three (America, Britain, and Russia) to prevent future conflicts through cooperative spheres of influence. The military increasingly saw the Soviets as major partners in this endeavor, recognizing that the power of the British Empire was waning. The attitude that the Soviets were crucial also affected the JCS view of the military/political strategies to be followed for victory in the war.

The JCS continued an anti-British stance from the interwar period, when war plans regarding Britain included the conquest of Canada. This antagonism made the JCS suspicious of the British proposal for an invasion of Europe through the Mediterranean, which was seen as serving Britain’s imperial interests and of little help in taking Axis pressure off Russia. The military wanted a direct, cross-Channel invasion instead, which would force the Germans to commit more forces in the west.

After FDR sided with the British, the Americans recognized their internal divisions and closed ranks to wrest the policy initiative away from the British. Later in the war, they refused to go along with British pleas to enter the Balkans militarily in order to guarantee some form of participatory government there. The Americans also supported the Soviets in withholding aid from the Polish Home Army struggling against the Axis, which guaranteed postwar Soviet control of Poland. With hindsight, as some in the State Department recognized at the time, this was a policy that condemned much of Eastern Europe to authoritarian control and contributed to current instability in the region. JCS hatred of Britain and belief that the Soviets could be made to cooperate with an American worldview now both seem remarkably naïve.

Stoler argues that, well into 1945, the JCS continued to see the Soviet Union as a more important partner than Great Britain. The turning point was the surrender of Japan, which ended the need for the Soviets as potential military allies in the Pacific and gave the U.S. the atomic bomb to offset the Russian preponderance of troops on the ground. Until then, the military expectation of winning a World War III against the Soviets was impossible. The swing to a pro-British position is, however, so radical and comprehensive in Stoler’s description that one suspects he tends to underestimate the amount of pro-British sentiment in American military circles before this time.

Much of the book, such as the JCS distrust of the British and their Mediterranean policy, is not new. Similarly, Stoler is not the first to point out that, despite the official Europe-first policy, the U.S. always



placed great emphasis on a dominant role in the Pacific, to the extent that General George C. Marshall said that if the U.S. lost the December 1944 Battle of the Bulge to the Germans, the U.S. would have to go on the defensive in Europe due to lack of troops.

The book's contribution is in showing the continuity of developments throughout the war and in its massive research on the thinking of the JCS. The latter is at times presented in almost too much detail, so that it overwhelms the author's thesis. The editorial voice needed to be stronger for us to see the significance of the many meetings and position papers. Also, the author needed to evaluate more JCS views, not only from a political but from a military viewpoint. For example, the JCS pressure for a cross-Channel invasion in 1943 almost certainly would have been disastrous militarily, and the U.S. never did acknowledge the value of the Mediterranean strategy in driving Italy out of the war and consequently forcing Adolf Hitler to pin down the region with German replacements.

This is a soundly researched book that will be found of value to specialists in the development of foreign and military policy, but it is too heavy for the general reader.

MICHAEL C. C. ADAMS  
Northern Kentucky University

MICHAEL S. NEIBERG. *Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 264. \$39.95.

There are two strong rationales for this book. First, there has not been a full-length study of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) for fifteen years. Second, previous works focused on the military significance of ROTC training. Instead, Michael S. Neiberg looks at ROTC as an expression of broadly based American secular values. Thus, his book belongs to the new school of military history that analyzes the linkages between war and society.

Neiberg advances the persuasive argument that ROTC is not only a practical and economical method of educating officers for a mass military. It also exemplifies the American belief that the appropriate armed forces for a democracy should be under civilian control and imbued with civilian values. This concept can be traced to the moderate English Whigs of the eighteenth century, who accepted the need for a standing army but did not want it to become the tool of an officer elite, set apart from the rest of society. Thus, the ideological rationale for ROTC is that it should train citizen soldiers in the tradition of that American cultural icon, the minuteman. The best educational setting for pursuit of this model was not the comparatively insular service academy but the mainstream university with its eclectic intellectual community and curriculum.

Until 1950, ROTC was limited in mission to producing officers for America's second line of defense, the

Reserve and National Guard. But with the heating up of the Cold War, the mission was expanded to preparing officers for immediate service. Since 1950, the ROTC has produced nearly two of every three active duty officers. Enrollment in this expanded corps grew after 1951, when universal military service was introduced. ROTC could earn deferment from immediate service or gain students a better posting later.

Enrollment dropped late in the Vietnam War. But this was only partially due to protest of military involvement in Asia. By 1968, campus deferments from service were harder to get. A huge incentive to enrollment was taken away when active draft service ended in 1973. A positive aspect of this development was that the corps had actively to seek the participation of African Americans and women to make up enrollment deficiencies, thus enhancing integration of the armed forces. The corps also had to make service more attractive through a reduction in drill and "spit and polish" procedures, accompanied by a new emphasis on service not as sacrifice for the national good but as financially subsidized preparation for a good civilian career. However, this aspect may have been oversold, as many cadets no longer see themselves as warriors or accept that their lives may be forfeit in an emergency.

From the start of ROTC, there were tensions between sectors of the academy, particularly the liberal arts, and the military. This was not so much due to antimilitary sentiment as to a concern about the presence on campus of any outside agency with a separate curriculum and standards. This concern was acute before reforms in the late 1960s and 1970s made ROTC more compatible with the academic environment. Earlier, rigid adherence to hierarchy conflicted with university commitments to critical thinking and individual expression. After Vietnam, reform was championed by progressive military officers who believed that the ignorance of Asian culture manifested during the war meant that cadets should receive a broader education about the world, particularly through the liberal arts.

The book has some legitimate boundaries. It does not look at ROTC as a route to fulfillment of the American dream of social mobility. Nor does it examine the relative professional efficiency of corps graduates versus academy products. Some limitations of the work are more debatable. The choice to end in 1980 is questionable, given the important cutback in ROTC that accompanied the end of the Cold War. Neiberg also needed to ask whether ROTC training actually realizes its goal of producing a distinctive citizen soldier.

Overall, this carefully researched and thoughtfully written book makes an important contribution to American intellectual history by examining how a democracy conceives of the appropriate military establishment.

MICHAEL C. C. ADAMS  
Northern Kentucky University

BRETT GARY. *The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties from World War I to the Cold War*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 323. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$19.00.

Brett Gary's book is about precisely what the main title promises: nervous liberals. What made them nervous was propaganda, both that generated by the American government during World War I and that produced by American fascists during World War II. What Gary proposes to show is the tension that existed between free speech and security and the ways various liberals, from academics to government officials, resolved that tension. Woven within this tension was another, between faith in the ability of the expert to manage human behavior via propaganda and faith in the capacity of the people to police themselves.

Gary deftly sketches out the relationship between liberal understandings of propaganda and larger liberal concerns. He establishes the importance of crude and overzealous World War I propaganda efforts as American liberals' bad example. He shows how Walter Lippmann (who leaned more toward the security and experts end of Gary's spectrum) and John Dewey (more the democrat) defined the original liberal debate about propaganda; how Harold Lasswell refined it; and how Archibald MacLeish applied it during his stints as Librarian of Congress and head of the wartime agency, Office of Facts and Figures. The rest of the book is taken up with a discussion of civil liberties practice during the war, particularly with respect to the seditious conspiracy prosecutions of such notorious American fascists as William Dudley Pelley and Elizabeth Dilling.

Both the ideas and the specifics of the book are interesting. Taken together, though, it is hard to find a center to all of it. It is about nervous liberals, to be sure, but all the large categories and sweeping ideas sketched out at the beginning disappear as the details take over. Each chapter seems a discrete entity more than part of a larger argument. While there appears to be an implicit shift away from the masses and toward the expert represented by MacLeish and such Roosevelt administration bureaucrats as O. John Rogge of the Justice Department, Gary needed to make his argument considerably more explicit. So, too, did he need to set it within the larger context. Although the end of the book is about liberal concern over communist propaganda, communism and anticommunism almost do not figure into his earlier analysis, even though liberalism was profoundly affected by the Popular Front of the late 1930s. In the same way, the climax of the book—liberal endorsement of government persecution of American fascists during World War II—seems to exist apart from any changing liberal attitudes about the government despite general liberal support for Franklin Delano Roosevelt after 1935.

Part of the problem is that Gary's selection of material seems eclectic rather than systematic. The

American Civil Liberties Union, a liberal organization concerned with the very questions he examines, merits only one mention. The Committee for Cultural Freedom, which marked a crucial turning point in liberal understandings of the ways totalitarian states used propaganda, is not mentioned at all. Morris Ernst, possibly the chief liberal advocate of disclosure, is only mentioned after the fact. There may well be good reasons for these omissions, but since the justification for what was included is not very clear, the justification for what is missing is even more confusing.

Also omitted is the scope promised in the book's subtitle. The Cold War is confined here to the epilogue, although the author's contention that the liberals' wartime attitude toward fascist propaganda set the stage for their postwar perceptions of communism is entirely convincing.

All that said, Gary's work makes an important contribution to the field by providing the first in-depth analysis of the government's wartime sedition trials. After the fact, these do not fit our idea of what the "good war" was all about, and scholars have tended to shy away from them. Yet where one stood on the trials was a function of how one understood the danger of propaganda, civil liberties, total war, and the relationship between the individual and the state, issues at the center of liberalism. Gary explains the complexities of the trials (no easy feat), the government's position, and the meaning of the government's position. That alone is worth the price of admission.

JUDY KUTULAS  
St. Olaf College

DAVID F. KRUGLER. *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945–1953*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 246. \$34.95.

David F. Krugler examines the troubled post-World War II years of the Voice of America (VOA) with a primary interest in its relationship with Congress. The book focuses first on the constant need of the VOA to justify itself before suspicious Republicans who feared that the agency would promote Truman's Fair Deal liberalism abroad. It concludes with an assessment of Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigation of the agency in 1953 and the creation of the VOA's administrative overseer, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

Prior treatments of the VOA, while making important contributions, have glossed over this period. Lauren Alexander's *The Voice of America: From Detente to the Reagan Doctrine* (1988) explores how the agency's mission evolved over four decades, noting only that under Harry S. Truman, "the VOA grew—prospering under generous appropriations." Gary D. Rawnsley's *Radio Diplomacy and Propaganda: The BBC and VOA in International Politics, 1956–1964* (1996) offers a comparative study of the VOA and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) from 1956 to 1964. Michael Nelson's *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War* (1997) provides a

celebratory narrative of the VOA, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberation. Thus Krugler's book fills an important gap in the history of this influential state media organization.

Shortly after its inauguration in 1942, the government attached the VOA to its newly created Office of War Information (OWI). With the conclusion of the war, observes Krugler, VOA backers sought to justify the agency's continued existence to Congress. Throughout the war, Senate Republicans had castigated the VOA for broadcasting programs that they experienced as sympathetic to the New Deal; their opposition to the agency emerged from differences over domestic rather than foreign policy. In response, supporters of the VOA within the congressional appropriations process promoted the agency as a necessary accompaniment to containment of the Soviet Union and the Truman Doctrine. Although Republicans often questioned the Truman administration's willingness to fight communism at home and abroad, in May 1947 the influential Republican Senator Karl Mundt sponsored a funding bill for the VOA under the supervision of the State Department. Mistrust of the VOA revealed itself in the bill's provision for regular FBI checks of VOA employees, a stipulation that commercial news organizations would provide all broadcasting materials (demonstrating the VOA's commitment to private enterprise), and a requirement that members of Congress could request as many VOA scripts as they wanted.

And request them they did, so many that nervous VOA administrators read the transcripts themselves before sending them off to congressional auditors. A sympathetic VOA portrait of Truman's 1948 rival, Henry Wallace, and a feature about organized labor's support for the Marshall Plan sent Republicans to the mattresses. So did Secretary of State Dean Acheson's 1950 decision to leak news of the Truman administration's decision not to defend Taiwan through the VOA. In response to congressional pressure, the agency's "Campaign of Truth" carefully repackaged attacks on the Truman administration as "a sort of productive, democratic dialogue" indicative of free American traditions. The Korean War gave the VOA the chance to prove its mettle as a responder to communist propaganda, but this did not save the agency from McCarthy's devastating 1953 Senate investigation. The Wisconsin senator's staff went so far as to imply that several VOA employees ran a free love collective in a New York suburb. Although the VOA's evident usefulness spared it from liquidation, the State Department's desire to be relieved of administrative responsibility for the agency led to the 1953 creation of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the VOA's relocation to that body administratively, and its transfer geographically from New York to Washington, D.C.

While Krugler's study exhibits a good sense of irony, his narrative would have benefited from a more generous sampling of the VOA's controversial early

broadcasts, perhaps even an appendix of transcribed programs. For the most part, the book tends to progress rather relentlessly from one government hearing to another. But because its arguments are carefully outlined and documented, any scholar of public broadcasting in the United States should be struck by at the extent to which the VOA's early troubles with Capitol Hill resemble those of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and National Public Radio (NPR) in recent years. Can the VOA be understood as the dawn of public broadcasting in the United States? Future scholarly works in this area should ask such questions. Perhaps then we will understand why the current president of the CPB is former deputy director of the Voice of America.

MATTHEW LASAR  
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LARY MAY. *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 348. \$30.00.

In this wide-ranging analysis, Lary May challenges familiar claims that Hollywood promoted the ideals of liberal capitalism and class consensus in its movies from the 1930s to the 1950s. May finds a non-Marxist republican radicalism in the work of several moviemakers that was hostile to ethnic, racial, and social inequality. He notes that in the 1930s, especially, movies rather boldly criticized big business leaders, sympathized with the poor, and advanced ideas about a "mestizo republic" (p. 19) that undermined views of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. After World War II, in a time of Cold War pressures and demands for consensus, filmmakers who wished to critique American society had to find more subtle and indirect means of communicating their messages. May finds their handiwork in noir movies and in motion pictures that portrayed heroes and heroines who challenged the dominant cultural norms. He draws these conclusions about Hollywood's messages from an analysis of film plots that appeared in a major trade journal. May gives particular attention to the plots' treatment of family, gender, sexuality, cultural authority, wealth, big business, and race.

The author's perspective on Hollywood in the 1930s questions some of the arguments made by Neil Gabler, Michael Rogin, Robert Sklar, and Warren I. Susman that suggested Hollywood fortified conservative values and interests through its movies. May notes that a number of movie plots from the 1930s enlisted audience sympathy for the impoverished. Films of the Depression era often portrayed big industrialists and bankers in unfavorable light, blaming them for many of the nation's economic problems. Movies of the 1930s also challenged ideas of national identity that had been prominent in earlier films. Depression-era cinema often focused on heroes who were not from traditional Anglo-Saxon, Protestant backgrounds. For example,



Will Rogers, the comic hero, demonstrated pride in his Cherokee heritage. Charlie Chan revealed Asian wisdom when unraveling complicated crime mysteries.

May discovers new pressures for consensus in the postwar period but argues that some filmmakers employed more indirect and subtle ways to raise questions about social conditions. Directors such as John Huston and Billy Wilder challenged the values of consensus culture in films that sympathized with the criminal or vamp "antihero" (p. 222). Also, actors such as James Dean and Marlon Brando portrayed resistance to suburban society and enthusiasm for working-class culture. Marilyn Monroe demonstrated feminine resistance to control by men. These portrayals helped to keep Hollywood's critical spirit alive and ready for more active demonstration in the 1960s.

At several points in the analysis, May associates Hollywood's conservative, consensus-oriented themes with Cold War pressures, but this connection is stated rather than demonstrated. Borrowing concepts from Elaine Tyler May's important cultural critique, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988), May suggests that Hollywood's postwar emphasis on suburban homes and family life reflects a response to Cold War conditions. Anticommunist crusading provided legitimacy for "a new Americanism rooted in big business, class consensus, and consumer democracy," writes May. Movies supported this outlook, "creating the basis for a new Cold War culture and ideology" (p. 180). In view of the evidence accruing since the end of the Cold War, it appears that May is reading a great deal of political meaning into cultural phenomena. The Cold War is no longer on the radar screen of the American people's concerns, yet enthusiasm for big business, class consensus, and consumer democracy is abundantly evident. Expressions of this outlook made in the 1950s may have been less directly associated with the Cold War than May imagines.

Overall, this book is a provocative social history of Hollywood's influence in American life from the 1930s to the 1950s. May argues persuasively that movies in the period offered a good deal of tough criticism of economic and social conditions in U.S. society. He supports his argument with many fascinating photographs that relate directly to interpretations presented in the text, and he communicates in language that is free of the arcane jargon found in much of the literature on cinema. May challenges us to engage in some serious rethinking about Hollywood's impact on American society in the middle of the twentieth century.

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN  
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JAMES J. LORENCE. *The Suppression of Salt of the Earth: How Hollywood, Big Labor, and Politicians Blacklisted a Movie in Cold War America*. Albuquerque: University

of New Mexico Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 279. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

James J. Lorence's book is a lively account, not just of government and film industry opposition to the pro-labor movie *Salt of the Earth* (1954), but of a rich collaboration between mine workers and culture workers. A dramatization of the 1950 Empire Zinc strike among Mexican-American workers in Grant County, New Mexico, *Salt of the Earth* broke new ground in ways that made it controversial beyond its production by Communists and Communist sympathizers. The Independent Productions Corporation (IPC), a brainchild of leftist filmmakers Herbert Biberman, Paul Jarrico, Michael Wilson, and Los Angeles theater owner Simon Lazarus, attempted to work outside the Hollywood system to break the blacklist and reform a business framework wherein a very few men decided what films could be made and shown. By throwing itself behind the film, the International Union of Mine Mill and Steel Workers (Mine-Mill), expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1950 for refusing to purge alleged Communists, also expanded the notion of how labor could fight its battles. *Salt of the Earth* spoke a Mexican-American, feminist, working-class truth to a racist, pro-business labor establishment and proclaimed Mine-Mill's determination to fight for its membership without the CIO.

Ironically, *Salt of the Earth's* suppression was implemented by powerful Hollywood unions, particularly the International Alliance of Theater and Stage Employees (IATSE), which forbade its projectionists to show the film. Officially and unofficially, IATSE locals withdrew their support, presenting for the IPC ironic prospect of making, and showing, a pro-union film with scab labor. Day by day, the film makers invented solutions to this problem. When production unions forbade members to work for IPC, Mine-Mill stepped forward with union cards for independent technicians. Film refused by union labs in the United States was shipped abroad or finished under false names. IPC employed blacklisted actors, as well as Mine-Mill workers, to star in the film. Independent theater owners, either because they believed in free speech or saw profits in a new type of film, arranged a few showings. By acting on their right to free speech, IPC and Mine-Mill showed that red-baiting was a collaboration between the federal government and powerful union and industry executives, not film community consensus.

Lorence's research (thirty-two archives in twelve states, as well as interviews, government records, and published primary sources) illustrates the network of government agencies, film industry executives, and anticommunist union officials that mobilized to suppress this radical film. For this alone, and for the clarity of his presentation, this book is a model: rather than simply demonstrating the fact of red-baiting and its effects, Lorence shows how many collaborators were mobilized, and what was at stake for each.



Despite overwhelming odds, IPC found ways to produce and show its film. Ultimately, the investors took a financial beating, and they conceded defeat in 1956 after repeated litigations resulted in fewer than twenty openings. The film itself survived, however, and its intermittent appearances made it an important cultural touchstone for the student left and a growing civil rights movement.

This book is an important contribution to the history of film, the blacklist, civil rights, and the postwar labor movement. The suppression of *Salt of the Earth* was urgent to a variety of powerful interests, in part because it revealed the hypocrisies of a democracy committed to profit making over social justice. By showing the range of connection and disconnection between the film's backers and the Communist Party, Lorence has contributed a concrete case study to the history of McCarthyism, a field that is beginning to account for the histories of American Communists, their political agendas, and the alliances they forged outside the party. People of principle on the left occasionally did win important battles against great odds. If IPC did not survive *Salt of the Earth*, Mine-Mill did: despite red-baiting, it remained an independent union until 1967, under Mexican-American leadership, a lonely but consistent champion of civil rights.

The book's only gap is that, while it tells the story of the actual strike, it does not provide a plot summary of the film itself, which revolved around a Chicana lead; thus it becomes harder to grasp the feminist message in *Salt of the Earth* and the nature of its connection to a specifically Mexican-American narrative. This is easily remedied, however. The movie has been in redistribution since 1965, most recently by Turner Movie Classics, and can be purchased in video. Both the book and the movie will have particular appeal for and relevance to a new generation of students who are reengaging with the labor movement on a campus-wide, national, and international level and who will resonate to its complex and courageous story.

CLAIRE B. POTTER  
Wesleyan University

JACK METZGAR. *Striking Steel: Solidarity Remembered*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 264 pages. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$22.95

This is an evocative, poignant book, sentimental and perceptive at the same time. It is about the politics of memory. Jack Metzgar attributes the postwar affluence he and his family enjoyed to the power of the steelworkers union and is surprised that so few today give credit to unions for the improvements that his family and others like it experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. The weekend, health insurance, vacations, good wages, pensions, and a modicum of respect and dignity at work were remarkable achievements that had to be fought for and won in collective bargaining, on the shopfloor, and on picket lines. But now, these gains are

in jeopardy and in many cases already gone; even worse, no one remembers them any longer for the victories they really were.

Metzgar's book is part memoir, taking us through the arc of the author's life growing up in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, a steel town, and then leaving it to join the professional middle class. It is also part family history, as Metzgar provides a touching portrait of his father, warts and all, and through him a picture of trade union consciousness and shopfloor culture as it was lived in the 1950s. These personal reminiscences are organized around the 1959 steel strike, which acts as the pivot for the book. In 1959, the steelworkers went on strike for 116 days to defend (successfully) gains they had won in previous contracts. Not only has this momentous strike been neglected, Metzgar complains, but even worse, when the strike is considered, the victory that the steelworkers union achieved is either ridiculed or denied altogether.

Metzgar writes straight from the heart and is unsparingly acute in his perceptions of his father and of the shopfloor and union world he came from. This injects his prose with passion and insight. But Metzgar is after bigger game than simply reminiscing. He is puzzled and hurt about how the labor history of the postwar period has been handled, which is so at odds with what he saw growing up and learned from his father. Far from some kind of postwar accord or settlement between labor and capital, the 1950s, he argues, was a decade filled with strikes and industrial conflict. Far from seeing grievance procedures as dampening shopfloor militancy, they protected workers from the arbitrary power of managers. Far from being deradicalized, unions were now organizationally strong enough to challenge management over the long haul and win. The prevailing wisdom regarding postwar labor history is already giving way to the kind of critique Metzgar offers. His book will provide further ammunition to the reassessment that is occurring.

This is a personal book of recovery, of coming to final accounts with his father and with a working class world that the author, now a university professor, is no longer a part of. Readers in search of a definitive account of the steel strikes of 1949, 1952, 1955, 1956, and 1959, or of the rise and fall of the steel industry, will have to look elsewhere.

Metzgar has surprisingly little to say about the nature of the occupational community in which he grew up, of social life in Johnstown. The book moves from the Metzgar residence to U.S. Steel where his father worked, with little attention to the street and community life in between. Finally, Metzgar offers a surprising answer to the puzzle of why the working-class victories of the 1950s fell down the memory hole. He attributes blame for forgetfulness to "the professional middle class because we're the class that produces the national culture" (p. 156). According to Metzgar, this class's narcissism made the working class invisible by merging it into itself. Not only does this explanation deny the diversity of the national culture

and attribute a unity to the professional middle class it does not have, but it fails to acknowledge the dualism in working-class consciousness between home and work—middle class in one, working class in the other—that has so effectively been captured by David Halle and Ira Katznelson.

Metzgar does a compelling job restoring the history of class conflict and working-class success during the 1950s, which has been either lost or distorted. His is a history that contemporary workers could profit from if they are to approach the future with confidence and hope.

ALAN DRAPER  
St. Lawrence University

ROBBIE LIEBERMAN. *The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945–1963*. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 244. \$34.95.

Robbie Lieberman examines the intersection of the Communist Party and the U.S. peace movement in the 1945–1963 period. Her goals are to evaluate the activities of Communists in the peace movement, to assess the effect of the controversy over Communist participation in the peace movement, and to comprehend how societal understanding of peace changed as a result of these developments. Although useful biographies and studies of specific peace organizations exist, this is the first comprehensive study of the Communist issue in the peace movement during the period in question.

Lieberman argues that individual Communists sincerely worked for peace during the postwar period and often were good organizers. However, she believes that Communists were handicapped by their faith in the Soviet Union and were plagued by the legacy of the 1930s—when, in her view, peace organizations were destroyed by the “twists and turns of the Communist party line” (p. 10). Lieberman emphasizes not issues but rather allegations by anticommunist pacifists, socialists, and liberals that Communists were “untrustworthy” (p. 7) in their behavior.

Although critical of the Communists’ 1930s peace activism, Lieberman documents a wide range of peace activities by Communists in the postwar period. Eighteen thousand people participated in a rally as part of the March 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace. Communists cooperated with such prominent non-Communists as Linus Pauling and Philip Morrison in the Mid-Century Conference for Peace and the American Peace Crusade. Communists and their allies secured over one million signatures on the Stockholm Peace Petition. What was the impact of this activism? Lieberman refrains from attempting an answer, perhaps because she believes that “the peace movement was doomed in the early years of the cold war” (p. 181) by the strength of the Cold War consensus. Anticommunists subjected any peace initiative in

which Communists played a leadership role to withering and sometimes violent attack. Government repression forced peace groups that included Communist leaders to disband. As a result, Communist peace activists shifted to work within established noncommunist peace organizations.

The most valuable feature of the book is its examination of the impact of the Communist controversy on the American Friends Service Committee, the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), SANE, and Women Strike for Peace (WSP). Lieberman sees two aspects to the controversy: external government and conservative attacks on the peace movement for deviations from the Cold War consensus and internal conflict over Communist participation in peace organizations. The external pressure caused all the peace organizations but WSP to take pains to distinguish themselves from the Communists. Exclusion of individual members accused of Communist sympathy occurred in WILPF and SANE. Lieberman shows that the internal wrangling weakened these and other peace groups, while the inclusive WSP organized demonstrations involving 50,000 women on November 1, 1961. The WSP successfully put the House Un-American Activities Committee on the defensive, thereby opening new paths to thinking about peace. A new generation of peace activists combating the Vietnam War followed the inclusive example set by WSP.

Lieberman shifts her sympathies from the anti-Communist pacifists of the 1930s to the inclusive WSP in 1961 largely because she sees fears about Communist strength as exaggerated after 1948 and the “Communist” activists of the late 1950s and early 1960s as being benign ex-Communists. Despite this shift in sympathy, Lieberman strives for a balanced account but instead oscillates between contradictory interpretations throughout the book. In her conclusion, for example, she argues that Communists at one and the same time contributed to the cause of peace by their activism and undermined it by their presence in the movement. This type of argument stems from the Cold War approach of treating Communists as a breed apart from the rest of humanity.

If liberals and pacifists made a decisive turn against Communists in the 1930s, Lieberman needs to explain what happens to this anti-communism in the immediate post-World War II years when, as she notes, liberals, pacifists, and Communists were all hopeful about U.S.-Soviet cooperation. Her account of the origins of the WSP would have been enriched by drawing on Dee Garrison’s account of the protest against civil defense, “‘Our Skirts Gave Them Courage’: The Civil Defense Movement in New York City, 1955–1961,” in Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (1994). Finally, the reader gets only a vague sense of the influence of the peace movement on the larger society.

MARTIN HALPERN  
Henderson State University

MAX PAGE. *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan 1900–1940*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 303. \$27.50.

Modern Manhattan did not simply grow; it remade itself by destroying itself. Creative destruction made the conflicts between specific places and commodified space central to urban experience. What Max Page calls the “politics of place”—struggles over places and the memories and values associated with them—raised questions about the unchecked market in real estate, the assimilation of immigrants, the character of democratic culture, and the appropriate role for governmental activity. But nothing slowed the pace of physical transformation. History became the servant of development, making constant, rapid transformation seem natural and inevitable. Even as Manhattan became the archetypical modernist city, rejecting the authority of the past, elites constructed historical images that expressed concern about a crumbling social order while simultaneously promoting future transformations. An uneasy mixture of nostalgic lament and progressive celebration became the customary, and paralyzing, response. The greatest casualty was memory itself, as memory-laden landscapes were obliterated.

Page’s story unfolds through a series of case studies. As granite mansions displaced brownstones only to give way to manufacturing lofts, Henry James called Fifth Avenue “a monster of the mere market.” But Fifth Avenue became the nation’s most regulated real estate. For once rejecting the idea of land as merely developable space, elites insisted that Fifth Avenue was a place, valuable for its cultural prestige and historical associations. Elites deployed restrictive covenants, informal pressures, and municipal regulations to manage creative destruction and preserve an exclusive retail district. Underdevelopment troubled the Lower East Side, where overcrowded tenements survived to blight new generations. Jacob Riis demonized the rear tenements, the old homes of the Knickerbocker elite, as historical perversions demanding large-scale demolition. But here elites hesitated, held back by allegiance to private property and limited government. Only after the construction of new tenements in outlying boroughs emptied the Lower East Side, making landlords receptive to government action, did demolition begin. The tough questions—where do the displaced go, is poverty related to the exploitation of property—remained unanswered.

Preservationists and “City Beautiful” advocates differed over whether to build a monumental civic center at City Hall Park, but they agreed that preserving “priceless” places was essential to civic renewal. Memories of more virtuous New Yorkers embedded in the landscape would teach the meaning of citizenship. Yet the greater lesson proved to be that few such places would be set off from an unchallenged free market. Preservation moved indoors with the rise of the Mu-

seum of the City of New York (MCNY). Although the directors hoped to stimulate civic debate about preservation, the museum’s most important exhibit (its dioramas) depicted physical transformation as social progress—natural, inevitable, and beneficial to all. An unsuccessful campaign to preserve street trees reinforced the idea of creative destruction as inevitable. While the disappearance of street trees raised concerns about humanity’s destructiveness, deepening anxiety about the heat, pollution, and disease that trees were meant to combat, it also solidified the idea that nature had no place in the city.

This is an extraordinary book, imaginatively conceived, beautifully produced, fun to read. As Page introduces his argument, for example, a series of movie stills at the bottom of the page depicts the Star Theater being demolished, artfully demonstrating the centrality of creative destruction and New Yorkers’ fascination with it. Equally imaginative is Page’s use of I. N. Phelps Stokes’s *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (1915–1928), long a secondary source for historians. Page treats it as a cultural document illustrating the nostalgic-progressive response to creative destruction. Developer, architect, and reformer, Stokes began collecting the historical views that made up the *Iconography* as the result of an emotional reaction to an early print. But none of that emotion found its way into his text, nor did the analysis of historical change or the sense of place that Stokes hoped to find emerge: nothing but a dry, rational accounting of physical transformation.

Page’s account is anything but dry. Yet like Stokes, Page fails to cut through the dialectic of progress and nostalgia. Rejecting previous historians’ tilt to one pole or the other, Page refuses to take sides between historical actors who celebrated or lamented creative destruction. This professional objectivity unfortunately replicates the moral ambiguity of the progress-nostalgia dialectic, an ambiguity that obscures the role of power and choice in history and reinforces a sense of inevitability. Indeed Page’s sole focus on elites makes the politics of place seem strangely apolitical, all the more because those elites appeared determined to drain even civic life of political content. Preservationists’ civic lessons, for example, included opposition to the people’s use of City Hall Park for political meetings. Rather than enliven civic debate, the MCNY served, in the words of a curator, as “the window dresser’s best friend, the pictorial adviser of the public relations counsel” (p. 172). Civic renewal meant little more than folding the masses into uncritical accounts of physical improvements that benefited all equally. The harsher civic lessons of slum demolition and dislocation belied that conclusion and generated the acrimony and civic alienation that are still with us. Page has written a wonderful book, not least in suggesting how much more we have to learn about the politics of place.

JOHN D. FAIRFIELD  
Xavier University



JOSHUA B. FREEMAN. *Working-Class New York: Life and Labor Since World War II*. New York: New Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 409. \$35.00.

W. Parker Chase's fact book, *New York—The Wonder City* (1932), conventionally celebrates the city as "home of the world's greatest captains of industry, the world's most stupendous structures, the world's richest business institutions." But in a spirit of eclectic boosterism, it also observes that "organized labor . . . is more firmly entrenched in New York City than in any other city of the country" and that "New York, as in every other field of human activity, leads in the number of its communists, anarchists and socialists."

Chase's acknowledgement that labor and radicalism helped make New York "big, great, astounding, [and] miraculous" is unusual. It is also, in effect, the thesis of Joshua B. Freeman's considerably more scholarly and carefully argued book. "So much of what made New York great," he writes, came from its working people (p. xv). He observes that the "vast literature celebrating postwar New York . . . generally ignores the very existence of workers, an astonishing blindness" (p. xiv), but his purpose is considerably broader and more analytical than the customary desire to fill a gap in the literature. He argues that the working-class culture and politics of New York City led to the creation of a "homegrown version of social democracy that made life in New York unlike anyplace else in the United States" and gave it more "in common with postwar European norms than with politics in contemporaneous United States cities" (p. 68). New York workers won everything from low transit fares and rent control to an unparalleled range of health, educational, and cultural institutions—from the free city university to a quasi-public arts center and opera company. Freeman's book tells the story of the rise and fall of this exceptional "social democratic polity."

To trace this half-century story in a city with the "astounding" size and complexity of New York requires prodigious research and impressive skills of concise narration—both amply on display here. Although Freeman reviews standard topics of labor history (unions, strikes, and the structure of industry) in considerable detail, he provides even more impressive coverage of the world that working-class New Yorkers built. Rich chapters on health and housing, for example, explain the rise of such distinctive New York institutions as the Health Insurance Plan and Co-op City (and its numerous cooperative housing predecessors).

New York's "exceptionalism" also gave a distinctive chronology to its labor history. Whereas the conventional story has labor's political influence peaking in the 1940s, New York's labor movement had its greatest power from the early 1950s to the mid-1970s. Even in the anti-union 1980s, a million New Yorkers carried union cards, between a quarter and a third of the workforce and double the national average.

Organized labor in late twentieth-century New York

may have proved surprisingly durable, but, as Freeman acknowledges, it was also considerably more defensive than in the more immediate postwar years. Fundamental to the change was the reconfiguration of the city's economy, demography, and social geography: the disappearance of its blue-collar and manufacturing jobs, the erosion of the tax base, the dispersion of white working-class New Yorkers to the suburbs, and the increasing fragmentation of the working class across racial lines. With considerable subtlety, Freeman narrates two of the most important episodes of the era of working-class declension: the bitter 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville teacher's strike, and the 1970 attacks by "hard hat" construction workers on "longhair" antiwar demonstrators. But the dramatic reversal of fortune came with the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s. "In a few short years," Freeman writes, bankers and their allies pried the city "away from its working-class, social democratic heritage" (p. 287). Transit fares rose, tuition came to the city university, wages were frozen, pension benefits were cut, and city services slashed. In effect, when Gerald Ford, as the *Daily News* famously put it, told the "city" to "DROP DEAD," it was really the bankers who were delivering the message and the city's workers who were on the receiving end.

Given the extraordinary breadth of Freeman's work, it seems almost unfair to note that the book is stronger on the political and institutional history of working-class New York than its social and cultural history. Particularly in the rapid-fire, later sections of the book, we do not get a full sense of the texture of working-class life. But those are small criticisms for a book that provides a more complete coverage of post-World War II American labor history than any other work available as well as a fresh and compelling analysis of what really made New York "great."

ROY ROSENZWEIG

*George Mason University*

ROSALYN BAXANDALL and ELIZABETH EWEN. *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*. New York: Basic Books. 2000. Pp. xxii, 298. \$27.50.

During the past two decades, many new books have enriched the literature on suburban history, tracing the tale of suburbia from the early nineteenth century to the postsuburban era of today. Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen here offer yet another account of the suburban past, presenting their interpretation of the metropolitan periphery and its development. Baxandall and Ewen first came to know suburban Long Island as Manhattan-based professors commuting to the Old Westbury campus of the State University of New York, and this book reveals what they discovered about the strange new world beyond the borders of Gotham. The book does not, however, range very far from Gotham, for it focuses almost wholly on Nassau County and primarily the southern half of Nassau. Since all suburbia is not Nassau County, the book's subtitle is rather misleading. Baxandall and Ewen



describe how Nassau County happened but not how the suburbs happened. Moreover, they view the history of suburbia as fundamentally a history of housing. Despite the massive commercial development that has transformed Nassau and other such counties into postsuburban empires, Baxandall and Ewen concentrate on Long Island's residential function. Thus they do not offer a picture window on the suburbs but an aperture focusing on one suburban county and selective experiences within that county.

Baxandall and Ewen begin by reviewing the origins of suburbia in Nassau County, describing early twentieth-century estate development along the Gold Coast and the advent of the automobile-borne middle class in the 1920s. They then proceed to discuss the housing ideas of the New York-based Regional Planning Association of America and its most famous supporter, Lewis Mumford. This in turn leads to an examination of the federal government's experiment with the development of greenbelt communities during the 1930s. For Baxandall and Ewen, the greenbelt communities are paradise lost, a rejected option that presented the best hope for the future. Moreover, the satanic figure who supposedly wrenched the nation from the embrace of such public-sector alternatives was none other than Senator Joseph P. McCarthy. In 1947 and 1948, McCarthy presided over a congressional investigation intended to discredit the proposed Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act, a measure aimed at perpetuating the federal public housing program. Though Congress did in fact approve the act and continue federal subsidies for low-rent housing construction, the authors believe that McCarthy's hearing was a devastating turning point in the history of American housing. Henceforth, the nation was less committed to public-sector initiatives and rested its confidence primarily in private housing developers.

Prominent among these developers was McCarthy ally William Levitt, and Baxandall and Ewen proceed to discuss Levitt's renowned Nassau County community of mass-produced homes. Relying on interviews with women who lived in Levittown in the late 1940s and 1950s, the authors describe the new suburban culture of the era. Focusing primarily on the communities of Roosevelt and Freeport, they then discuss racial segregation and conflict in Nassau. Following this, they conclude with an examination of some newer phenomena in Nassau, including the rise in the number of female-headed households and the influx of new immigrants, especially from Latin America. Moreover, they criticize the growing wave of gated housing developments and the neotraditional communities influenced by the New Urbanism. Yet Baxandall and Ewen find hope in James Rouse's New Town of Columbia, Maryland, and in the communal cohousing projects scattered across the nation.

Basically, Baxandall and Ewen argue that housing must again become a priority of the national government and unthinking dependence on the market economy must yield. Although they offer new material

illuminating recent social phenomena in Nassau County, their arguments echo those of many previous critics of Long Island and its ilk who have attacked the exploitative private development deemed so characteristic of suburbia. Many readers will agree with these arguments and welcome a volume that reinforces their preexisting animus toward real estate capitalism and the inequitable housing opportunities fostered by it. Yet for anyone seeking an answer to how the suburbs happened, there are better histories of suburbanization that examine a broader range of suburban experience and present a more nuanced and insightful account of the crabgrass frontier.

JON C. TEAFORD  
Purdue University

RUTH FELDSTEIN. *Motherhood in Black and White: Race and Sex in American Liberalism 1930–1965*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. 241. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Ruth Feldstein's examination of motherhood, citizenship, and race in twentieth-century American social policy brings an innovative analytical perspective to our understanding of liberal thought from the 1930 to the 1960s. Building on recent works that explore notions of good motherhood as the foundation of good citizenship in different historical contexts, Feldstein argues that the 1930s marked a true shift in social liberalism because the acute crisis of the economy shook up more traditional notions of the archetypal citizen as an independent wage-earning man. Widespread unemployment among males and the necessity of married women's wage-earning for many families' survival meant that the public-private dichotomy constructed by previous reforming generations simply ceased to work; "good mothers" were no longer exclusively those who stayed home to instill learning and character in their children. But here Feldstein presents an intriguing twist: by the 1930s, psychological theory had worked its way from intellectual circles to a wider national dialogue about the state of the nation, and consequently social and political problems were reconceptualized in terms of individual mental pathology. The political became personal. Because they were unwilling to assign blame for adverse conditions such as poverty, crime, and unemployment to innate racial traits, progressive thinkers fixed their sites instead on defective mothering as the root of social problems. "Bad" mothers could now be found doing irreparable harm within as well as outside of the private home. Thus, beginning in the 1930s, a particular (and for this reader, eminently frustrating) strand of mother-blaming underlay liberalism, and Feldstein traces the strand as it took on varying shades through the 1960s. But this is not the entire picture, for American notions about good and bad motherhood have been consistently and overtly racialized, with distinctively different measuring sticks applied to assess black and white women's performance of their parental duties. Race, therefore,

takes an equal and inseparable role alongside gender in the story Feldstein tells.

Feldstein's attention to nuance in social discourse highlights a number of contradictions, and even several mind-boggling convolutions, in liberal thought. In the late 1940s, for example, progressives recast the problem of American race relations from an outgrowth of innately inferior black biology to the product of white irrationality. Taking their cue from Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944), social psychologists traced the development of the psychology of racial prejudice and discovered inadequate mothers at the core. Feldstein offers in evidence contemporary studies purporting to show that, while white women were not necessarily overtly racist themselves, they nevertheless instilled the preclusion toward racism in their sons by being either too domineering or too self-sacrificing. The first category of mothers, researchers argued, produced impotent and effeminate men who turned their aggression inward and later projected it onto African Americans, while the latter mothers produced outright bullies who picked on the disadvantaged. This corpus of research then set the stage for liberal social policy discussions as, for example, advocates of an integrated military argued that desegregation would reduce racism among whites and also that any perceived deficiencies among black soldiers (which segregationists identified as apathy, low morale, and sporadic aggression) should be understood, not in terms of their innate soldiering abilities, but rather in terms of their unhappy childhoods, and thus could be "fixed."

Feldstein holds up her lens to other postwar discourses such as the 1950s intellectual critique of mindless consumerism and blacks' ostensibly pathological struggle for status, Betty Friedan's pathologizing of obsessive motherhood in her 1963 bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*, and the liberal debate over welfare that followed in the wake of the Moynihan Report's publication in 1965.

While rich in its detailing of social policy discourse, the study is less satisfying in presenting clear relationships between cause and effect. Those who prefer a "smoking gun" showing that academic studies, best-selling books, and popular films actually motivated people in influential positions to take a specific course of action in the sphere of social policy making will be disappointed. Feldstein has provided a sophisticated and valuable backdrop on which we can view the evolution of American liberalism in the twentieth century; it remains to other scholars to shade in the grey areas between ideas and actions.

LYNNE CURRY  
Eastern Illinois University

EUGENE MCCARRAHER. *Christian Critics: Religion and the Impasse in Modern American Social Thought*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 241. \$26.95.

Eugene McCarragher's absorbing study of the role of Christian theology in twentieth-century American public discourse is an important corrective to intellectual histories that neglect religion. McCarragher focuses on religious and secular intellectuals whose project was to make either Protestant republicanism or Catholic medievalism the basis of a progressive Christian response to modern corporate capitalism. Their success, he argues, was mixed. While supplying the countercultural arsenal that fought for the Social Gospel, international pacifism, and peace in Vietnam, they also stocked the ideological armory that defended the welfare state, private corporations, and hyper-individualism. McCarragher, in addition to staking out the religious dimension of social and political developments, makes a second contribution to the history of ideas (and the contemporary political scene) by trying to push the current intellectual debate beyond the liberal/conservative impasse. Here he reveals his own partisanship (and prophetic turn of mind) by looking to the Christian tradition "as an ongoing dynamic process that retains the power to renew, revitalize, and transcend debilitating dichotomies."

Revisiting the intellectual contributions of twentieth-century Christian icons, including Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, and Dorothy Day, McCarragher critiques their relationship to industrial corporate capitalism. He takes an unflinching look at many popular heroes, faulting some for succumbing to capitalism's blandishments and others for too easily dismissing them. H. Richard Niebuhr fares better than his brother Reinhold (insofar as constructing a sustained and principled cultural critique), while Day is criticized for her "facile antimodernism." Moreover, in contradistinction to declension narratives that suggest religion had little to say to the emerging capitalist order, McCarragher delineates a vital and vibrant theological progressivism from which secular thinkers—including John Dewey and Michael Harrington—also drew inspiration. Christian progressives, McCarragher suggests, believed that their participation in religious communities provided an unsullied spot from which to critique the larger culture. Yet their implicit acceptance of many of the era's intellectual axioms—including scientific progress and the therapeutic ethic—proved corrosive to the power and integrity of their faith.

While an increasing number of works delineate the material and performative dimensions of religion's interaction with commercial culture, McCarragher's book is one of the few to probe the intellectual relationship between the two. As such, it is an important addition to the conversation begun by scholars including T. J. Jackson Lears, Leigh Eric Schmidt, and Richard Wightman Fox. Even so, as religion increasingly takes its rightful place in the history of ideas (especially those ascendant in this allegedly secular age), the book's significance should be obvious, since its purview is the entire American political, social, and

economic scene. The one potential obstacle to its widespread appeal is the density of McCarraher's prose. Although his wordplay is smart and elegant, he packs so many ideas into each page that the reading is slow going and, as a result, may not capture many undergraduates. That said, his could be the go-to tome for scholars seeking to enhance or expand their own understanding of the progressive-leftist critique of twentieth-century American capitalism. McCarraher's book is important not least of all because it answers questions that many historians have not thought to ask.

Significantly, McCarraher does not pretend to be an innocent bystander. By the book's conclusion, it is clear that he passionately believes in the importance of what his subjects' crusade. Moreover, despite their shortcomings, McCarraher wants to use their lives as inspirational texts with lessons to be learned and reapplied by a next generation of believers in the beloved community. Could a new generation of progressive religious intellectuals succeed where their elders failed? Even readers who doubt McCarraher's prescriptions for the future will be caught up by his descriptions of the past.

DIANE WINSTON  
Pew Charitable Trusts

MARK L. KLEINMAN, *A World of Hope, A World of Fear: Henry A. Wallace, Reinhold Niebuhr, and American Liberalism*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 370. \$55.00.

This study might be understood as two overlapping books. Closest to its heart is the second of these, which uses Henry A. Wallace and Reinhold Niebuhr to interpret a 1940s polarization of liberal activists and intellectuals. Cold War liberals led by Niebuhr and the Americans for Democratic Action emerged victorious in liberal infighting and foreign policy matters (if not in their bid to set the domestic agenda of the Democrats). They pushed to the margins a popular front that coalesced around Wallace's 1948 bid for the presidency, which stood for a similar vision of domestic policies (albeit one envisioning a larger role for Communists) but was far more interested in international cooperation and opposed to the Cold War. Mark L. Kleinman agrees with revisionist diplomatic historians that the United States could have made more sustained attempts to defuse Cold War tensions through sensitivity to Soviet defensiveness and reliance on the United Nations. He shows how Niebuhrians used misleading smear tactics against Wallace, labeling him a Communist dupe and discounting the possibility that non-Communists and Communists might simply have agreed on many issues. Often they ridiculed him for advancing positions that both groups had shared for years. Readers who object that this "strategy of distortion" (p. 255) was simply politics as usual, or who quibble about Kleinman's treatment of one issue or another, risk missing his main point: that such propaganda narrowed the range of the politically thinkable

for years. He seeks not to "beatify Wallace" (p. 13) but to "right a historical (and historiographical) wrong" (p. 10) perpetuated by scholars who have internalized Niebuhrian assessments of what constitutes realism and objectivity. He hopes to rehabilitate Wallace's reputation by placing his 1948 campaign in the context of a distinguished career—as editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, secretary of agriculture and commerce, and vice president—and reopening questions he raised in the 1940s.

The first half of Kleinman's book is an extended "prologue" (p. 22) to the second half's detailed account of polarization over the United Nations, the Berlin Crisis, the Truman Doctrine, and so on. His focus in this opening section reflects the trade-offs of a method that "partakes of intellectual biography" but is "not intellectual biography per se" (p. 22). This section is far more ambitious than would be necessary simply to introduce political debates of the 1940s. Indeed, Kleinman announces a goal of demonstrating—more suggestively than conclusively—how personal responses to "the transformation from agrarian to industrial society" shaped foreign policy (p. 5). He largely draws on journalism, especially about issues related to 1940s controversies, by Niebuhr in periodicals such as the *New Republic* and *Christianity and Crisis* and by Wallace in *Wallace's Farmer*.

He also emphasizes their midwestern roots—Niebuhr as a German-American "outsider" who felt insecure among eastern elites, and Wallace as an "insider" from an established family of Iowa farm leaders—as formative for their careers. (Ironically, Niebuhr ended as an insider whose critiques often functioned as "imperatives to expect nothing" and to assert U.S. power unilaterally (p. 300), while Wallace retired in obscurity.) Kleinman speculates that Niebuhr's "proto-postmodern skepticism" stemmed from uneasiness with his status as a minister, and he pays special attention to Wallace's investigations into Theosophy. The world of hope in his title alludes to Wallace's visions of a new age, while the world of fear is Niebuhr's post-1940 worldview, which stressed skepticism about utopianism in light of tyranny and the need for Niebuhr's religious colleagues to support Cold War liberalism as a lesser evil. Although spiritualism continued as "deep background" (p. 36) for Wallace's work, after 1934 it was muted and transformed into Christian terms. Kleinman's thorough treatment of these matters allows him to contextualize and qualify accusations in the 1940s that Wallace's spiritualism simply dramatized his susceptibility to being duped.

Kleinman stresses his protagonists' common support for democratic socialism and search for a balance between individuality and community in an industrial society, as well as their nationalist and Eurocentric presuppositions. From this perspective, we can understand their differences as fault lines that controversies of the 1940s pushed to the breaking point and grasp why Kleinman calls the destruction of Wallace's repu-

tation "tragic" and says that this "tended to degrade" (p. 13) the values of both wings of liberalism. Each half of Kleinman's study is interesting and important on its own terms. Together they offer a stimulating argument for reconsidering opportunities lost in U.S. political culture during the 1940s. His book will reward attention from historians of the Cold War, the New Deal, and twentieth-century culture and religion.

MARK HULSETH  
University of Tennessee

JON H. ROBERTS and JAMES TURNER. *The Sacred and the Secular University*. Foreword by JOHN F. WILSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 184. \$24.95.

There is a growing fascination in academe with the process by which American universities and colleges have become bastions of secularity. Although most of the recent books on the subject focus on presidents and institutional development, this work traces the changing patterns of teaching and research and university professors' growing understanding of a new basis for higher education. What Jon H. Roberts and James Turner find is not, for the most part, the flamboyant scientism of Thomas Henry Huxley or the relentless historicism of Thorstein Veblen but hundreds of professors, mostly sincere Christians, who were excited about finding more truth and advancing the frontiers of knowledge.

Roberts's lead section shows that, unlike earlier scientists, who frequently praised the designing hand of the creator, late Victorian researchers engaged in increasingly detailed investigations of natural construction and causation. More common than any critique of religious belief was their daily attention to the minute mechanisms of nature. Scientists grew confident that this empirical and experimental mode of inquiry was the most powerful way to know anything with some certainty.

The new science rapidly gained support in higher education, and the discovery of new knowledge began to compete with the more traditional aim of imparting the truth of the ages. Out of the new scientific model of specialized research came the modern academic disciplines, with the social sciences emulating the natural sciences. Together they created a scientific culture in university life that was animated, said President James Angell of the University of Michigan, by a "passion for discovering new truth" (p. 65). College teaching, which had emphasized received wisdom, now began to feature laboratory work and research seminars.

Few university professors or presidents wished to declare war on religion. Yet they were coming to value independent thinking, open-mindedness, and skepticism, intellectual qualities that made them impatient with religion's more tradition-regarding and "speculative" understandings of truth. Many institutions continued to soft-pedal religion-and-science issues, but

the new forms of inquiry were restricting religion's role. Faith still flourished on university campuses, but Christianity no longer was an organizing force in the curriculum or an integrating source of all truth.

What was the core of the new university studies? In his section on the humanities, Turner shows that with the decline of the old Christian moral philosophy courses and the advent of specialized disciplines, university leaders looked for a source of coherence and character. Many thought they had found it in a new approach to the humanities, featuring English literature, art history, philosophy, and intellectual history. These fields were driven by two fundamental principles: that cultural context shapes every text, and that all cultural products are historically determined. The new humanities fostered an integrative urge to see all human intellectual and artistic pursuits as a connected whole, emerging from the web of human experience. They seemed to be friendly to spirituality as well, especially the Romantic idea of religion as feeling and intuition. The humanities, their advocates claimed, cultivated students' moral and spiritual faculties by exciting their moral and spiritual imagination. Thus the new universities claimed that they could still teach high ideals and moral character even as they shed their Christian presuppositions.

Although the new humanities made universities more comfortable for religious people, Turner insists that they were more threatening to a theistic understanding of knowledge than were the new scientific disciplines. If even the Bible was to be studied as an artifact of the ancient Near East, then Christian beliefs might well be merely another transient product of history. For all of their professions of fortifying morality and spirituality, the humanities, Turner insists, were probably more corrosive of religious ways of knowing than the new science. Science excluded religion from its investigative toolkit, but historicism "actually tended to explain it away" (p. 121).

This is a masterful study. In a mere 122 pages of text, it gets to the heart of the secularizing impulse in higher education. This is intellectual history at its finest, written in engaging, accessible, and often witty prose about matters that are central to the intellectual life. For those of us who live in the academy, this is our history. It should be required reading.

JOEL A. CARPENTER  
Calvin College

DAVID STRICKLIN. *A Genealogy of Dissent: Southern Baptist Protest in the Twentieth Century*. (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1999. Pp. xviii, 229. \$36.00.

Few institutions call to mind as clearly the conception of churches as the ghosts of former civilizations as the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). The SBC often seems little more than White Dixie at prayer. Although Baptists in the South became the "establishment" with a vengeance in the nineteenth century, their earlier



radicalism never entirely disappeared. David Stricklin's admirable book brings to light figures, little known even to most Baptists, who stood against the conservative majority's positions on race, war, materialism, anti-intellectualism, the position of women, and fundamentalism. Not a Southern Baptist, Stricklin early acquired and frankly admits a dislike of Southern Baptist triumphalism, and he deals very plainly with his subject.

The Southern Baptist Convention emerged in 1845 as a reaction to northern criticism of slavery, and, from its inception, it became identified with the defense of southern society, warts and all. Even so, when many Baptist ministers belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, a small connection of dissenters appeared. Almost all those Stricklin studies emerged from the work of Walter Nathan Johnson, who anticipated the civil rights movement, opposition to the death penalty, and antimaterialism. Beginning in the 1920s, "Brother Walt," now virtually unknown among Baptists, influenced many dissenting Baptists, among them Clarence Jordan, his partner Martin England, and in particular Carlyle Marney, one of the most widely known liberal preachers in the SBC. One of the better-known figures influenced by Jordan and England was Will Campbell, who recognized not only the injustices inflicted on poor blacks in the South but also the powerless position of poor whites, a group often despised in the liberal dissenting tradition.

Jordan and England took a leading position in Baptist opposition to racial injustice. The struggles of the Koinonia Community under the brunt of violently expressed racism, often on the part of fellow Baptists is related in a gripping account. Despite the heroism of those Southern Baptists who participated in the civil rights movement, they constituted a pitiful and generally despised few among the millions of their coreligionists.

The dissenters took stands against the death penalty, militarism, and poverty. On social issues, Campbell and others called Southern Baptists back to their radical Anabaptist roots, recalling their forebears' opposition to all use of force. The call went largely ignored. While overt racism at least dropped out of the public pronouncements of Southern Baptists, opposition to war and the death penalty hardly made a ripple on the Southern Baptist conscience.

The vexed issue of the ordination of women to the ministry forms one of the most interesting chapters of the book. Arguing that scriptural gender mandates were as culturally conditioned as biblical rules regarding slavery, a few women sought ordination, encountering fierce, even scurrilous opposition and marginalization after ordination. Stricklin considers women's ordination the final "liberal" provocation leading to the fundamentalist takeover of the convention.

The last chapter deals with the fundamentalist coup in the 1980s. As a result, more liberal Southern Baptists have been forced to withdraw from denominational organizations and form new ones. Stricklin

points out that the moderate leadership of the convention generally had little but contempt for the often poorly educated fundamentalist rank and file of the SBC, and they paid dearly for their arrogance. The fundamentalist takeover was a carefully orchestrated series of moves by a determined cadre, who used opposition to the scattered and often ineffective liberal dissenters in the convention as a rallying point for the extremely conservative majority. Under this onslaught, traditional tolerance of some degree of divergence among Southern Baptists evaporated.

This is an excellent book. Stricklin's sympathies, are plainly with his dissenting subjects. However, he recognizes that the moderate leaders who tolerated but did not encourage them often failed to appreciate the virtues, piety, and even learning of their traditionalist opponents. The Southern Baptists usually expected assaults from the left, not the right, and so were vulnerable to the fundamentalist takeover. Stricklin's treatment of the takeover did not mention the resurgence of Calvinist doctrine among Southern Baptist conservatives. This may well prove to be the assault from the right that will not be tolerated.

JOHN CROWLEY

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PETE DANIEL. *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. 2000. Pp. xii, 378. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

On the cover of Pete Daniel's book is a photograph of two young men, one white, the other black. The white man is obviously Elvis Presley. The black man, it turns out, is B. B. King. An inset shows that Presley has his arm around King. The photograph is striking and suggests that the South in the 1950s was open to change in a way that earlier decades were not. Daniel explores the possibilities for interracial democracy in the years before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), but the violent white reaction of the late 1950s and 1960s, if not inevitable, was certainly predictable, based on the behavior of powerful elites across the solid South.

The early chapters deal knowingly with the rise of agribusiness in the postwar South and the development of "low culture," specifically stock car racing and rock 'n' roll music. The major focus of this work is the impact of race on a changing South, with the last half of the book dealing with the emerging civil rights movement and the white responses to it.

While Daniel gives just due to the black men and women who launched the movement, what is most interesting about the civil rights chapters is his analysis of white southerners, both the dominant segregationists and the handful of men and women who stood up for human rights at great personal cost. A commanding figure here is Lillian Smith, the southern writer who was outspoken in her support of integration.

Daniel effectively contrasts Smith with two of her chief critics, editors Hodding Carter II and Ralph McGill, southern "moderates" who were in fact "fair play" segregationists. Along with other courageous southern white women like Alice Norwood Spearman, Constance Curry, and Jane Stembridge, Smith stands in strong contrast to the white men who fought the civil rights movement at every turn.

Daniel takes account of the racism of poor southern whites, but holds "respectable" leaders most accountable for southern resistance. His section on the impact of the *Brown* decision in Mississippi centers on the activities of the business and civic leaders who formed the Citizens' Council, the "uptown Ku Klux Klan." Through economic intimidation and threats of violence, the Citizens' Council prevented the desegregation of any elementary or secondary public school until ten years after *Brown*. Daniel provides new insight into the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock in 1957, debunking the traditional narrative that features "a mob of rural rednecks . . . and triumphant moderates" (p. 251). Drawing on the diary of Assistant Principal Elizabeth Huckley and first-person accounts by the black students, Daniel uses Little Rock to illustrate W. E. B. Du Bois's dictum that "when the aristocracy permits the mob to rule, the fault is not with the mob."

The final chapter, "Radical Departure," is a brief summary of the black freedom struggle of the early 1960s, concluding with a description of the 1964 Summer Project in Mississippi. Like other historians and activists, Daniel sees "Freedom Summer" as a turning point in the civil rights movement, with black militants rejecting white liberals and embracing black power. To end a book on the 1950s with a chapter on the 1960s is certainly the author's prerogative, but this brief account of the movement at high tide raises more questions than it answers and ignores important forces at work in the early 1960s. For example, except for a fleeting reference halfway through the book, there is no mention of George Corley Wallace.

Daniel is at his best describing the dramatic economic and demographic changes in the post-World War II era and the cultural developments spawned by this upheaval. His chapter on stock car drivers is, well, fun to read. He maintains that black and white musicians "created a blueprint for racial cooperation" (p. 148) and then shows how these promising cultural developments were overwhelmed by the racists' obsession with preserving segregation: Elvis and B. B. King did not walk arm in arm into the dawn of a bright new day in Dixie. Nonetheless, Daniel's civil rights activists, stock car drivers, and musicians "embodied the hard gem of working-class spontaneity and genius. Before they were divided or tamed, these people redefined the South and established enduring cultural monuments" (p. 305).

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MICHAEL T. BERTRAND. *Race, Rock, and Elvis*. (Music in American Life.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 327. \$32.95.

Elvis Presley's most ardent fans—many of them southerners—have shied away from the racial ambiguities that crop up in the familiar saga of his rise from Memphis truck driver to quasi-immortal superstar. Sam Phillips, the local entrepreneur who made Presley's first commercial recording, is a source of some embarrassment to the faithful. In scores of film and print interviews, he gleefully recalls (albeit in more colorful language than mine) his quest to find a white boy who could sing like a black one. Elvis, of course, was that boy, and when his song began to get airtime on a popular city radio station, the host was careful to mention that he had gone to Humes High—an all-white school—lest the audience think this was just another "race" record.

The genuine oddities of Presley's relationship with African-American culture were, by and large, ignored in the South and taken in the North—and the adult media—as one more sign of the weirdness of those reared below the Mason-Dixon line. Elvis bought his outlandish clothes on Beale Street, where black performers shopped. As a teenager, he began to darken his hair at black-owned beauty shops. After he made a little money, he spent it in ways that conformed to the stereotypical portrait of the rich black man, awash in fancy cars, showy jewelry, and peculiarities of dress, like Elvis's famous gold lamé tuxedo. Never mind that good housing in the South was hard to come by if you were black or a "cracker"—that the only nice things you could buy for cash were cars and rings and fancy suits. When he tried to buy a house in a new Memphis subdivision, the neighbors scoffed at his Tupelo relatives with their old cars and country ways, which is why Elvis finally purchased Graceland, whose nearest neighbors were barbecue stands and donut shops.

But it was teenagers who bought Elvis Presley's records, in enormous numbers. And Michael T. Bertrand convincingly argues that the black-and-white character of the sound, as well as Elvis's own persona, helped to relax the rigid color line and thereby fed the fires of the civil rights movement. Today, with rock 'n' roll research in full swing, it has become fashionable in some circles to dismiss Elvis and the other teen idols of the 1950s as rip-off artists who merely "covered" songs written by talented black musicians. While the practice of rerecording material was commonplace, however, the fact remains that the teen subculture of the decade, by whatever medium, crossed the rigid color line of the 1930s and 1940s and, in the process of creating a national audience for rock music, helped to break down the longstanding barrier between North and South.

Since the death of Elvis in 1977, commentary on his racial attitudes from the black community has run the gamut from those who argue that he was a bigot and a thief to others who have pointed out his genuine

reverence for black gospel music, for African Americans in his employ, and for fellow performers of color. Indeed, many beneficiaries of his Cadillac-buying sprees were black; his generosity in the dispensing of cars and mink stoles seems to have been prompted by a kind of bred-in-the-bone understanding of the limited aspirations available to the urban poor of both races. Using fresh documentation, Bertrand contends that, in the 1950s, black enthusiasm for Elvis and music was so strong that his audiences frequently desegregated themselves, in violation of the standard practices of the day. Similarly, postwar teen culture disseminated through radio and records was essentially color-blind, allowing whites to appreciate key elements of black culture on an unprecedented scale.

This study will not, I suspect, be of much interest to the faithful trooping up the driveway at Graceland in solemn candlelight procession every August 16th. Nor will it find a place of honor in the homes of the Elvis-on-velvet set. But it is a sobering lesson for historians who scoff at popular culture (and the oral testimony that peppers the book) as trivia for the tenured. Bertrand shows that the origins of important national movements, like the crusade for civil rights, just might lurk in a the innermost recesses of a Pepto-Bismol pink Cadillac with a voice on the radio wailing that "you ain't nothin' but a hound dog."

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WILLIAM J. BILLINGSLEY. *Communists on Campus: Race, Politics, and the Public University in Sixties North Carolina*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 308. \$29.95.

William J. Billingsley examines an important, often overlooked locus of political conflict in the 1960s South: the college campus. Drawing on archival research, oral interviews, and secondary sources, Billingsley discusses the interplay between the cosmopolitan University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC) and a rural-dominated legislature that denounced the civil rights movement as Communist inspired.

Billingsley's book deals in part with urban-based businessmen who, having realized that the only color that mattered was green, tried to end racial segregation. Their allies included a number of administrators, faculty, and students at Chapel Hill. UNC administrators, looking longingly to the Ivy League, knew they had to support civil rights. The acquisition of federal and foundation grants, recruitment of faculty stars, and institutional prestige hung in the balance. As a taxpayer-supported institution, however, UNC's progressivism was tempered by the threat of legislative retribution.

In 1963, the North Carolina legislature, unable to chasten the integrationist businessmen, enacted a law to keep Communists from speaking at state universities. Billingsley argues that the speaker ban was aimed at the civil rights movement and its university support-

ers. The speaker ban, and the politics surrounding it, form the core of Billingsley's book. His portrayal of North Carolina television commentator Jesse Helms who, like Ronald Reagan in California, rode a public backlash against social unrest to elective office, is interesting.

Billingsley has written a useful book whose discussion of the "culture wars" between southern locals and cosmopolitans will make it required reading for students of the 1960s. I do wish, though, to raise a few questions that I think the author has not answered sufficiently. If conservatives used anti-Communism to mask their racist intentions, could not, by the same token, leftists have used the issue of racial equality as a cover for an undemocratic agenda? Was anti-Communism just a toxic mixture of paranoia and racism? Had the Soviet Union given Americans cause to fear Communism after World War II? Considering what is now known about Soviet intentions toward the United States, historians would be well advised to read the recent works of Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, Richard Gid Powers, Ronald Radosh, Allen Weinstein, and John Lewis Gaddis—and then rethink their dismissal of the anti-Communist "crusade." Billingsley's reading in the secondary literature largely ended in 1987, prior to the opening of Soviet archives and before a number of books on 1960s America were published.

If Helms's constituency was reactionary rural whites, and if North Carolina was becoming more urbanized and cosmopolitan (let alone racially integrated), how was he able to win and keep a U.S. Senate seat? Is racism alone sufficient to explain the rise of the New Right in the South? Could working-class white southerners whose husbands or sons were fighting in Vietnam have been motivated to vote for Helms because of their resentment of draft-exempt campus activists? Billingsley briefly touches on this issue and then drops it.

If, as Billingsley concludes, Helms's supporters were committed to perpetuating "economic inequality," how is it that the typical, present-day southern white Republican earns less than \$40,000? Conversely, the Democrats' fastest growing support since the 1960s has been among voters earning more than \$200,000.

The usual explanation (which Billingsley implicitly offers) is that racism united rich and poor whites against blacks. While an attractive argument—one predicated on the notion that working-class white southerners possess a false consciousness—it is contradicted by the role that businessmen in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama played in ending Jim Crow. Race-centered explanations also ignore the influence of religion in southern politics. Southern white Baptists and Pentecostals had contrasting reasons to vote Republican after the 1960s. While southern Baptists may have been, to one degree or another, racially motivated, racial backlash is not sufficiently helpful when trying to explain Pentecostal voting behavior. Increased attention to religious beliefs among

whites would have given this book more texture. Similarly, more attention to the religious beliefs of black civil rights activists is merited, especially since a few ardent segregationists saw no contradiction in blithely calling both clerics and laity "Communists."

KENNETH J. HEINEMAN  
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CHARLES K. ROSS. *Outside the Lines: African Americans and the Integration of the National Football League*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 201. \$35.00.

Although Jackie Robinson's 1947 debut into the major leagues was, with justification, the most highly touted and important event in the integration of American professional sports, Charles K. Ross reminds us, in his thin but informative synthesis, that Robinson's pioneering was not an isolated incident, nor was it the first. A year before Robinson stepped onto a major league diamond, the color barrier in the National Football League (NFL) also fell.

The desegregation of the NFL, however, won little attention in the 1940s, and, until recently, no scholarly attention. Only through John Carroll's outstanding biography, *Fritz Pollard: Pioneer In Racial Advancement* (1992), have students of social and sport history been introduced to a thoughtful and contextual work about professional football's racial past. But Carroll's work largely uncovers the pre-integration period. Ross advances the saga of black pros beyond 1946—the era of large-scale integration. Beginning in 1904, the year in which the first pre-NFL black professional player appeared with white teammates, the seven-chapter book takes readers to 1962, when each NFL team had, by then, incorporated black players. An epilogue that surveys the contemporary period and a very informative appendix brings the book to its conclusion. In between, Ross chronicles the evolution of professional football against a backdrop of the racist milieu that characterized American sports through most of the first half of the twentieth century. As was true for its counterparts in baseball and basketball, the stone age of the NFL represented a period of financial struggle. And, perhaps because of this uncertainty, four blacks sneaked onto teams between 1904 and 1919. Did racial indifference slip into the mix? Hardly, according to Ross. "This lack of formal organization probably created the environment that allowed them to participate" (p. 19).

In 1920, the creation of the American Professional Football Association (APFA) added more polish to the business aspect of the pro game, and, two years later, the APFA became the NFL. Between 1920 and 1933, thirteen black players graced the NFL rosters. Fritz Pollard, football's first black superstar, was among them. Paul Robeson, a gifted athlete whose future lay as a skilled baritone and political activist, and Joe Lillard, regarded as the finest player of the 1930s, also helped to take pro football to new heights.

But the depressed 1930s, fraught with frustration, heightened racial divisions, and pro football responded with its own segregated guidelines. George Preston Marshall, owner of the Washington Redskins, was of particular importance. Ross asserts that Marshall propelled the NFL to institute a "color barrier" akin to that of its baseball brethren. As a result of Marshall's prodding, owners like Art Rooney and the fabled George Halas fell into line. Of course, no one openly admitted that a racial line existed, but it did. Indeed, years later, Halas remained defensive of the thinly veiled policy. "The game," claimed the legendary league founder and coach, "didn't have the appeal to black players at the time" (p. 46). Hence, from 1934 through the 1945 season, blacks, excluded from the league, were forced to settle for less than financially rewarding exhibitions or membership in APFA, a semi-pro league by comparison to the more prestigious NFL.

The NFL maintained its color ban until 1946, when Kenny Washington debuted for the Los Angeles Rams. His triumph notwithstanding, Ross points out that the Rams, along with other NFL teams, did not select the star running back until six years after he had left the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). The intentional rejection of Washington in 1939 was even more remarkable in that it came after a collegiate season in which he led the nation in rushing. Washington, of course, was not alone among black stars ignored by NFL clubs. Professional football did the same to his 1939 UCLA teammate, Jackie Robinson, who that year led the college game in yards per carry. Washington's signing, nonetheless, was significant, as it reopened the door for blacks and, subsequently, expanded the quality of the pro game. Between 1946 and 1950, thirty-three blacks joined the NFL and black players have, since, been an integral part of the professional gridiron.

Interestingly, Ross portrays football's "invisible" men not as victims but as survivors. They were diligent and tenacious athletes who, in the face of discrimination, found a way to play for pay. Indeed, they may have been more invisible than their baseball brethren. No one mounted a campaign on behalf of the black gridiron stars; few championed their cause at all. Sam Balter, a white NBC broadcaster, ironically, voiced some of the harshest criticisms of the NFL after the league's obvious repudiation of Washington in 1939.

On this count, Ross offers a rare perspective: discriminated players did not necessarily meet with failure or destitution. Furthermore, lucrative rewards, he points out, were not out of reach. For instance, in 1940 Pacific Coast league clubs paid Washington and Woody Strode a handsome remuneration for appearances at exhibition games. Football aficionados, it seems, appeared to be more tolerant of blacks than their counterparts in baseball. Part of the reason, of course, may have been that baseball, not football, was regarded as the "national game." As such, mainstream Americans probably did not view gridiron integration



as a threat to the social status quo. Oddly, the black community also gave a lukewarm response to Washington's breakthrough. Ross does not record any parades or banquets held in the running back's honor. The black press, as portrayed in the text, was virtually mute on the issue.

That Ross has added another important chapter to American social and ethnic history is not in question. But his account does merit criticism. First, it could have been longer. Although there are several interesting vignettes of black standouts, they are much too brief. Ross only touches on interesting figures like Robeson, Lillard, and Strode. Moreover, Halas, a pioneering league founder and legendary coach, appeared to hold strong opinions on race. I was left unsatisfied with the light analysis of this important, albeit disturbing, figure. What was Halas's background? Did Marshall push him around? Did Halas comment on race during his coaching career? Also, the relationship between black and white teammates, both on and off the field, deserved greater scrutiny. Probing these matters would have added much more depth to this study. America's discriminatory landscape also needed more attention. In Carroll's work on Pollard, Jules Tygiel's study of Robinson, and William Baker's tale of Jesse Owens, chief figures are placed within the context of the racial environment of their era. In these works, we learn as much about racial discrimination as we do about the sports heroes. Ross's book, unfortunately, takes us only part of the way.

Still, Ross has opened some important doors: the collusion of discriminatory owners, the response of the black community to football integration, and the arrival of black stars on the contemporary scene. Any of the aforementioned topics warrants further study, and perhaps Ross has plans to tackle these issues. As for this book, the premise and direction are fine. And, with further analysis, the invisible men of the NFL's past will come into greater focus.

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JULES TYGIEL. *Past Time: Baseball as History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 258. \$25.00.

Jules Tygiel earned a permanent place among American historians in 1983 with the publication of *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and his Legacy*. Long before Ken Burns's *Baseball* (1994) put the Robinson story at the center of baseball history, and fourteen years before the immense fiftieth anniversary celebrations of Robinson's 1947 debut as a Brooklyn Dodger, Tygiel's masterful account provided a sophisticated, at times riveting tale deftly combining social and cultural history with first-rate drama. Historians with a special interest in mass culture or race relations in general, and sports and baseball in particular, have been deeply in his debt for nearly two decades.

Tygiel's new, cleverly titled book of essays on baseball ("past time" suggesting the national "pastime") shows that he has not lost his touch. His nine chapters (no coincidence here: each carries an introductory graphic derived from a baseball game's line score) range widely over baseball history, from its earliest years in New York and Brooklyn in the 1850s and 1860s through the "fantasy leagues" and "fantasy camps" of the 1980s. Well versed in what he calls, accurately, "the vast outpouring of writing on baseball history that has appeared in the 1980s and 1990s (p. xi), Tygiel steers clear of "ethereal, rhapsodic celebration" in favor of an "emphasis on communications, team relocation, social mobility, and economic issues of supply and demand" (p. xi).

In these matters, Tygiel consistently demonstrates his ability to place discrete baseball events into broad social and cultural contexts and to extract larger meanings from apparently well-known incidents. In a fine essay entitled "New Ways of Knowing: Baseball in the 1920s," he brings together reflections on the advent of radio and the extraordinary phenomenon of Babe Ruth. Ruth, after all, not only played a preeminent role in transforming the way baseball was played on the field, but in his tireless involvement with the aggressive new world of publicity, he helped to change the way Americans experienced sports and fame. As Tygiel notes, "Ruth became the first true celebrity of the modern era, recognized as much for his fame as for his audacious feats" (p. 85).

Similarly, in an essay on the careers and rivalry of Branch Rickey and Larry MacPhail, Tygiel provides a marvelous case study of two influential baseball businessmen, and how their innovations on and off the field—in Rickey's case, the farm system and integration; in MacPhail's, the promotion of radio, night baseball, television, and air travel for clubs—"reshaped the baseball marketplace" and "prepared baseball for the economic realities of post-World War II America" (p. 115).

But it is in his extraordinary recounting and analysis of "the shot heard 'round the world," New York Giant Bobby Thomson's 1951 pennant-winning home run against the Brooklyn Dodgers, that Tygiel displays the full extent of his gifts as a historian. Here he takes on the single most famous home run in baseball history and shows how it lay at the end of the baseball era built by Babe Ruth, radio broadcasts, stable franchises, and the postwar attendance boom and at the beginning of the modern, racially integrated, TV-dominated period.

Despite the popular perception—based on a fan's recording of the home run call by the Giants' radio announcer Russ Hodges—that most fans heard the shot on radio, Tygiel shows that many more, tens of millions, in fact, saw the game on television, and he reminds us that only two-thirds of the seats were occupied that day at the Polo Grounds. Baseball was about to change dramatically, as the style of play pioneered by Dodger Jackie Robinson and Giant Willie Mays, and carried forward by other black play-

ers, "added the speed and flair that had characterized the Negro Leagues without sacrificing the power introduced by Ruth" (p. 162).

Tygiel's final essays—one about baseball's "shifting geography," 1953–1972, entitled "Homes of the Braves," and the last detailing the rise of "Populist Baseball"—also make terrific reading for specialists and fans alike. This is a very impressive book by a historian at his best.

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PADMA RANGASWAMY. *Namasté America: Indian Immigrants in an American Metropolis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 386. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

This book by Padma Rangaswamy describes the experiences of Indian immigrants who came to Chicago after the passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 abolished quotas based on national origins and welcomed highly skilled and talented professional workers to America. The post-1965 Indian seekers of the American Dream were a special group of highly qualified doctors, engineers, and university professors who, with their children, would earn for the Indian immigrants the label of "model minority." Their educational training and facility with the English language set them apart from earlier immigrants from India in the early 1900s, as well as from most other waves of immigrants from Asia and Africa. They found themselves jobs at the middle and higher levels in the economy, worked hard, and saved money to spend on the education of their children and on buying homes in suburbs.

Rangaswamy is herself an Indian immigrant. The narrative she constructs is part history and part biography, part political analysis, part survey research, enriched by thick descriptions developed from interviews and observations. This is a theoretically sensitive, readable book that is constructed by turns from inside and outside, seeing through screens of race, class, and gender. The text rises above the specific and provides useful general insights to understanding lives of Indian immigrant communities in other parts of the country and the world.

The first two parts of the book—"Indians at Home and Abroad" and "The Chicago Community"—provide information-rich frames of culture, history, and politics for the Indian community, which today numbers almost 1.7 million in the United States and more than 100,000 in Chicago. In part three of the book, the world of the immigrant Indians in Chicago is captured from the perspectives of women, youth, and the elderly who have come to join their sons and daughters for security and comfort in their old age. In the fourth and last part, Rangaswamy describes how cultural and religious institutions, business and politics, professional associations, and media institutions are being created and used by the Indian immigrants of Chicago

to survive and grow. Many of these enterprises and institutions today have national and international reach.

This well-researched and well-written book offers several new perspectives on Indian immigration and some old perspectives in a new light. Rangaswamy distinguishes the Indian immigrants of post-1965 years from earlier global migrations of Indians who were too often taken abroad as indentured or bonded labor. She also suggests that the post-1990 exodus of Indian high-tech labor to the United States constitutes yet another group of immigrants that does not fit any of the earlier categories.

Her use of the term "second generation Indians" is helpful in understanding the current nonregional, pan-American identity that seems to be emerging above the ethnic-linguistic social formations that the first-generation immigrants sought to create and perpetuate. She tells us that between ten and twenty percent of her sample population had an immediate family member who is married to an American (p. 121) and adds that "A survey of Indians who got married in the United States showed that 24.6 percent of the men and 8.3 percent of the women got married outside their race" (p. 180). What does all this tell about the survival of Indian culture in the new world? Rangaswamy's observation that with the coming of the relatives of the 1965 group to the U.S. there has been a revival of the "Indianism" in the 1980s is an important observation. She also tells us that, given the state of world communications technology, it is now possible for immigrant Indians to obtain and consume cultural products from back home easily. But what is the nature of the experience of consuming cultural products of India when one sees and hears without much understanding and sings along without making sense?

A few corrections are in order. The "Bloomington University" cited (p. 234) is actually "Indiana University," which is located in the city of Bloomington. Indiana University did not establish a "Bengali Chair" but rather the "Rabindranath Tagore Chair of Indian Cultures and Civilizations" when it launched its India Studies Program more than five years ago. The Tagore Chair is funded almost exclusively by Indians living in the state of Indiana.

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DAVID ALLYN. *Make Love Not War: The Sexual Revolution; An Unfettered History*. New York: Little, Brown. 2000. Pp. xi, 381. \$26.95.

David Allyn's brisk history of the sexual revolution in America deserves a wide readership and considerable praise. Allyn begins his narrative in 1962, when Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl* took aim against the double standard and proclaimed unmarried women's right to enjoy casual sex without social retribution. Subsequent chapters examine the myriad dec-

larations of "sexual liberation" made in the 1960s and 1970s by fashion designers, beatniks, militant black nationalists, college women, antiwar activists, physicians, psychologists, writers, filmmakers and stage directors, middle-class suburbanites, gay men, lesbian feminists, and liberal Christian clergy. Not content merely to reveal the varied views and lifestyles among the proponents of sexual liberation, Allyn seeks also to examine the impact of their messages on others, particularly as they provoked urban middle-class Americans to question their everyday sexual expectations and practices and to seek or support change in laws restricting sexual freedom. Some married couples experimented with group marriage or "wife-swapping," while gay men and lesbians tried to create communities and sexual identities outside of legal marriage. Social activists fought to decriminalize interracial marriage, contraception, abortion, and pornography and won from the Supreme Court rulings that found in the First Amendment a right to privacy from governmental intrusion in matters of marriage and erotic expression.

Still, neither the Supreme Court nor the American public had a limitless appetite for unfettered sexual expression: to the contrary. Allyn ends with a chapter on the backlash against the sexual revolution that began in the 1970s and gained momentum in the 1980s. Over time, Supreme Court justices became willing to rely on "community standards" in upholding obscenity convictions. Evangelical churches organized to undermine the culture of permissiveness and to restore normative links between marriage, sex, and procreation. A vocal cohort of feminists joined with the religious right to demand new legal restraints on pornography.

Allyn is to be applauded for steering clear of any tendency to categorize some liberationists as "authentic" and others as "artificial," "opportunistic," or "exploitative." While he acknowledges that playboys and lesbian feminists may have despised one another, Allyn recognizes, more importantly, that all of the proponents of sexual liberation shared an interest in enhancing individual freedom and releasing sex from the confines of marriage and procreation. Here, Allyn draws upon the work of other historians, especially Estelle B. Freedman and John D'Emilio, who have shown that sexual liberalism, whatever its manifestations, emerged historically in urban settings where men and women enjoyed some social and economic independence from the family unit and access to a relatively unregulated mass media. Allyn argues that the sexual revolution of the 1960s could not have occurred were it not for a culture of prosperity and consumerism that promoted high expectations of personal fulfillment. He notes, too, that sexual liberationists learned from the civil rights, antiwar, and feminist movements to question state power, social inequality, and the nation's tolerance for hypocrisy and self-deception. However, when economic woes returned and fear of social change began to overshadow faith in

reinvention, Americans began to hear many in their midst calling for a return to traditional notions of sexual morality.

The weaknesses of Allyn's book derive in part from its strengths. Emphasizing as he does the role of east and west-coast cities and the mass media in providing sites for the reinvention of sexual values and identities, Allyn pays relatively little attention to those who were never in the vanguard of the sexual revolution but may have appropriated some of its messages. We learn that the American public avidly consumed books, films, and television shows on sexual liberation and that increasingly large sectors of the population held liberal views on contraception and abortion. However, such evidence provides only the barest understanding of how Americans, especially those living outside the vanguard cities, viewed or interpreted the sexual revolution. Nor does Allyn give sufficient attention to the ways in which racial, ethnic, or class identities shaped interactions with, or receptivity to, the sexual revolution. These are issues that scholars will need to grapple with in the future. In the meantime, historians will learn a great deal and find much to appreciate in this thoughtful and readable overview of America's sexual revolution.

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FRANCES FITZGERALD. *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 2000. Pp. 592. \$30.00.

In March 1983, President Ronald W. Reagan announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and called on scientists to find a means of rendering nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." Frances Fitzgerald has written an engrossing account of how the Reagan administration came to adopt SDI and then tried to sell it to Congress and the public. Her work is based in large part on published sources and on approximately forty interviews, many with former government officials. The strength of this book lies in Fitzgerald's able recounting on an almost day-to-day basis of the infighting among administration members, military and congressional leaders, and scientists over SDI and its proposed deployment. Fitzgerald sides with those who doubt SDI's feasibility, and she attempts to refute claims that it was a major cause of the Soviet Union's collapse. Her conclusions differ from those of earlier histories, such as Donald R. Baucom's *The Origins of SDI, 1944-1983* (1992), which argued that the program "contributed significantly" to the end of the Cold War.

The portrait of Reagan here is essentially the same as that drawn earlier by Garry Wills, Lou Cannon, and a number of former administration officials. Reagan was an American Everyman, a consummate actor and powerful orator. Fitzgerald does grant that he often took a hand in writing his own speeches, sometimes giving them an eloquent touch. But her picture of

Reagan is of a president who was essentially passive, uninterested in daily decision making, and poorly informed about the world in general. Above all, Reagan emerges as primarily a gifted salesman. In her title and at the outset, Fitzgerald quotes from a part of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (1949), where the salesman is described as "a man way out there in the blue, riding on a smile and a shoeshine." Who better to sell SDI, or what Department of Defense experts called "blue-sky technology" (p. 130), than Reagan?

In the opening chapters, Fitzgerald's analysis is off key on Reagan's religious background, movie career, and early politics. She inaccurately represents Reagan's First Christian Church in Dixon as having followed "a literalist interpretation of the Bible" and as having been "militantly anti-Catholic" (pp. 43-44). She appears to accept the facile assumption made by Michael Rogin and others that B-movies such as Reagan's *Murder in the Air* (1940) provided the inspiration for SDI. Perhaps so, but what Fitzgerald and others neglect to mention is that the idea for the death-ray weapon in that film, the Inertia Projector, most likely came not from a studio scriptwriter but newspaper stories about the Italian inventor Guglielmo Marconi, who was thought to have tested such a device. Fitzgerald also repeats biographer Anne Edwards's assertion that Reagan secretly supported Richard M. Nixon instead of Helen Gahagan Douglas in California's 1950 U.S. Senate race (p. 52). This assumption rests on questionable evidence.

Subsequent chapters are better. In chapter three, Fitzgerald traces the Reagan approach to foreign policy back to a faction of the Republican Party formerly led by Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft. Even though, by the 1950s, these conservatives had come to support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and most efforts to defend Western Europe, "they remained Asia-firsters, protectionists and unilateralists" (p. 78). The following two chapters are also interesting. One deals with early advocates of space and laser defense such as Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming), Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham, and the prominent scientist, Edward Teller. The other chronicles events leading up to and including Reagan's March 1983 address. This book complements Baum's more detailed account of developments before 1983.

Fitzgerald's later chapters deal with the administration's public relations efforts on behalf of SDI and with how the program fit into disarmament negotiations. She is adept at depicting the personal traits and ideas of mid and high-level advisors such as Alexander Haig, Robert McFarland, Paul H. Nitze, Richard Perle, William J. Casey, Donald Regan, and others. Especially engrossing is the infighting between Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, a dogmatic defender of SDI, and Secretary of State George Shultz, who was more skeptical about space-based defense. Fitzgerald carries the story to 1999, covering the Clinton administration's scaled-down version of the program. Stu-

dents of how policy is made and implemented will find this book useful.

Fitzgerald rejects the notion that Reagan's increased defense spending and SDI were major factors in ending the Cold War. She argues that "the Soviets did not respond to the Reagan administration's military buildup" (p. 474), that Central Intelligence Agency analysts discovered early in Reagan's first term that Soviet military spending had leveled off in 1975 and would remain at that level for the next decade (p. 474), and that Mikhail Gorbachev, thanks in part to advice from Soviet dissident scientist Andrei Sakharov, had concluded that SDI was unworkable and at best a bluff (pp. 411, 436). It was, she asserts, Gorbachev's efforts to reform and modernize the Soviet state that "knocked the props out from under the system" (p. 475).

On this question of how to assign relative credit for the end of the Cold War, Fitzgerald is unconvincing. She has not provided the same detailed analysis of decision making by Soviet leaders as she has for their American counterparts. Nor is this work based on the kind of research in Soviet archives, or in American, for that matter, that would make such conclusions persuasive. To be sure, Gorbachev played a major role. But so, too, did the flood of new media technologies that overwhelmed Soviet authorities during the 1980s, as has been argued by Manuel Castells, Gladys D. Ganley, and others. We surely will have a better capacity to gauge where Reagan and SDI fit into this equation in the near future when previously closed archival records become available to scholars.

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LAWRENCE N. POWELL. *Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 593. \$34.95.

This is a beautifully written, deeply researched, and heart rending narrative of the events triggered by a chance meeting between a Holocaust survivor and David Duke in 1989. Hearing him denounce Jews helped Anne Levy unleash long-contained memories of a horrific childhood in Poland. Duke had at first denied that the Holocaust had ever occurred; later he acknowledged but minimized it. Challenging his right to make little of her wartime experiences, Levy became obsessed with obliterating this ignorant and bigoted man. Duke had been elected to the state legislature a few months before their meeting; in 1990, he conducted an unsuccessful campaign for governor, and a year later he failed in his bid for the United States Senate. To explain Levy's forcefulness and unyielding pursuit of her prey, Lawrence N. Powell investigated her life in Poland during World War II. The unfolding of this story constitutes about eighty percent of the tale.

For people knowledgeable about the experiences of



Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, the events are familiar yet still moving. Levy's parents, the hero and heroine of the story, used their wits, instincts, and courage to keep the family alive and together after Germany invaded Poland in 1939. Shortly after the war began, the parents were separated in different towns for two years. They reunited in the Warsaw ghetto, where Anne's father obtained work in a factory owned by an anti-Semite who liked and protected him. As life in the ghetto became more treacherous, Anne's family escaped. They then lived in Warsaw and passed as Christians.

Because Anne was darker in complexion than her blond-haired sister, she suffered more. Periodically, the children were hidden under floor boards, in vegetable bins, and behind armoires. The child who looked more "Aryan" went to school and to church and was young enough to absorb the influence of this early education. Once out of the ghetto, however, Anne hid when visitors arrived and rarely left her abode.

At the end of the conflagration, the family tried to resume a "normal" life in their native country. Pervasive anti-Semitism made that impossible. Finally, the July 1946 pogrom in Kielce compelled the family to escape to the West. They found refuge in an American zone displaced persons' camp in West Germany. Two years later, they departed for the United States. By chance, their ship landed in New Orleans. A mix-up in their papers prevented them from continuing on to their scheduled destination: San Jose, California. The Jews who worked with the refugees at the disembarkation port wanted to send them to New York City. The father did not want to subject his wife and children to life in another major metropolis and refused to relocate there. Members of the local Jewish community then placed the family in one of the "Big Easy's" shelters for new Americans.

Powell is quite good at describing the Polish experience. He is less successful when discussing southern Jewry. Although the author incorporates material about the reaction of New Orleans Jews to the newcomers, he never fully explains the reasons for their behavior to noninformed readers. Southern Jews were, and may still be, different from Jews in the rest of the country. They are more sensitive to local public opinion and more fearful than northern coreligionists of Christian neighbors' reactions to deviant behavior. Long-time Jewish residents of New Orleans were aghast when they were told what some of the survivors planned. The "New Americans" wanted to attack American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell with baseball bats and denounce Duke's outrageous comments. But Levy, a woman who had rarely let others know much about her childhood, did not hesitate to pursue Duke and challenge his specious statements about Jews and the Holocaust.

Fortunately for Levy, and for southern Jews in general, the dynamic action of this determined woman occurred in the 1980s and 1990s and not a few decades earlier. The climate had changed in America, and in the South, in the intervening years, and dissent by outsiders, especially in a case where opposition was so

clearly demanded, did not result in an anti-Jewish backlash. Levy's behavior, however, helped her release the agonizing memories of frightful experiences in wartime Poland.

Powell is to be commended for this generally insightful analysis. One never knows what odd event might lead to the opening up of deeply buried sorrows.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

FRANK SALOMON and STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editors. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Volume 3, *South America*, Part I. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 1054. \$99.95.

FRANK SALOMON and STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editors. *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Volume 3, *South America*, Part II. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 976. \$99.95.

In the 1940s, a massive *Handbook of South American Indians* in seven volumes was launched by the Smithsonian institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. It was a most impressive work but dealt only with those who were "Indians in a cultural sense." Most of the work was static and schematic. The volume on *The Andean Civilizations*, edited by Julian H. Steward, contained a couple of more historically oriented articles of perduring value: "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest" by John H. Rowe and "The Quechua in the Colonial World" by George Kubler.

Half a century of intensive ethnohistorical, anthropological, and archeological research later, Cambridge University Press and editors Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz present an also massive work on the history of South American Indians in two volumes—a total of 2,000 pages. It is not thought of as an "encyclopedia but rather an idea-oriented history." The authors (twenty-six scholars, apart from the editors) had, above all, to emphasize the Indians themselves as historical actors and listen to their "voices." This is a priority in our days but far from easy to do. Nor, according to the editors, should modern political borders or even the traditional division line between highland/lowland or civilized/primitive peoples be followed. After all, new research suggests that "histories of highland and lowland societies" have often been "profoundly interconnected" (I, p. 4). This has led the editors to carve out geographical spaces that are not the same ones for the various time periods. I find this somewhat confusing. The "overlapping" results in gaps as well as repetitions. The editors declare that "Overemphasis on the cataclysm of European conquest detracted from the study of social projects, institutions, and processes that developed through and beyond the invasion, and it downplayed the internal dynamic of native communities as historical actors" (p.

4). They also think that the use of "tribe" and "tribal" may hamper the view of relationships on a higher level.

These declarations are very much in keeping with the values of today but still somewhat controversial. Most authors are anthropologists, from the United States, Europe, and Latin America; some are historians specializing in Latin America, others are known as ethnohistorians. Everyone is marked by his or her disciplinary training. In the present review, my task is, obviously, to show how the "new" approach of the Cambridge history works out from a historian's point of view.

Frank Salomon's and Sabine MacCormack's introductory chapters on Indian reality and Western historiography are a case in point. They are full of interesting viewpoints, but there is nothing on what a historian finds basic: systematic source criticism. What was the character of Indian oral tradition? According to Jan Vansina's methodology, you have to distinguish clearly between "controlled tradition"—that is the genealogical, the official-public, and the official-clandestine traditions—on one hand, and personal memories on the other. Logically, the former varieties may show much greater durability than the latter, which can barely exceed one hundred years. In the Inca Empire, the so-called Quipo-camayoks were in charge of the quipos, the famous knot-records used as mnemonic devices. After a thorough critical revision of the chroniclers, Åke Wedin, a young Gothenburg historian in the 1960s, found that, from Cieza de León onward, by far most of their informants had been ordinary Indians, not Quipo-camayoks. As Wedin explains in *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (1966), this inevitably reduces the reliable oral information on the Inca Empire to the 1560s. As a consequence, the well known "Absolute Chronology" of the Inca Empire, presented in 1945 by archeologist John H. Rowe, mainly based on the late chronicler, Cabello de Balboa (1586) was, in fact, not valid any longer. Nor was it certain that the empire lasted merely ninety years, as Rowe had maintained. MacCormack's remarks on the quipos and Cieza de León (p. 132) are relevant to the problem. For the rest, the basic question regarding the reliability of the sources is not taken up by the two authors.

The main chapter on the Inca realm Tawantinsuyo was entrusted to the Peruvian scholar María Rostworowski and the American Craig Morris. Referring to archeological evidence, they declare that "Inka expansion occurred late in the long prehistory of the Andes" and that it may have lasted "fewer than 100 years." They do so without quoting Rowe, however. Their account is solid but apparently without any major news. On the other hand, the chapter on the lesser territorial units, chiefdoms or "Señoríos naturales," by ethnohistorians Juan and Judith Villamarín, reflects a shift of scholarly focus from empires to smaller units that would be more important for Spanish-Indian relations. It is interesting to notice that, while the chief's office was mainly held by men, "women suc-

ceeded to the position in a number of societies in Colombia, Peru, and possibly elsewhere as well" (p. 654). The Villamaríns stress the enormous chronological range of some chiefdoms. On the coast of Ecuador, for example, some existed for more than four millennia (p. 608). Many were composed of communities that had access to multiple ecological zones, situated at varying distances, thus broadening the conditions of their subsistence. They also benefited from long-distance trade.

It cannot be denied that the overwhelmingly massive Indian depopulation in the whole of the Americas (including South America) is the most important fact of aboriginal history, particularly for the two centuries after contact, and once again around 1900. Even so, Indian demography receives unproportionately little attention. Admittedly, in part one, there are three fine pages (pp. 932–34) on the subject by historian Karen Spalding, but only for the period until 1580. Short remarks can also be found in Neil Whitehead's chapter on the Caribbean and John Monteiro's chapter on sixteenth-century Brazil. In part two, there is a somewhat more detailed account in Thierry Saignes's chapter on the Quechua-Aymara heartland, 1570–1780. In his bibliography, several recent studies on demography and internal migration are listed. Why did the editors not ask one of these authors to write a special chapter on demography, nutrition, epidemics, and migration for the entire colonial period? With respect to Indian demography, there is also the remarkable case of the thirty Guaraní Missions of the Jesuits in the River Plate between 1702 and the Jesuit expulsion. With 89,000 inhabitants both in 1702 and in 1767, they reached a peak of 141,182 in 1732, and a low of 73,910 in 1740. Thanks to the exceptionally good quality of the data, Argentine historian Ernest Maeder, in various studies, has been able to analyze the demographic dynamics in detail. This is ignored in James S. Saeger's otherwise good chapter on the River Plate in part two. As to the more recent period of Indian mass death during the horrible years of the rubber boom around 1900, Jonathan D. Hill provides a convincing account of "The Rubber Boom: A Native American Holocaust" in his essay on the lowlands during the national period. Concerning the highlands, Brooke Larson rightly points out that "the nineteenth century stood out as the only era in Andean history that halted—even reversed—the half-millennial trend of Indian depopulation and assimilation (through cultural and demographic *mestizaje*)."

In their chapter on Brazil, 1580–1890, in part two, Robin M. Wright and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha include an excellent short summary of the evolution of Indian legislation during this long period. There is no counterpart to this on Spanish America. Did the editors simply take it as a fact that Spanish law regarding Native Americans did not matter, anyway? Laws are the documented intentions of the state and of interest as such, however, even if they are not fully applied. In their bibliography, the editors listed my

book *La Corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (1970) but are apparently unaware of what I think is its main point. This is one of the unfortunately few attempts made to trace the casuistic origins of protective Indian legislation, as well as the efforts to apply the law, whether by means of governmental action or through legal processes. Especially in the latter case, both the Spanish legal *protectores* and the Indian municipal officers were normally involved. Most legal efforts of the Spanish crown to protect the Indians surely failed. Nevertheless, the notion of a state of law survived among the Indians until the end of the colonial regime, as is shown, for example, by their reiterated lawsuits. This is exemplified by Larson in her very good essay on highland Indians during the nineteenth century. To summarize, I think that the legal relationship between the state, colonial and national, and the Indian over time deserves a more comprehensive and coherent treatment.

Legal defense, in whatever case, was never enough. Armed resistance was a spontaneous, recurrent phenomenon almost everywhere. It is true that, in the Andes, some chiefdoms opted to join the Spaniards after having fought against Inca centralization. I think Monteiro's chapter on Indian resistance in sixteenth century Brazil is especially good. To begin with, the Indians put up a brave resistance against the invaders. But the arms of the latter were much superior and, even more important, the diseases they brought thinned Indian ranks. Peaceful forms of resistance thereafter prevailed. In their native villages, Indian shamans tenaciously tried to undermine the conversion efforts of Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits then had to adopt some of the same tactics. Large-scale migrations from the coastal area can also be seen as a variety of resistance, at times with some millenarian characteristics.

Anne-Christine Taylor, in her fine study on the Amazonian periphery from conquest to the early 1800s, has written a clear and comprehensive account of the Jesuit and Franciscan Indian missions in the *Montaña*—that is, the forested slopes down to the Amazonian lowland. She makes an interesting comparison (p. 227) between Jesuit and Franciscan missionary methods in the Upper Amazon. The former came with escorts of soldiers to persuade or compel the Indians to settle down at once on the banks of a river making for easy access. The Franciscans had fewer resources and were less blunt. For them, it was crucial to get on the best possible terms with the local chieftain. Changes in the life of the neophytes were only introduced slowly. Taylor also tells the story of the millenarian Indian revolt led by the mestizo Juan Santos Atahualpa from 1741 to 1752, the most important antecedent to the highland rebellion of Tupac Amaru south of Cuzco in 1780.

Peruvian historian Luís Miguel Glave follows up with a good account of that rebellion. He skillfully paints the background, but the account of the intensive military struggles in 1781–1782 is rather laconic. That

they cost “some 100,000 lives” (p. 535) appears to be a gross exaggeration. When one compares the population counts of Cuzco in 1689–1690 and 1786, it is clear that losses must have been much lower (see my book, *Perfid de la sociedad rural del Cuzco* [1978]).

The last four chapters by Larson, Hill, Xavier Albó, and David Maybury-Lewis summarize the nineteenth and twentieth-century developments, one chapter for highland and lowland, respectively. These are substantial, important accounts. As far as the nineteenth century is concerned, practically all the data about the fate of the Indians are deeply depressing, mostly showing the greed and cruelty of non-Indian actors. The same can be said about a large part of the twentieth century, but, fortunately, during recent decades the scenery improves. The Indians, through organizations of their own, are emerging as actors on the political scene, using peaceful and often efficient methods. Larson, in her rich chapter on the nineteenth century in the highlands, starts by explaining how the “legal equality” awarded the Indians by Liberal constitution makers only exposed them more to deprivation, abuse, and violence. They were noticed less than ever by the outer world. The elites in the Andean countries could hardly have been more racist in their view of Indian peasants than they were. Hill's picture is even more somber because of the mass exploitation and countless atrocities committed by the rubber companies and their ruffians.

Albó, in his chapter on the highlands during the twentieth century, introduces the pro-Indian movement of non-Indian intellectual *indigenistas* who, like their brethren in Mexico, left significant works in literature and the arts but barely changed Indian reality. He then discusses the complex mid-century agrarian reforms of Bolivia and Peru. From the Indian perspective, Ecuador is a success story. The Indian Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), born in 1982, succeeded remarkably in incorporating both highland and lowland Indians with their different cultures and languages. Maybury-Lewis writes about the lowlands during the twentieth century. The “Serviço de proteção dos Índios” (SPI) was founded in Brazil by the humanitarian positivist Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon. For decades, his men knew how to follow his motto: “Die if need be, but never kill.” But by mid-century, the decay of SPI was a fact. Its successor, Fundação Nacional do Índio, has faced the same problems: lack of resources, corruption, and the brutality of non-Indian economic interests.

The quality of the contributions of the work is, on average, high. Errors are few. One of the gaps is that life of the great Indian actor Mateo Pumacahua has been cut in halves. His fight against Tupac Amaru in 1780 is recorded (II, p. 543), but not his role as the commander of a huge patriot army in 1814. The editing is somewhat uneven. Repetitions are too numerous and extensive. While the maps are good as far as the post-1492 chapters are concerned, illustrations



only exist in Larson's essay, where they make the story considerably more lively. This history is both valuable and useful, but it could have been improved by paying more attention to demography and law.

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BERNARDO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and ALBA GONZÁLEZ JÁCOME, editors. *Estudios sobre historia y ambiente en América*. Volume 1, *Argentina, Bolivia, México, Paraguay*. México: Colegio de México. 1999. Pp. viii, 296. \$16.00.

Venturing into a space too often made contentious by academics, the authors of this book's thirteen essays focus on different dimensions of the very real interplay between human cultural constructions and the limitations that nature imposes on those interpretations and constructs. In the words of editors Bernardo García Martínez and Alba González Jácome, "Individual and social actions and perceptions must deal . . . with realities like climate, hydrography, flora and fauna," and the constructions of history itself must properly be rooted in very real environmental space (pp. i-ii).

Although there often appears to be no particular reason why the book's essays were ordered the way they were, Alain Musset's "Lo sano y lo malsano en las ciudades españolas de América (siglos xvi-xvii)" is well placed as the first. Following in the footsteps of individuals like Antonello Gerbi, he uses the *relaciones geográficas* to show that Spanish documents were influenced by their authors' exposure to the Hippocratic corpus and Galen in how they presented geographic and climatic causes of disease in the Americas. In response to the crown's questions regarding the colonies, the *relaciones* identified "almost all the low, hot and humid lands situated near the sea as unhealthy" (p. 12). This followed from Hippocrates. Unfortunately, Musset fails to pursue the extent to which the less learned may have been influenced by imprints of the familiar, though he does write that "the best climate for the conquistadores was the climate of Europe, or better said of Spain" (p. 8). Nonetheless, his general focus on the interpretation of nature is pursued elsewhere. A piece by Alfred H. Siemens shows how rich the *relaciones* are as a source for environmental history, just as long as the filters of individual Spaniards are taken into account. And Luis Aboites Aguilar's "Relación sociedad-naturaleza" demonstrates how issues of hydraulic control and the construction of hydroelectric dams in Mexico from 1900 to 1940 were intimately tied to an ideology of centralization present in both the Porfiriato and immediate postrevolutionary period.

Still, while all sorts of human interpretations can be imposed on nature, the reality is that humans are also shaped by nature. Thus, Patricia Dussel and Roberto Gustavo Herrera show that when the Salado River in present-day Argentina changed course on three occasions in the eighteenth century, ranching and farming

activities were necessarily abandoned for lack of water. With colonial projects like the draining of lake water in Mexico City, the Spaniards were quite given to visions of dominating nature in the Americas, but, as demonstrated by Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, human laws were not terribly effective vis-à-vis the natural courses of rivers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spaniards of Puebla tried to reserve irrigation waters for themselves by limiting the agricultural products to be grown by the Amerindians of Tochmilco, but, since the Spaniards were downriver from Tochmilco, they always received water after it had already been depleted for Amerindian irrigation projects.

In fact, even when superior technology has granted human cultures a greater capacity to exploit nature, natural limitations persist, and González Jácome demonstrates how agricultural water demands in nineteenth-century Tlaxcala led to the desiccation of interior lakes in the Mexican state, while Elena María Abraham and María del Rosario Prieto show how the needs of a rapidly expanding population in Mendoza, Argentina led to deforestation even as the wine industry grew circa 1900. At times, the obvious impact of human demands may have led to a type of "green imperialism," as indicated in del Rosario Prieto's and Teresita Castrillejo's "Las ideas de los ilustrados del Virreinato del Río de la Plata sobre conservación de la naturaleza," but, more frequently, soil depletion and other forms of ecological depredation, as in Chantal Cramaussel's seventeenth-century Parral (pp. 93-107), were the rule.

If two themes stand out across these diverse essays, they are that the authors focus on European imperialism as a turning point in the environmental history of Latin America, and that, since colonial times, as with the Maya earlier, human population growth has outdistanced the carrying capacity of various ecosystems. Thus, both García Martínez's study of El Monte de Mixtlan and María de la Luz Ayala's study of the whole of New Spain show that the rise of human populations in the eighteenth century led to increased deforestation, and this in turn led to increased numbers of court cases regarding land use issues. As so often happens, the struggle for existence intensified as resources were depleted.

Of course, in itself, the term "resources" is informed by European cultural discourse. Although Cynthia Radding and Wayne Joseph Robbins try to make a comparison of ecosystems and the resistance of the semi-agrarian Guaraní groups to European culture(s) the themes of their respective essays, this book could have perhaps done more with Amerindian cultural perspectives and entire ecosystems as the main players. Still, the collection (with origins in the 1997 International Congress of Americanists in Quito) is an excellent introduction to current Latin American environmental history and to a number of local case studies providing important examples and data therein. In the spirit of Elinor Melville's *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (1994),



this book provides precision, and it challenges historians to see ecology and biology as inescapable bases to the stories of culture that history constructs.

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GISELA VON WOBESER. *Vida eternal y preocupaciones terrenales: Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España 1700–1821*. (Instituto de Investigaciones históricas; Serie Historia Novohispana, number 64.) Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1999. Pp. 283.

This work is part of a thriving literature on colonial Mexican finance, much of it by Gisela von Wobeser and her colleagues at the Universidad Autónoma de México on ecclesiastical credit. Here von Wobeser hones in on the *capellanía*, a form of pious endowment by which Mexicans might simultaneously take care of spiritual and family business—or, as the title (which translates well) puts it, “eternal life and worldly concerns.” Creating an ecclesiastical *capellanía* meant that a propertied man or woman set aside resources to generate an annual income to support a *capellán*. The clerical recipient of this income was obliged to pray a certain number of masses for the soul of the founder(s) and anyone else she (or he, or they) might designate. Not all *capellanías* were ecclesiastical, however. Lay *capellanías* might support designated laymen who paid others to pray the stipulated masses. This enabled founders to endow kinsmen who were underage, not ordained, or otherwise unqualified for ecclesiastical benefice. (A founder might thus encourage a young relative to enter the clergy. Once ordained, a young man could pray the masses and keep the full annual income himself.)

By the early 1700s, von Wobeser asserts, *capellanías* were extensively used by propertied people in the viceroyalty of New Spain to provide male kin with a living. But what kind of living was this? The data von Wobeser has assembled indicate it was usually a modest one. The average endowment was 2,000 to 3,000 pesos, generating at five percent an annual income of 100 to 150 pesos (p. 33). A priest might hold multiple *capellanías*, but 80.58% held only one, and around half the documented *capellanes* received middling to low annual incomes (i.e. 100 pesos or less). Cases like that of the provincial priest of Temamatla were rare: Manuel López Escudero enjoyed incomes from seven *capellanías*, paying him a total annual income of 675 pesos (pp. 87–88).

Von Wobeser is drawn to the legal and financial aspects of this important source of credit, foregrounding them in the book’s initial chapters. *Capellanías*, as is well known, eventually created a large pool of lending capital. By the late eighteenth century, much of the lending happened through short-term contracts (*depósitos irregulares*), which displaced the older dominant form of the *censo consignativo*—a phenomenon von Wobeser has previously studied. Here she does

more to embed contractual mechanisms in a broader social context. Chapter three examines *patronos* (founders empowered to designate holders of *capellanías*), and *capellanes*, noting patterns and interesting exceptions. Two-thirds of the 1,706 cases studied involved male founders, but almost a quarter (23.51 percent) were women, mainly widows. Founders also included indigenous nobles and commoners and free mulattos. Because the overwhelming majority (eighty-three percent) of founders set up their *capellanías* while alive (not through a will), von Wobeser argues that the principal motivation was not fear of purgatory but concern for the well-being of one’s kinsmen. In other words, she finds “worldly concerns”—not necessarily just those of Creole elites—trumped those regarding purgatory and “eternal life.” This shows up also in patterns regarding *capellanes* holding newly established *capellanías*: 85.67 percent were not ordained, and most were youths (p. 83).

Yet von Wobeser does not ignore spiritual motives. Chapter four, on religious background, deserves more prominence. Here we see a panoply of practices—indulgences; prayers, alms, and other *sufragios*—through which colonial Mexicans benefited souls in purgatory. Von Wobeser borrows heavily from European historiography, especially the work of Jacques Le Goff and the suggestive concept of spiritual accounting (p. 108), to assert that colonial Mexican Christians’ practices were carefully calculated with respect to their accumulated “spiritual capital.”

In places, very general, unsupported assertions deserve further explanation. European historiography is brought in with little discussion of its applicability in a colonial Mexican context. Unquestionably, though, this study highlights important distinctions between different kinds of *capellanías*, different motivations for endowing them, and different degrees of respect for their provisions (all changing over time). It invites follow-up on fascinating leads and questions. One is the cumulative impact of this spiritual economy, which by the eighteenth century seemed to many an unjustifiable burden. Von Wobeser notes the “great number of masses which had to be prayed was a burden on convent life and many priests had to keep exhausting hours. Eventually masses were being celebrated throughout the night and . . . it became common practice to pray several masses simultaneously in the main and side altars of the churches” (p. 128). This striking image is but one aspect of von Wobeser’s important topic about which we can ask many more questions.

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THOMAS A. ABERCROMBIE. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among an Andean People*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1998. Pp. xxviii, 603. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$27.00.

Thomas A. Abercrombie's book takes the reader down the deep and dangerous ravines of the Andean past by way of the high, thin-aired path of reflexive ethnography. In a word, it is an experimental and rigorous meditation on a deep ethnographic experience (the author's) of a history (the K'ulta's living past writ large) that was not seen to constitute history (until now). In the field of Andean studies, the book is novel because it combines things that others have been unable or unwilling to merge between two covers, in part perhaps because no one that I can think of has devoted quite so much labor to doing and writing ethnography and history both in the Andes and in the Spanish archives, and if they have, it has not been under the slippery influence of various poststructuralist "turns" that, since the late 1970s (when the author began the project), have left their mark on Chicagooan anthropology.

Abercrombie's first book—which still has a trace of the encyclopedic desire of the two-volume dissertation embedded in it—is cast in the proverbial three parts; in an earlier age, each of these "parts" would have deserved to be called books. Perhaps they might better be called acts. In any case, the three parts constitute different yet ultimately converging avenues toward understanding what the author calls "memory paths": the performative sequences by which K'ulta (an Andean ethnic group) live, drink, dance, fight, walk, and otherwise enact a history.

Part one is about the ethnographer's own "pathway" to K'ulta and is easily the most engaging narrative segment of the book. This opening "ethnographic pastorate" moves from the seminar rooms of the University of Chicago to the dusty crossroads of a tiny Andean hamlet called Santa Barbara de Cuita (K'ulta), and from the "counter-ethnography of the roles and persona of the ethnographer" to the "structures and histories" of the K'ulta people whom the would-be ethnographer has come to study. In part two the reflexive "ethnographic border crossing" of the first part gives way to something close to a graduate course in the anthropological history of Andean social formations, from preconquest times down to the present. This comprehensive history is written with the particular local history of K'ulta in mind, but serious students of the Andes can measure their knowledge here (indeed, if I had to recommend one fat ethnological "guidebook" to the brainy, Andes-bound backpacker or postbacker class, this would be it.) Like a good story, the final part three shifts back to the progressive present tense of ethnographic performance: "Telling, drinking, and living" the "paths of memory" in K'ulta. The book ends, or rather runs out of pages, by now characteristically, at a historical "crossroads" of the personal, the local, the national, and the global.

Impatient readers may be tempted to take any one preferred part on its own and disregard or skim over the others, yet doing so raises the risk of missing the importance of the work as a whole. What Abercrombie accomplishes in this book is done by virtue of the effect produced by juxtaposing (admittedly not always

graceful or convincing) historical, ethnographic, and personal narratives. This metanarrative pasting together of perspectival elements in the text appears to mimic one of the author's favorite theoretical notions: "interculture." For Abercrombie, the most isolated Andean Indian village is densely and unevenly intercultural, a hierarchical and historicized arranging (not a syncretism) of layer upon layer of colonial and postcolonial history, coded and reproduced as a ritually embedded "social memory." This social memory plays an active role in shaping the present and future. The combined interpretive power of the concepts of interculturalities and social memory allows Abercrombie to take on a battery of widely accepted analytical concepts in the Andean field (for example, the idea of "syncretism") and leave them strewn about the academic snowfields of theory like so many frozen corpses.

Cultural historians conversant with anthropological theory may glean useful insights from Abercrombie's work. Andean anthropologists will take some time to digest this book. No doubt Latin Americanist historians will take somewhat longer still.

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JULYAN G. PEARD. *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 315. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

The study of "tropical medicine" emerged in the nineteenth century as a way of classifying diseases, determining appropriate treatments, and differentiating regions and peoples of the world. By the early twentieth century, schools of tropical medicine had been established in most imperial capital cities to study diseases of the tropical world and to improve health conditions in the colonies (especially for the colonizers). Tropical medicine thus created knowledge and defined relationships, dual processes that originated in the imperial centers of Western Europe. This "we" versus "they" dynamic both silenced the view from the tropics and relegated the tropics to an inferior position vis-à-vis temperate regions. Julyan G. Peard's fascinating study of the Escola Tropicalista Bahiana provides an insightful counterpoint to the European-centered study of tropical medicine. Peard illuminates the efforts of the Tropical School of Bahia to contribute to the study and treatment of tropical diseases in manners that reflected tropical concerns, and also Bahia's troubled relationship with Brazil's dominant medical community in Rio de Janeiro.

The Tropical School of Bahia consisted of an informal group of physicians established in 1865 in the northeast city of Salvador de Bahia. Members of the school, which included a few Europeans, sought to contribute to the development of the knowledge and treatment of tropical diseases, even as they struggled against the privileged position of physicians and educators from Rio de Janeiro. Although Bahia had been

the original seat of government of colonial Brazil, its reputation suffered with the transfer of power to Rio de Janeiro and the establishment of the preferred imperial medical school. Further, Bahia was "tainted" by its strong African influence, which derived from the slave-based sugar culture of the region. Similarly, European scientists discredited the knowledge produced by their Bahian counterparts, while suggesting that Bahia's tropical location determined the social potential of its inhabitants as well as threatening Europeans who migrated to the region with degeneration. Members of the Tropical School therefore had to combat both racism and tropical determinism in the development of their medical understandings.

José Francisco da Silva Lima's approach to beriberi illustrates the innovative response of the school to tropical disease. Silva Lima accepted a miasmatic frame for the disease but argued that individual patterns of behavior could reduce one's susceptibility and that public health initiatives could transform the conditions that produced the miasma. Antônio Pacifico Pereira advanced this analysis, positing that certain environmental conditions could cause microorganisms, located in beriberi victims through clinical study, to become pathological. Changing the environment could then reduce the pathological potential of the germ, which in no case was associated with the racial character of the Bahian region. Members of the school were thus able to advocate germ theory while holding to a form of environmentalism that linked disease to social conditions, a platform from which they would campaign for improved public health efforts and repudiate advocates of racial and tropical determinism.

In addition to the politics of public health, Peard explores the political critique of the empire implicit in the activities of the school. For example, in rejecting the ideas of Louis Agassiz and Arthur de Gobineau, tropicalists joined critics of slavery arguing for manumission and advocating the virtues of republicanism. The author's attention to the contextualization of the issues addressed by the school is exemplary. Peard is not only attentive to the science of medicine, she is sensitive to the social environment in which members of the school operated. Nowhere is this better seen than in a chapter on physicians and women, in which the modern agenda of physicians confronted traditions of midwifery and the "proper" boundaries between male physicians and female patients.

Peard details the school's effort to professionalize medicine in Bahia, including the publication of the *Gazeta Médica* to disseminate its findings to Europeans, the reorientation of the local charity hospital, and curricular reforms at the medical school. Notably, Otto H. Wucherer's identification of a parasite in the bloody urine of hookworm victims circulated widely in European journals. These findings became another means to critique physicians at the medical school in Rio. By the 1880s, members of the school dominated the local academy.

Written in an accessible style, the volume is appro-

priate for both specialist and undergraduate reader. The specialist will find the footnotes to be a special treasure, both in their detail and in the analytical information they convey. Peard's book deserves to be the widely cited "classic" it has quickly become.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

PETER S. WELLS. *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 335. \$29.95.

In his preface, Peter S. Wells addresses this synthetic interpretation to that elusive figure, "the general reader." He states further that he is interested in offering "scholars and students a new perspective on Roman Era Europe" (p. x). Such goals are always difficult to attain. Offering a wide view, which is necessary to attract and inform the general audience, seldom wins plaudits from specialists. Certainly Wells's approach to the interaction between Romans and the "indigenous peoples" of the north is open to a number of criticisms. Yet if his book sparks equally well-written rebuttals, scholars, students, and general readers will all gain.

The "Roman Europe" of the subtitle is actually a somewhat more restricted area than the name might suggest. Wells draws his material from the frontier provinces of Germania Inferior and Superior, Gallia Belgica, and Raetia, all on or near the Rhine and the Danube, with occasional reference to other parts of Gaul, Britain, and continental areas never incorporated into the empire. This region, which Wells sometimes calls "temperate Europe," is the area he is most familiar with, and his generalizations rest on analysis of it. Chronologically he covers a long period, from the late Bronze Age until the crises of the third century A.D.

Wells's argument is that the native peoples of this region played a much greater role in the formation of Roman Europe than most treatments of the subject would lead readers to believe. Standard treatments, he says, depend on an old, simplistic view of Romanization: that northern Europe was the site of static, small-scale societies until Roman initiative transformed it and created more advanced "provincial Roman" societies. Such an interpretation relies too much on Greek and Roman writers of antiquity whose prejudices and stereotypes, says Wells, have too long been taken for simple fact.

To this older approach, which anyone who actually works with the literary sources of antiquity might have a hard time recognizing, Wells opposes an analysis based on anthropological archaeology and shaped by studies of colonial and postcolonial situations in a variety of eras. His postcolonial presentation seeks to restore agency and initiative to people who are all too easily considered as entirely passive: to show "indigenous people as decision-makers" (p. 95).



Such a perspective has something to offer, if perhaps mainly to those who have never questioned the superiority of Roman civilization. Wells's discussion of the pre-Roman origins of northern European urbanization summarizes admirably an important development that is not commonly discussed in connection with the nature and expansion of the empire. Likewise, his treatment of the "Celtic Renaissance" of the late second century A.D., when native styles that had been in eclipse for a century and a half were revived, nicely evokes the complex interrelationship between Roman and non-Roman elements in provincial societies over time. Whether the "Celtic Renaissance" should necessarily be seen as indigenous "resistance" is another matter.

Wells works so hard to emphasize the agency and creativity of indigenous peoples that he seems to underestimate the agency of Roman government and the attractiveness of the Roman identity to many, if not all, imperial subjects. When he questions, for instance, the Romanness of *terra sigillata* pottery (pp. 127–29), one feels Wells protests too much. Although there may have been no purely Roman or purely indigenous sites or artifacts or practices in the frontier provinces, surely the idea of Rome existed in antiquity? Indeed, perhaps the biggest lack in this book is that the "shape" the conquered peoples gave "Roman Europe" is never quite clear.

Wells is nonetheless to be complimented on writing a worthwhile book. If some of his arguments are overstated, his clear prose, excellent illustrations, and numerous maps will give his readers a nuanced picture of the Roman frontiers and the peoples who lived there. And all this is done without falling back on either Tacitus's or Rousseau's "noble savage," no mean feat. Wells's barbarians are refreshingly matter of fact.

Princeton University Press has done an excellent job in producing this book. It is well designed, and there are fewer typographical errors than one usually sees these days. There are no footnotes, but the "bibliographic essay" at the back is well organized and serves as a practical link between the text and the extensive bibliography.

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ELIZABETH KEY FOWDEN. *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 28.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 227. \$55.00.

In this book, Elizabeth Key Fowden explores the material and textual evidence for the global diffusion of the *cultus* of the late antique military martyr, Saint Sergius. What began as a fairly minor cult on the "barbarian plain" of the Syrian steppe gradually evolved into a spiritual commodity capable of attracting votaries from Gaul to Mongolia. The very geographical range of the Sergius phenomenon speaks to

the importance of Fowden's book, for rarely does a historical work on late antiquity place the study of Christianity within the larger religious context of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam. As Fowden argues, the cult of St. Sergius functioned as a kind of "middle ground" between the two great empires of the late antique Mediterranean: Christian Rome and Zoroastrian Iran. At the heart of this "middle ground" was the Syrian town of Rusafa, seemingly the first locus for the veneration of the martyr. Rusafa, a frontier town with a provincial cultus dedicated to an obscure Christian martyr, eventually emerged as a major powerbroker in the multiethnic, multireligious culture of late antique Syria and Mesopotamia. This book brilliantly answers the question of how the soldier-saint functioned as the military protector equally of Roman emperors, Persian "kings of kings," nomadic Arabs, polytheists, Zoroastrians, and Muslims.

Sergius's success can be explained partially by the strategic significance of his native region (up until the Muslim invasions) and by the fact that the cultic practices surrounding devotion to this military figure became a ritual site for cross-cultural influence and appropriation. For Arabs, Sergius became the "speedy guardian of cameleers" (p. 38). For the Sasanian King Khusrau, Sergius's shrine, like the Zoroastrian fire temple, served as the sacred space from which the king of kings inaugurated his rule over the "plain." Likewise, the infamous Byzantine imperial pair, Justinian and Theodora, used the martyr as the numinous mediator between rival Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian Christians. And, for Merovingian bishops, legends surrounding the famous thumb relic of Sergius, which one eastern king supposedly attached to his own thumb before he successfully ventured into battle, underscored the efficacy of the cult of the dead. In Rusafa itself, the Sergius shrine transformed into a *haram*, a "sacrosanct site, distinguished by the saint's presence, where worldly leaders exercised their authority under the saint's protection" (p. 99).

The verbal and nonverbal sources examined by Fowden to reconstruct Sergius's *haram* are impressive and include Syriac, Arabic, and Greek graffiti left at the martyr's shrine by zealous pilgrims; artistic representations of Sergius and his saintly sidekick, Bacchus; and detailed archaeological discussions of the built environment of the cult. This reader found the intersection of material evidence with written sources to be one of the book's real strengths. Furthermore, Fowden's methodology situates her work perfectly within the larger context of very recent and excellent studies in the field of late antiquity, most notably Mark Humphries's *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (1999) and John Crook's *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–1200* (2000). Problematic, however, is the author's unwillingness to challenge directly John Boswell's controversially erotic interpretation of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (*Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe*



[1994]). Fowden's criticisms of Boswell's conclusions are relegated to the footnotes. Similarly, some very good information on how past hagiologists have evaluated the historicity of the fifth-century *Passio* is placed in the notes rather than in the body of the text. Furthermore, several chapters would benefit from more fully developed conclusions.

Overall, there is much to love in this book—from the sensitive reading of the discursive uses of clothing in martyrs' *Passiones*, to the invention of a theology of frontier relics, to the Umayyad renegotiation of the Sergius cult. Clearly, Fowden establishes a methodology for future studies of the origins and diffusion of a saintly *cultus*, for she skillfully demonstrates how one discrete cult can serve as a starting point for a more intense exploration of the complex interactions of ethnicity, religion, and class at the shrines of the holy dead. Recently, historians of the American West have developed engaging interpretative strategies for re-reading frontier culture (see for example, Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* [1991] and Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Gold-seekers, and the Rush to Colorado* [1998]). Fowden demonstrates that the extant sources from late antiquity provide perfect fodder for an equally provocative reevaluation of frontier zones in the later Roman Empire.

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ULRICH MEYER. *Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des "Hauses": Zur Ökonomik in der Spätantike und im früheren Mittelalter*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 140.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 373.

Ulrich Meyer's attempt to collect and interpret data on changes in the meaning of the word "house," mostly in Latin (*domus*) in the religious (not, apparently, theological) sense, with reference to the church and monastery, from late antiquity to the twelfth century, breaks ground but very unevenly. In this recycled dissertation, which stylistically clearly shows its origin, Meyer notes that, following Weberian theory, ideas changed during the Middle Ages as much as in other historical periods, including that of "house" as sign and carrier of meaning, and this particular change tells us much about the social transformation accompanying the Christianization of society and the rise of the universal church and the monastery as a major socio-economic institution. These transformations in the meaning of the word "house" have never previously been treated in a full-length monograph, only in brief articles (e. g. "Haus III (Metapher)" in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 13 [1986], cols. 905–1063, by Friedrich Ohly, and in asides in the works of a few of Ohly's contemporaries).

Meyer treats, in successive chapters, "the house as bearer of meaning," "the house and its meaning for the

formation of groups," various interpretations of "household management" (*oikonomika*), aspects of this idea, its foundations in late antiquity and the Middle Ages, its cultural significance in Jerome and Augustine, its development up to the time of Isidore of Seville, the world as "house" and as "holy household management" from Basil of Caesarea to the thirteenth century, community and society as "house of God" from the second to the thirteenth century, and, finally, "the monastic community as house" from Pachomius to the twelfth-century Canons Regular. There are more than adequate bibliographies and indexes.

Meyer collects and interprets a great deal of material; chronological order is generally subordinated to subject-matter rubrics. In his chapters on ancient foundations (five and nine), Meyer restricts himself only to the "central meaning of the words *house* and *household management* in descriptive form" and "not also the social and political involvements and circumstances of their articulation." After a few pages on Greek and Roman uses of the word, Meyer's discussion of "house" in the Old Testament is brief, superficial, and indicates no deep investigation of its semantics in Hebrew. Similar remarks can be made about the material on the New Testament, with no discussion on the theologically important use of the word in the first chapter of John. The material on Jerome and Augustine, the obsolescence of pagan concepts of "house" and "community," and the reception of their ideas by Isidore of Seville is much more substantial if selective. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus on the Cappadocian famine of 368 and the responsibility of the rich to practice charity are discussed and treated in substantial detail, arguably to the point of digression from the putative primary subject matter of the work, and Meyer continues with a much briefer treatment of Augustine, Gelasius, Bede, Erigena, Prudentius of Troyes, and Rufinus of Sorrento on "household management." Chapter eight consists of a rather perfunctory discussion of society as a "house of God" in late antiquity, followed by an equally brief compilation of twelfth-century ideas on this topic.

The last chapter, on the monastic community as house, begins with a very superficial discussion of Pachomius, showing no apparent knowledge of the Syriac sources and not citing James Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (1966) or other more recent works; the material that follows, on Basil and John Chrysostom, is not much more detailed. Augustine, Benedict, Carolingian authors, and monastic orders of the eleventh and twelfth century are then treated in much greater detail.

Perhaps the work would appear more integrated if Meyer limited himself to Latin medieval sources, covering earlier material in a brief introductory chapter and not giving the impression that the East is being neglected. There would then be a "house" less divided against itself, if with not quite as many mansions. That said, the book as it is remains a very useful and

groundbreaking, if selective, compendium of material, with analysis addressing socioeconomic backgrounds, on certain uses of "house" and "household management" in the early and high Middle Ages, and will prove useful to social historians of these periods.

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J. W. TUBBS. *The Common Law Mind: Medieval and Early Modern Conceptions*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 253. \$42.50.

The English lawyers and judges of the medieval and early modern period were in general practically minded men, little given to abstract theorizing about the nature of law or the relationship between law and morality or most other questions of general jurisprudence. This was partly a consequence of the kind of legal education they had received and partly a reflection of the way cases were argued and decided in the main royal courts. English legal writers are little more forthcoming. The only significant exceptions to this are one of the multiple authors who contributed to the thirteenth-century legal treatise known as *Bracton* and the sixteenth-century legal writer, Christopher St. German; but their thinking and writing are clearly atypical, and they cannot be shown to have had much influence over their contemporaries. It is nonetheless possible to piece together, both from legal writers and from the arguments and assertions of lawyers and justices in reported cases, some kind of general picture of how the common lawyers of this period thought about at least one more generally jurisprudential topic: the "sources" of the common law. What was the nature of the common law? Was it merely custom? Did it constitute some kind of "fundamental law" that might under certain circumstances be held to overrule legislation? How far was the common law based on specific precedents derived from judgments made in particular cases as opposed to the broad professional consensus (the "common opinion") of the legal profession and the judiciary? How important were statutes as a constituent element in the wider framework of English law? How much freedom did the king's justices enjoy in interpreting the meaning of those statutes? What was the nature and justification of the newly emerging "equity" provided in chancery from the late fourteenth century onwards?

J. W. Tubbs's book is a necessary selective survey and discussion of the answers to these kinds of questions. It begins with the first textbook of the newly emerging common law of the last quarter of the twelfth century, *Glanvill*, and continues through to the early seventeenth century and the work of Sir John Davies and Sir Edward Coke. The arrangement is primarily chronological, with the general overall themes emerging clearly only in the final chapter, and that is the book's main weakness. Its main strength is Tubbs's awareness and knowledge of contemporary canonist and civilian thought and writing about related topics

and his ability to suggest and demonstrate the degree to which the common lawyers made extensive, if largely unacknowledged, borrowings from them.

If there is a main target in the book it is, perhaps surprisingly, the work of one of the author's own mentors, J. G. A. Pocock. Tubbs makes a convincing case for seeing the thought of Davies and Coke, which Pocock took as being representative of the thinking of English common lawyers, as quite atypical of their period. He also demonstrates that they had no real precursors within the wider common law intellectual tradition, if that is not to dignify it with too grand a name. So it is really doubtful whether the thinking of either man can be seen as representative of any wider "common law" mentality. A second target is the work of an older generation of legal and constitutional historians like Charles McIlwain, who thought that the common law of this same period operated as a kind of unchanging "fundamental law." Tubbs has little difficulty in showing that there is no evidence to support such a view. There is little new in this book (other than the demonstration of the extent of unacknowledged borrowing by common lawyers from the learned law) to surprise the English legal historian, but the book is perhaps as much intended for historians of political thought and mentalities as for legal historians, and it can be recommended to them as a relatively succinct and accurate discussion of the thinking of English common lawyers on these topics.

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DENIS MENJOT and MANUEL SÁNCHEZ MARTÍNEZ, editors. *La fiscalité des villes au Moyen Âge (Occident méditerranéen)*. Volume 2, *Les systèmes fiscaux*. (Histoire et Archéologie des mondes chrétiens et musulmans médiévaux; Le Midi et son histoire.) Toulouse: Éditions Privat. 1999. Pp. 540. 170.00FR.

Historians have long mined urban tax records in order to unearth a wealth of information for the study of the economy, social structure, and family life of medieval towns. The Florentine *catasto* of 1427–1430, to cite only the most famous example, provided a stunningly nuanced picture of domestic life, wealth distribution, and gender relations in the able hands of David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber. Only in the past decade, however, has municipal taxation become a significant theme of investigation in its own right, especially in the thriving and well-documented cities of the Mediterranean. Although the topic might not provide material for a potboiler, methods developed by urban regimes to tax their population in fact provide critical perspectives on the nature of citizenship, internal social divisions, and the relation of emerging monarchies to urban communities. Significantly, Anglo-American scholars have had little connection to this topic outside Italy.

The volume under review contains twenty studies,

the work of a collaborative Franco-Iberian research team. The articles range from regional syntheses to close studies of the methods and mechanisms of taxation in individual towns in the Crown of Castile, the Aragonese realms, southern France, and (in one synthetic essay) northern Italy. In order to pursue a common as well as a comparative research objective, editors Denis Menjot and Manuel Sánchez Martínez have admirably kept a tight reign on the participants. Two basic questions frame the individual contributions: What part did direct taxation (on property and rents) and indirect taxation (on consumption) play in municipal finances? And how were municipal taxes assessed?

Throughout the western Mediterranean, municipal governments first relied on direct taxation to provide for their financial needs, particularly defense and the demands of their lords. The complex interplay between the goals of urban magistrates and the financial requirements of sovereigns emerges as one of the major findings of these investigations. By the second half of the twelfth century, the precociously independent Italian communes had begun to assess taxes based on households, but even there the earliest urban taxes derived from the *fodrum*, an imperial exaction. During the thirteenth century, municipalities from Castile to Provence asserted the prerogative of direct taxation. In the colonial societies of Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, monarchs quickly endowed municipalities with fiscal systems that became the foundation for autonomous urban taxation, while towns in older Christian regions crafted their fiscal systems independently in order to meet the growing fiscal pressures of their sovereigns. In both cases, the exigencies of local communities and princes stimulated the growth of increasingly complex urban tax systems. At first occasional and improvised, levies on property and rents rapidly became regularized and promoted financial institutions endowed with elaborate rules, records, and personnel. Yet with heightened financial pressures from kings and princes as well as from their own growing populations, towns began to experiment with taxes on the consumption of wine, grain, meat, fish, and a wide range of craft products by the late thirteenth century. The *imposicions* at Barcelona and Girona, the *rèves* and *gabelles* in Provence, and the *almojarifazgo* and *almotacenazgo* at Seville represent a remarkably elaborate set of impositions on consumption. By the fifteenth century, indirect taxation far outstripped revenues from direct taxation in larger towns. The tension between the two systems takes us to the heart of urban politics, for the shift to indirect taxation often benefited the wealthiest citizens as it weighed more heavily on basic consumptive needs than on capital. Even within a broadly comparable evolution, local nuances of fiscal administration proved a highly charged issue in urban politics.

Despite local variations, the overall movement toward indirect taxation in the largest towns can clearly be seen during the late Middle Ages from northern

Italy to Castile. Yet from the early fourteenth century the major towns in the Crown of Aragon and northern Italy, unlike their neighbors in the Midi and Castile, came to rely heavily on funded municipal debt. The heavy fiscal burden of these towns led to a voracious need for indirect taxation, which transformed municipal finances and promoted the formation of complex institutions to sustain a heavy level of debt. The contributions to this well-conceived volume bring out as never before both the common challenges and the diverse destinies of urban fiscal regimes. Through a tightly organized research effort, it has proven possible in roughly a decade to trace out a comparative theme that had appeared only incidentally in urban studies in the Midi and was virtually ignored in Castile and the Crown of Aragon. One can only applaud the results of such a coordinated and truly cooperative research venture.

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ROBERT CHAZAN. *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 270. \$40.00.

This is the third book that Robert Chazan has written on the lethal attacks launched against Rhineland Jewish communities by Christian warriors near the beginning of the First Crusade. *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (1987) was a historical overview, surveying the sources and what they reveal about the varieties of violence, the patterns of Jewish response (prayer, resistance, conversion, martyrdom), and subsequent interpretation and memorialization of the traumatic events. A substantial appendix to that book presented the major Hebrew chronicles in translation. *In the Year 1096: The First Crusade and the Jews* (1996), published in the anniversary year, covered much the same material for a general, nonacademic audience. As revealed by its subtitle, the scope of the current book is narrower. The many Christian chronicles of the First Crusade have relatively little to say about the bloodshed in the Rhineland; their focus is, understandably, the Middle East. It was not until the Hebrew chronicles were published in 1892 that the full story of the preliminary massacres became accessible to most medievalists, and not until after World War II that this account became integrated into the authoritative general Crusade histories.

The relationship among the three Hebrew chronicles, which cover much the same subject matter, has been a subject of ongoing scholarly debate since their publication. How are they to be dated, both in time removed from the events and in relation to each other? Did the authors rely on their own experience, oral reports, or written accounts? Was one of these texts available as a source to the other authors? Was there an Ur-text no longer extant? Chazan reviews the earlier literature in an appendix and revisits these



issues in the first part of his book. His argument is that the three chronicles reflect five documents with different authorial voices; the longest of the chronicles is a composite text that incorporates two originally independent narratives in addition to the author's own report. The various texts reveal different degrees of preoccupation with what he calls the "time-bound" and the "timeless" issues raised by the violence. From all of the chronicles, there emerges a "new sense of the importance of contemporary events and contemporary human heroes" (p. 211), expressed in a vibrant narrative style that was soon lost to subsequent Hebrew literature.

Beyond the technical questions of dating and interdependence, Chazan addresses larger issues pertaining to the worldviews of the respective authors and their approach to historical writing. He devotes a chapter to the hotly contested issue of the "facticity" of the chronicles, arguing—against the position that these texts reveal only an imaginative reconstruction by their authors, not the actual events of 1096—that the data provided in the narratives are on the whole fairly reliable. The most innovative section is the two final chapters, which make the case that the chronicles share much more with contemporary Christian historiographical narrative than with Jewish precursors.

It is here that the rather grandiose title is invoked, for the argument is that the Hebrew accounts share with the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* "fundamental assumptions about God, humanity, and the workings of history" (p. 201). In both, although theoretically in sovereign control of history, God is all but absent as an active agent. In both, human initiative, valor, and heroic self-sacrifice of martyrdom dominate. Both depict their own generation as exalted in stature even over the spiritual giants of the biblical past.

This argument situates the author in a significant trend of recent Jewish historiography that portrays medieval European Jews not just as victims of persecution but as confronting and responding to many of the same cultural and spiritual issues that preoccupied their Christian neighbors. Here, unfortunately, the book is weakest in substantiation. Comparison is made with only one of the Christian chronicles of the First Crusade. The similarities, particularly on "the workings of history," are sketchy; there is no evaluation of the significant differences between the Hebrew and Latin works in style, scope, and methodology. Parallels are noted without any explanation or suggestion of whether the author considers them to be the product of influence: were the Hebrew authors even aware of the works of their Christian analogues, or was it simply a case of contemporary authors drawing from the same nebulous cultural climate or responding to similar events? Despite Chazan's stimulating and provocative contribution, the claim of a fundamental convergence between the two sets of twelfth-century chronicles begs for a fuller and more complete elucidation.

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BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*. (Cornell Paperbacks.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 267. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

Barbara H. Rosenwein has written a history of monastic privileges from their first appearance in the seventh century to the dawn of European jurisprudence in the eleventh. As the authority of the hierarchical church evolved, church councils began to define the legal relationship of monasteries and local bishops. In the fifth and sixth centuries, various councils in the eastern and the western parts of Christendom promulgated canons that gave bishops considerable authority and jurisdiction over monastic foundations within their territories. Monasteries were considered sacred places. Since the monastic, contemplative life was thought to be superior to life in both the secular world and the rest of the church, from earliest times abbots sought to limit episcopal control over their affairs. Traces of this tension can be found in early conciliar canons regulating monastic life.

The Council of Chalcedon in 451 promulgated several canons that subjected monasteries to bishops. These canons established a norm for episcopal jurisdiction over monasteries for the entire medieval period. Although Rosenwein discusses these canons, she does not explain how the Greek canons promulgated in the East became normative in the West and how and in what form they circulated. She could have found the answer to that fundamental question in the early medieval canonical collections containing these canons. I give an illustration at the end of this review why such evidence is important. Since Rosenwein pays much attention to the context of individual privileges—a great strength of the book—her neglect of this part of the story is regrettable.

The norm in Christendom was episcopal control over monasteries. The exceptions to the norm were privileges in which episcopal rights were circumscribed. Rosenwein illustrates how bishops, secular lords, and, finally, popes began to issue privileges to monasteries that exempted them from episcopal jurisdictional rights. She argues that, in the Merovingian period, many monasteries received privileges that curtailed episcopal rights (a "heyday"). In the Carolingian period, bishops regained control over monasteries in their dioceses ("singing a new tune"). She ends her story with the beginnings of large-scale papal privileges to monasteries in the tenth and eleventh centuries, an area to which she had devoted earlier studies.

From the evidence that Rosenwein presents, I was not convinced that the Carolingians restored episcopal control over monasteries as a policy. She uses one privilege granted to Groze in 757 to make her point. Because it did not limit episcopal rights as much as other privileges, she calls it an "anti-exemption." The terminology is unfortunate. The privilege did limit episcopal rights over Groze. To call it an "anti-



exemption" is not helpful. The privilege did not extensively restrict episcopal rights, but, as the author had already demonstrated, the contents of privileges were not uniform. If she could have shown that all, most, or even many Carolingian privileges were just as limited, I would have found her argument convincing. But, instead of a survey of the contents of other Carolingian privileges that might have supported her contention, a few pages later she discusses a privilege of Charlemagne, dated 777 for Salornnes, in which the monastery was granted an extensive exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. That privilege does not confirm but undermines her claim that the Carolingians wanted to reassert "church reform and episcopal control."

Her discussion of Charlemagne's privilege for Salornnes raises another problem: misinterpretations of key terminology in the privileges. Charlemagne confirmed a privilege for the monastery of St. Denis in which "*res proprietatis*" of Abbot Fulrad over a monastery in Salornnes was rehearsed. Rosenwein translates "*res proprietatis*" as "property." But, as many documents from this period illustrate, it means something like "the substance of ownership or of dominion." The distinction is crucial. In this case, the context is not about property but about rights. The privilege for Salornnes listed several: the right of the abbot to perform ordinations, supply chrism to the monastery, and bless portable altars (all normally episcopal rights). When "*res proprietatis*" are listed in other Carolingian documents, they can range from dominion over land to water rights. Consequently, the privilege does not confirm an "exchange of land" (p. 120) at Salornnes but a detailing of jurisdictional authority. Rosenwein's entire discussion of the political context of the privilege is off the mark (pp. 121–34). The only mention of property in the privilege was at the end: if Fulrad donates property (*res suas*) to the monastery in the future, it will be protected by the privilege.

As was the case for Salornnes, privileges that alienated episcopal rights were often confirmed by the bishop and an episcopal synod. This fact was very important to the context, because the alienation of rights was a delicate question. By what authority could a bishop or lord alienate rights? In the case of a privilege of King Theuderic III for St. Denis, Rosenwein translates "*nos . . . una cum consilio pontificum uel obtinatum nostrorum*" (p. 219) as Theuderic "*has come together in council with his bishops and nobles.*" "*Consilium*" in this period can mean council, but the syntax demands "with the counsel of our bishops and nobles." The distinction between counsel and council is not trivial. This issue is raised by the wording found in the Latin text of the Council of Chalcedon. Canon 24 ordained that the bishop had the authority to consecrate new monasteries in his diocese. Rosenwein uses the old, outdated edition of Mansi for the text. There it begins: "*Quae semel dedicata sunt monasteria voluntate episcoporum.*" In one modern edition of the Latin text the phrase is "*consilio episcoporum.*" In a canonical collection that circulated widely during the

early Middle Ages, it is "*iudicio episcoporum.*" In an age without jurists, it is difficult to know whether these differences in wording were significant. However, the authors of privileges were guided by the wording of these canons in the canonical collections in which they read them, and their understanding of power and restraint was shaped by those words.

In spite of my comments about parts of her work, readers will learn much from this book about monastic privileges in the early Middle Ages. Rosenwein has taken a subject that has been in the bailiwick of continental scholarship and introduced it to an English-speaking audience with style and wit.

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RICHARD W. KAEUPER. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 338. \$45.00.

Norbert Elias's *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* appeared in 1939 and was translated into English some four decades later. During the past twenty years, Elias's broad sociological study has become a cult object for many anglophone literary critics seeking medieval origins for modern manners and values. Richard W. Kaeuper, who has placed historians in his debt for the greater part of thirty years with numerous archive-based empirical studies, here attempts with good reason to undermine the historical romanticism current in literary circles regarding knights and chivalry that Elias-influenced research purveys. He succeeds very well.

This book covers an immense chronological period from the early eleventh century to the later fifteenth century and a no-less impressive geographical area from the Scottish Lowlands to Castile and the Rhineland. Kaeuper finds change over time in a diminution in the incidence of illicit violent behavior by knights. But he also notes the gradual acceptance of a more ritualized and less socially dangerous form of violence, the tournament, particularly by the church. In this context, Kaeuper makes clear that England was most adept in curtailing asocial behavior by knights and that this pattern of values is supported in English *chansons* and romances. However, it is not at all clear how this played out in the mainland portions of the Angevin empire. In the French kingdom, where development of royal power lagged, violence by knights against public order appears to have been greater, and the literary fantasies do not demonstrate great sympathy for the efforts of royal government to squash it.

Kaeuper's erudition is, as always, admirable, and his command of a vast body of literary material is broad and thoughtful. However, I was somewhat disappointed because too many romantic assumptions remain intact. Like those whose work he seeks to nuance and revise, Kaeuper does not provide a consistent working definition for heuristic purposes either of "knight" or of "chivalry," and the matter of necessity

and sufficiency is not examined. In this context, it is noteworthy that "Modern Views of Medieval Chivalry, 1884–1984," Jeremy Adams's magisterial historiographical study (in H. Chickering and T. Seiler, eds., *The Study of Chivalry* [1988]), does not appear in the bibliography. Awareness of Janet L. Nelson's provocative essay, "Ninth-Century Knighthood: The Evidence of Nithard" (in C. Harper-Bill, Christopher Holdsworth, and Janet Nelson, eds., *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown* [1989]), would have been stimulating, and the thrust of John Gillingham's brilliant treatment of William Marshal requires much greater prominence (see John Gillingham, "War and Chivalry in the *History of William Marshal*," in *Thirteenth-Century England II*, eds. P. R. Cross and S. D. Lloyd [1988]).

Without even working definitions, the inclination, especially of literary critics, to rely on rhetorical technique causes problems. In order to keep his readers, especially nonhistorians, more firmly grounded, it will be desirable for Kaeuper, in a likely second edition of what justly will be a well-studied work, to emphasize that a knight was a member of a sociolegal class at the bottom of the aristocratic/noble ladder. He needs to stress that most knights did not spend their lives at war, and very few worked the tournament circuit. Indeed, the development of scutage in the late eleventh century and of the money fief about the same time provided the basis for the rapid demilitarization of knights as a class. Most men of knightly status were small landholders who spent the greater part of their lives looking after their rural estates and avoiding warfare. Knightly status became a measure of a man's wealth and was frequently avoided because of the great costs it entailed.

Kaeuper seems bent upon closing the "yawning gap" between real war and war as depicted in the entertainment literature of the period. Thus, it must be emphasized that sieges—in which heavy cavalry play no crucial tactical role—overwhelmingly dominated medieval warfare. By contrast, battles in the field were rare. When they did take place, the heavily armed cavalry—knights being a small cadre therein—generally dismounted in order to fight on foot. As to proportions, when King Edward I led armies of 25,000–30,000 men on campaign into Scotland, there likely were fewer than 1,000 professional soldiers of the knightly class to be recruited in all of England, and most of these were mercenaries. The emphasis in fictional literature on knights and mounted combat represents a serious bowdlerization of medieval warfare that continues to mislead most nonspecialists.

These fantasies, which feed romantic medievalism, are often of great literary merit and thus emotionally compelling. As a result, it is to be kept in mind that "warriors" depicted in this entertainment medium are like the gunfighters of American Westerns, while the knights of the shire may be compared to small-scale ranchers. Or to evoke another image, the knights of medieval fiction are Rambo figures. We know that

stories about gunfighters have much to tell us regarding aspects of American culture, but we also know that not much is learned about modern soldiers from Rambo films. Once the point is taken, two questions come to the fore: why do fiction and reality diverge so fundamentally in (medieval) entertainment literature, and why do Westerners seem to prefer the former?

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FRANCES A. UNDERHILL. *For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh*. (The New Middle Ages.) St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. 221. \$45.00.

Seventy years ago, *Annaliste* historians urged us to write problem-centered histories rather than simple narratives of the past. The subject of Frances A. Underhill's work—the life of Elizabeth de Burgh, one of the few lay women of fourteenth-century England for whom enough resources survive for a biography—potentially scintillates with problems. Few medievalists have attempted to write the life story of any woman not a member of the small band of female saints, mystics, and scholars. The history of lay women in general still includes much barely explored terrain. Was a medieval woman's life determined more by her class or her gender? Granted that women's education differed radically from men's, what was women's relationship to textuality and text productions? What structures constituted effective "families" for women? How did ordinary women negotiate the tricky dichotomies of medieval scholastic ideals of womanhood, or did they simply ignore them? All these, and many others, are still live and fascinating topics. Underhill, therefore, chose an excellent subject. She sets out to examine the life circumstances, household management, piety, and familial and friendship networks of Elizabeth de Burgh. She has clearly studied thoroughly the excellent accounts series that constitute our main source material for de Burgh's widowed life. Surely then her book should throw a clearer light on at least some of the major problems in the field?

Unfortunately, I think, Underhill has missed her opportunities. Far from focusing on problems, the book primarily comprises a series of statements about de Burgh: when and how she was married, how many children she had, what actions she took to defend her lands, how many herons her household consumed. Nowhere are the methodological implications of writing the biography of a medieval individual discussed. Reflections on what actually constituted "friendship" or "family" in the Middle Ages are confined to unreferenced sentences reminding us that medieval sensibilities differed from our own. Although chapter three, on family and friends, covers de Burgh's connections with other noblewomen (Mary de St. Pol, Joan of Bar, Queen Isabella), there is little attempt to place her in the context of what we know about magnate women's lives or to compare her household accounts with other surviving examples, such as those of Alice de Bryene.

For such a comparatively richly documented subject, de Burgh thus emerges as oddly isolated. Underhill relates conscientiously the political circumstances surrounding her, but views her always as if she were essentially a timeless individual, divorced from historically specific cultural context. For example, the book evokes in detail the splendid scale of de Burgh's travelling household, with its trains of horses, carts and chariots and its frequent halts for formal feasts (pp. 55–56). But for the ruling classes of late medieval England, both processions and feasts could be highly charged political performances, often designed to convey specific political and social messages both to participants and onlookers. Underhill never acknowledges this, nor raises the question of how far Elizabeth's processions and feasts were intended to reproduce these affairs. Instead she ventures the bland observation that "Her stately progresses . . . were meant to evoke awe and deference" (p. 130). On a more general level, Underhill never examines in detail the gender constructs of Elizabeth's times and thus cannot reflect on how Elizabeth fitted some of the positive roles allowed to late-medieval women, as family advisers and pious patrons, for instance.

These shortcomings are not due to lack of evidence. There are sources dealing with other fourteenth-century English gentlewomen, and prescriptive literature abounds. *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, for instance, was translated into English in the fourteenth century. Nor can the problem be attributed to lack of imagination on the writer's part. She is willing to let her fancy rove wildly on Elizabeth's personal life. It is indeed interesting, for instance, that the Black Prince visited Elizabeth so frequently between 1357 and 1359; but to suggest on this basis that she acted as confidante for his love life is, as Underhill herself admits, "pure speculation"—and not very productive speculation, either.

"The small glances available . . . preclude grand generalisations about the outlook of medieval noblewomen," Underhill asserts (p. 109). Quite so. But the solution, surely, is to widen the glance and refine our questions, not to restrict research in medieval women's history to such enterprises as this relatively unreflective, although nicely descriptive, portrait of one medieval woman.

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JANE WHITTLE. *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440–1580*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 361. \$74.00.

Jane Whittle's interesting and useful book attempts to unravel the mysteries of agrarian capitalism in late medieval and early modern England, using Norfolk as a case study. It is a work of immense effort, examining an exceptionally wide range of documentary types at the manorial, county, and national levels. Its geograph-

ical focus ranges from the in-depth study of a few localities in northeast Norfolk to the county as a whole, with frequent excursions to relate her findings to other parts of England at the time. Whittle focuses particularly on the evolution of the manorial system over the period, the vagaries of the land market and inheritance patterns, the intensification of social differences within agrarian society, and the development of the late medieval-early modern rural labor force. Her book is very strongly grounded in theory and in the secondary literature that has grown up around the subject, and in particular focuses on the Brenner thesis. With such a broad canvas, it is perhaps inevitable that some of these areas should be treated more effectively than others, but the book is particularly fine in its analysis of agrarian labor during the period, and especially of the effects of labor legislation and the attitudes that fed these repressive measures.

Whittle is less successful, however, in weaving an overall explanatory line through her findings. In the end, she fastens on the decline of serfdom as the key element in the move toward some elements of capitalism (such as the concentration of land in fewer hands). Indeed, she claims it as one of the only two really important steps on the long road to modern agrarian capitalism, the other being the parliamentary enclosures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (p. 305). As firm as she is in this conclusion, it sits very oddly with the region she is studying. Norfolk was always relatively lightly touched by the incidences of serfdom and from at least the thirteenth century showed a remarkably strong willingness to engage with the market and to pursue high productivity levels both in arable and livestock husbandry, as Whittle herself acknowledges (see below). Looking at Norfolk alone, then, it would appear that the disappearance of serfdom was a reasonably noteworthy factor in leading to new formulations of rural investment and productivity, but hardly a dominant one. Whittle has rather more success in her comments on the Brenner debate, particularly on Robert Brenner's contention that the rise of capitalist tendencies in the English countryside in the later Middle Ages was rooted in the insecurity of tenancies. In the case of Norfolk, she shows that security of tenure was quite strong throughout Norfolk during her period, and that such features as engrossment of land into fewer hands was a result of customary tenants *voluntarily* participating in the land market.

In the end, although, does Whittle's book meet her ambitious target in elucidating the scale and nature of agrarian capital in this critical period? The fact that she opens her last paragraph with the question "How capitalist was rural society in sixteenth-century England?" (p. 314) but leaves it totally unanswered tellingly indicates how far short the book falls here. It is also unclear whether the many indicators that Whittle examines really bear directly on the question of capitalism or adequately track its development. For example, Whittle puts considerable store in the engross-



ment of land in tenant hands as a sign of developing rural capitalism in late medieval and early modern England. But it is very uncertain whether this would have led naturally to increased productivity and the turnaround of ensuing profits into new ventures or new technological formulations. Two other features of the period that Whittle identifies also create complications. The first is sub-tenancy, a shadowy but undoubtedly important phenomenon, which suggests land engrossment by tenants was not for, say, economies of scale in agricultural production but so that they could interpose themselves more effectively as yet another rent-collecting layer over those who actually farmed the land (p. 307). Furthermore, if land-engrossing tenants subleased these lands piecemeal, then the "engrossment" figures Whittle displayed for tenants would be largely illusory in determining how the land was actually farmed and how capital was brought to bear on that land. The second contrary tendency identified by Whittle is that employers of the time were far more comfortable with live-in servants and casual labor from small-holding peasants than the free, proletarianized labor force that historians have seen as so essential to the formation of modern capitalism. As a result, despite the many obvious merits of this book, the questions as to whether, how, or by how much late medieval-early modern English agriculture became more capitalist are still unresolved.

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MARTYN RADY. *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. (Studies in Russia and East Europe.) New York: Palgrave, with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London. 2000. Pp. xvi, 231. \$65.00.

Hungary in the Middle Ages was a kingdom comparable in size to France, although nowadays it is often neglected in Western scholarship. Martyn Rady's excellent little book is thus especially welcome. Its subject is the connection between landholding and the status of the nobility in Hungary between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. Among the topics it covers are the origins of nobility, the nature of territorial lordship, conditional nobility, inheritance of land, the relationship between ruler and subject, and the nobles' military obligation.

Initially, the term "noble" in Hungary referred to the leading men and officeholders around the king's person, although in the thirteenth century the royal servitors came to be included in this concept. A servitor (*serviens*) was someone under the immediate jurisdiction of the ruler, irrespective of where in the kingdom he resided. He had the right to royal justice and was exempted from the authority of local judges. Since nobles and servitors had a common relationship to the ruler, the distinction between them tended to disappear over time. By the mid-thirteenth century, all landowners began to be called nobles, and it became

customary for the king's representative—the royal count—to solicit their advice.

Historians have sometimes derived certain features of modern society in Central and Eastern Europe from the structure of medieval landholding in the region. On this interpretation, the failure of full-fledged feudalism to develop in Hungary indicates an absence of contractual relations and the underdevelopment of "political society," which in turn contributed to the evolution of absolutist government. Rady is hardly the first historian to point out that landholding in Hungary was not associated with vassalage. However, in his view, this did not mean that Hungarians were ignorant of the principles of contract and legal reciprocity. It simply indicated that landholding and service had not been conceptualized in the idea of the fief. Why not? Rady suggests that the absence of feudal law in Hungary may reflect the fact that Roman law was received at second hand, through the medium of canon law.

The essential point is that in Hungary the allegiance of a servitor arose not from the land he received but from his personal bond of fidelity to the ruler. This fidelity was understood chiefly as the obligation to perform military service, even long after the nobility had become militarily redundant. Conditional landholding did exist in Hungary, but most often at the edges of the kingdom, especially in Slavonia, the Slovakian highlands, and along the Danube frontier. In contrast to the feudal concepts prevailing in much of France or in Norman England at the time, in Hungary a landholder whose duties were linked to his property was regarded as lower in status than other servitors because his relationship to the ruler was indirect.

In practice, the bonds between ruler and landholder were weak in Hungary because of geographical distance. However, a closer master-servant relationship existed in the institution of *familiaritas*. The royal servitors (i.e. noble lords) had followers of their own, known as *familiares*, who undertook administrative duties on behalf of their lords and in return received stipends or part of the revenues of office. The terms in which a *familiaris* explained his link to the lord were similar to those expressing the lord's bond with the king. Some historians have argued that *familiaritas* contributed to civil discord by subordinating public to private relationships, but Rady disagrees. He points out that a distinction between public and private power is difficult to sustain in a medieval context. Whatever the obligation of the *familiaris* to his lord, he had a superior duty to the king. In theory, all nobles were members of the royal *familia*.

One interesting comparison is the similarity between Hungarian parliamentary institutions and those of England. In 1222—seven years after Magna Carta—Hungarian royal servitors forced King Andrew II to issue a charter of their rights known as the Golden Bull, attesting to their freedom from taxation as well as their right to be judged by the king and to meet with him annually. As in England, successive kings tried to



ignore the charter but instead were forced to reconfirm it.

Historical literature in the Hungarian language is extensive, and Rady has the linguistic ability to use it. He makes use of extensive primary and secondary sources in Hungarian and Western languages. The book is based on solid research and clearly written in an accessible style. It should prove highly useful to students of comparative as well as Hungarian medieval history.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHRISTINE MEEK, editor. *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 230. \$55.00.

We have all been participants or audience members at conference sessions in which papers that do not fit together are presented (often titled "Topics in X") and have no doubt applauded respondents who have been able to make excellent comparative comments anyway. Their success leads us to expect this from editors as well, but this very disparate collection is marred by the absence of any attempt to meld the articles into a whole or even to come up with a less general title. The ten essays come from a conference held at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1998, which apparently investigated Jacob Burckhardt's statement regarding women's equality with men during the Renaissance. The exact title of the conference is not given, however, and editor Christine Meek notes that "rather than enter into sterile debates about parity, the essays presented here are concerned with what particular women or groups of women did or how they saw themselves or were seen by others" (p. 7). She further comments that the contributors come from different disciplines and "all try to set the experience of the women discussed within the social conditions of the time" (p. 7). Those two sentences are the only ones that speak to the collection as a whole; the rest of the introduction simply summarizes each essay, forcing the reader to make all connections for him or herself.

The introduction concludes with a comment about the "intellectual excitement generated by the conference and the sense of being engaged in a common enterprise," which Meek hopes "that the book succeeds in conveying" (p. 14), but there is no attempt to reveal details of this common enterprise to readers, either in the introduction or in the essays themselves. Thus, although some of the papers in this collection are excellent, by not framing them within the context of the conference, making comparisons, or summarizing the discussion, the editor does them a great disservice. Readers can make their own comparisons or connections, of course, but this is not the same as

learning how the authors and other conference participants saw these.

The essays vary widely in terms of geographic focus—three focus on Italy, three on Ireland, three on France, and one on the Netherlands—but there are several obvious lines of comparison. First there is the issue of the women's life stages, or, more accurately, the representation of women's life stages. Catherine Lawless provides a fascinating analysis of the disjunction between textual and visual portrayals of St. Anne in Renaissance Florence, noting that the texts often refer to the matrilineal descent of Jesus Christ and the Holy Kindred but that "there is not one single example of such a representation being either created or commissioned" (p. 37). This stands in sharp contrast to northern Europe, where pictures of Anne in the midst of Christ's extended family—a family enlarged primarily through Anne's supposed three marriages—were common. Lawless suggests that this difference derived from the extremely patrilineal nature of Florentine families, for whom the image of a benevolent, thrice-married grandmother would have been completely foreign.

Lawless's essay will provide food for thought for any reader familiar with Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's now classic discussions of women in Florence, and for those who think about widowhood and its representation elsewhere in Europe. It is one of the best essays in the book, and it is unfortunate that the other essay that discusses representation most directly—Susanne Reid's on representations of motherhood in the reign of Louis XIV—is not up to this standard. Reid discusses a few pieces of comic literature without identifying them or their authors clearly to readers, compares the representation of mothers in them to that in moral treatises without considering the impact of genre, and sets all this in a very jumbled historical context. Instead of consulting the now large body of literature about ideas regarding women's life stages, she notes that Philippe Ariès saw youth as the most important stage of life for men, and "we presume, since Ariès has not mentioned it, that the same holds true for women" (p. 179). Although we all make off-hand comments in the middle of a paper without thinking about their implications, a howler like this—denying the importance of gender differences and based on a highly suspect source in the first place—should certainly have been caught by the editor.

A third essay focusing on representation is that by Sacha Fagan on images of the prostitute in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Fagan examines how closely the representation of prostitutes in art corresponded with their representation in "Dutch society," particularly in legal sources and the *Amsterdamsch Hoerdom*, an anonymous whores' directory printed in Rotterdam in 1691. The discussion of visual images of prostitutes is very interesting, bringing together familiar paintings such as Judith Leyster's *The Proposition* (1631) and much less familiar genre scenes, although readers are left to make most of the comparisons with the verbal

portrayals themselves, as the article ends abruptly without a conclusion.

Fagan's essay suggests another line of comparison, for its verbal and visual representations of prostitutes focus often on their bodies, which is also the subject of Carol Baxter's essay on notions of the body among the nuns of Port-Royal. Baxter identifies the nuns' attitudes toward fasting, clothing, enclosure, illness, and death as constraining, but she also—taking a position that will be familiar to readers of Caroline Walker Bynum's works—successfully argues that these were perceived by the nuns themselves as liberating.

A third line of comparison addresses women and independence from male control. Mary O'Dowd traces the ways in which English laws regarding women were modified in Ireland, noting instances in which men's control over their families came into conflict with England's desires to enforce Protestantism and particularly to keep property in Protestant hands. This occasionally gave women and children a "freedom" to oppose their husbands and fathers in ways they never could in England, although O'Dowd is careful not to valorize this independence and links it closely to Ireland's situation as a colony. Francesca Medioli provides a close look at a situation in which women lost freedom rather than gained it in an essay detailing the discussion at the Council of Trent about the enclosure of women. She traces pre-Tridentine rules about enclosure and then summarizes—with a helpful reprinting (in Latin) of the Tridentine decree in its various drafts—the actual discussion. The details regarding specific clauses of this most important decree will be useful for many readers, although Medioli does not provide good evidence for why this decree was effectively enforced when its pre-Tridentine predecessors had not been. Dervla Conroy's analysis of female sovereignty in seventeenth-century French drama provides a third look at women and independence. This is a wonderful essay, which sets two plays involving queens by female authors within the context of earlier male-authored texts about female sovereignty and places this entire discussion within the specific context of French politics and French theatre with its female actors. I would have loved to learn what the conference participants thought about Conroy's essay—as well as what she thought about those of other participants who neglected her very basic warnings about texts and their interpretations—but this, as well as other information about the conference, is lost in that orality that too often marks women's experience.

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ANTHONY GRAFTON and NANCY SIRAI. *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*. (Dibner Institute for the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 426. \$50.00.

Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi set an ambitious goal for this volume: bridging the "divisive, partisan" gap that has grown up in the history of science between traditionalists committed to the close reading of great texts and a newer generation committed to exploring the social and cultural contexts of scientific knowledge. Nicely they propose a marriage, promising a volume that will demonstrate how the rigorous reading of classical texts wedded with a careful consideration of the social and cultural worlds in which those texts existed will provide a richer picture of Renaissance science. Unfortunately for the wedding proposal, there is a divorce in the volume's very structure: its two sections, "Natural Philosophies" (pp. 25–247) and "Natural Disciplines" (pp. 251–417), largely redivide the field, with the first focusing on textual analysis and the second on social and cultural analysis. Still, it gains some unity from a trio of related themes. First, most of the essays share an interest in the way in which older traditions, both classic and medieval, were appropriated and reworked in the Renaissance, particularly in the context of humanism and the impact that process had on scientific knowledge. Second, many consider Renaissance ways of organizing knowledge—new disciplines perhaps, without apologies to Michel Foucault—and the way these created new possibilities for understanding the world. And finally, virtually all examine the way in which the transmission of information—almost exclusively in terms of manuscripts or printed texts in the high tradition—was central for the development of scientific knowledge.

The first four essays share a fascination with numerology and the impact of classical philosophers on the Renaissance understanding of the universe. Brian P. Copenhaver, following Eugenio Garin, argues that Pico della Mirandola's use of the Kabbala was central to his project of "understanding nature, seen as God's creation" (p. 27). The forms of Hebrew letters and their close association with the underlying numbers that organized creation in Pico's eyes created a complex "science" capable of knowing and manipulating the world. James Hankins, in turn, provides a review of the manuscript tradition of Plato's *Timeaus* from the Middle Ages up through the commentaries of Marsilio Ficino. Michael Allen explores the nexus between Ficino's mathematical understanding of the *Timeaus* and the numerical nature of reality. Allen shows with complex calculations how Ficino saw the world as constructed from triangles first extended in two dimensional space according to geometrical principles, then played out in three dimensional space as cubes fabricated from those triangles and how, in turn, this allowed the philosopher to understand and the magus to manipulate creation. Luc Dietz continues this theme, discussing the essentially triangular and trinitarian vision of the universe that Francesco Patrizi drew from the writing of the philosopher Proclus.

The last two articles of this section move away from discussions of numbers to consider what Ann Blair argues is a new Renaissance genre: books of problems.

Blair considers two traditions of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*. Both focused on questions about nature (especially the body, medicine, and sex) from the perspective of everyday life, but one followed a philosophical tradition and the other a more popular, practical one. While the second was printed cheaply and circulated more widely, it appears to have been most popular in Latin, undermining the traditional dichotomy of vernacular/popular vs. Latin/elite culture and suggestively opening a brief window on the impact of everyday knowledge on Renaissance conceptions of nature. John Monfasani's article considers the way in which Theodore Gaza's translations of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* and Aristotle's *De animalibus* not only dominated Renaissance understanding of these works but also were used to "correct" the Greek texts, crucially influencing their publishing history.

The articles of the second section continue to focus on the natural world, but from a more disciplinary perspective often turning on the contrast between *scientia* and *arte*. Daniela Mugnai Carrara's article examines the epistemological presuppositions of Giovanni Mainardi's commentaries on Galen's *Ars parva*, arguing that by reinterpreting medicine as an art rather than a science Mainardi's commentaries allowed him to reject an overreliance on authority and encourage practical knowledge. Vivian Nutton discusses the central role of a renewed influence of Galenic medicine and Greek texts along with Italian humanism on English medicine across the sixteenth century, arguing that they transformed the learned English medical scene from a backwater into a leader in medical studies by the 1650s. Chiara Crisciani turns the discussion to the significance of alchemy for medicine, noting that around the middle of the fifteenth century alchemists began to shift their interests from transmutation to the body and medicine. Studying the virtually unknown work of Guglielmo Fabri di Die, however, she moves on to conclude that by rejecting issues of practice (*arte* again), he made alchemy a "textual object," a field of erudite play "much richer" than practical medicine. William Newman follows the alchemy/medicine connection into the fascinating world of Paracelsus's speculations about how alchemy could produce a homunculus, or an artificially created man of superior purity and intelligence. Gender enters here briefly as Paracelsus held that alchemists creating the homunculus from a controlled putrefaction of male semen avoided the contamination that comes from natural reproduction based on a mixture of male semen (good) and female menstrual blood (evil). Tellingly, this demonstrated that human art could create something new and superior to nature.

Katherine Park's interesting essay on Renaissance treatises on the medicinal qualities of baths argues that these works, produced for princely courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, helped break the domination of *scientia* and produced "a sustained tradition of inquiry and a coherent body of literature devoted to the causal analysis of individual phenomena

based on meticulous and repeated sense experience" (p. 348). However, she contextualizes this by arguing that this is not modern empiricism as it focused on Renaissance concerns with the local, the individual, and the marvelous. Paula Findlen weds nicely discipline formation and textual analysis, suggesting that Pietro Andrea Mattioli's repeated reprintings of his translation and commentary on Dioscorides's *De materia medica* created a scientific community. For Findlen, Mattioli's reprintings themselves became the benchmark against which other works in natural history were judged because they incorporated the new work that he deemed worthy; thus new editions became authoritative. In addition, in his continually revised introduction Mattioli created and disciplined a "republic" (perhaps more a despotism) of natural historians by praising those he felt had contributed to the field (favoring Italians, humanists, and Catholics) and damning others (usually barbarian northerners and Protestants). The last essay in this volume, by Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, provides a "comment" on only the Findlen and Park articles that seems to unbalance the volume. While his critique (particularly aggressive in the case of Findlen's claims about Mattioli's vision of an "Italian" community of botanists) appears to miss its target largely because of a lack of common definitions for crucial concepts, his art historical and more northern European perspective provides interesting comparative insights.

In the end, the editors' overarching vision of uniting the field is laudable, and these essays reflect great erudition and scholarship. But the textual scholars still seem primarily wrapped up in texts, and while the essays by Blair, Nutton, Newman, Park, and Findlen attempt to wed textual readings and a social/cultural analysis of Renaissance science, it is almost as if the "particulars" of the title and the extremely specialized nature of each essay works to undermine that goal. The editors' envisioned *Promessi Sposi*, here, remain more true to the modern than the Renaissance—divorced.

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WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA. *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550–1640*. (The Yale Intellectual History of the West.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 288. \$29.95.

William J. Bouwsma, who has published monographs on Guillaume Postel, John Calvin, and the role of intellectuals in the Venetian Interdict controversy as well as studies of early modern anxiety and lawyers, was an obvious person to approach to write the Renaissance volume in the Yale "Intellectual History of the West" series. His lucid and perceptive synthesis is based, as he says, "on a reading of the leading authors and major texts" of the period. To be more exact, it is based essentially on the careful reading of about twenty-four authors. There is an inner circle of



nine authors with twenty or more entries in the index (in order of frequency, Michel de Montaigne, Jean Bodin, Francis Bacon, Robert Burton, Richard Hooker, Paolo Sarpi, Galileo Galilei, Miguel de Cervantes, and Torquato Tasso), and an outer circle of fifteen authors with five or more entries (Thomas Hobbes, Ben Jonson, Fernando Botero, Robert Bellarmine, Justus Lipsius, William Shakespeare, Hugo Grotius, Tommaso Campanella, Pierre Charron, René Descartes, Guillaume Du Vair, Paolo Paruta, Ignatius Loyola, Pierre Bérulle, and Johannes Kepler). The complete absence of references to Jacob Boehme, Gabriel Naudé, Constantijn Huygens, and Martin Opitz should be registered, together with the virtual omission of Juan Huarte and Jan Amos Comenius. The concentration on a few English, French, and Italian writers is all the more odd because Bouwsma's aim is not to chart originality or achievement but rather to reveal what might be called the structures of thought of the culture and the principal changes in those structures over three generations. Some of his paragraphs read rather like the commonplace books that became so fashionable in this period, since one quotation on a given topic follows another with relatively little comment. For this purpose, a wider range of authors might have been still more useful, in order to show that certain attitudes were widespread.

The structure of the book is an original one, and to my mind it works. Attracted by, and at the same time critical of, the traditional whig, triumphalist, Actonian, or vulgar-Burckhardtian interpretation of the period—Burckhardt himself was more ambivalent than his followers—Bouwsma has divided his essay into two parts. The first half, more or less traditional, is organized around the theme of liberation: the liberation of the self, of knowing, of time, of space, of politics, and of religion. Liberation leads to or is associated with crisis, crisis with anxiety, and anxiety with the search for order, which is the main theme of the second half of the book: the reordered self, order in society, order in religion, order in the arts, and so on. The second half of the book also includes a chapter provocatively entitled “The Decline of Historical Consciousness,” claiming that “historical composition” lost its “vitality” in the age not only of Sarpi and Enrico Caterino Davila but also of the rise of a pan-European antiquarian movement exemplified by Etienne Pasquier, John Selden, Ole Worm, and many other scholars.

The concern with crisis and decline is emphasized by the book's title, playing with the title of the first English translation of Johan Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1924). It is a considerably more original theme than “liberation,” although Bouwsma might have mentioned, at least in his bibliography, the collection of essays edited by Jean Lafond and André Stegmann, *L'automne de la Renaissance, 1580–1630* (1981). He might also have referred to Roland Mousnier, who in a once-famous French textbook organized his account of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries around the notions of crisis and order.

Bouwsma emphasises the point that liberation and the search for order occurred simultaneously. This has the advantage of allowing him to paint the portrait of an age without assuming its homogeneity, but the disadvantage of obscuring the kind of cultural changes that were taking place, let alone why. Every now and then, the author makes perceptive remarks about change, about secularization, about routinization, or about the shift in the principles of order “from hierarchy to balance.” The pity is that he does not allow himself to develop these points at any length.

It is impossible to review a book of this size on such a vast subject without being conscious of what is not there, without wishing, for example, that voices from more European countries could have been heard or that more had been done to situate the authors quoted in their social environments. Whole areas of debate during the period have been virtually omitted, notably witchcraft and what Antoine de Montchrétien (who is never mentioned) called “political economy,” even though Bouwsma's favorite thinker Bodin wrote on both topics. All the same, a two-hundred-page survey of European thought over nearly a century is bound to make sacrifices, and in defense of Bouwsma's choice it can be said both that he has a clear story to tell and that he tells it convincingly. There are a number of slips of the pen, or perhaps the keyboard, but nothing that cannot be put right in a second edition.

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PHILIP BENEDICT, GUIDO MARNEF, HENK VAN NIEROP, and MARC VENARD, editors. *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. 2000. Pp. 298.

This collection of essays compares the French wars of religion and the Dutch Revolt, two lengthy and violent struggles in late sixteenth-century Europe. While each involved a complex mix of religion and politics, the outcomes were very different: the establishment of an independent and Calvinist state in the northern Netherlands, and the relegation of Calvinists to a tolerated minority in an emphatically Catholic and unified France. This essay collection is the result of a conference held in Amsterdam in October 1997, sponsored by the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences. Fourteen historians, drawn equally from specialists in French and Dutch history, were invited to write paired essays on seven themes or problems common to both conflicts: the dynamics of Calvinist militancy; the situation of the nobility; political culture and mobilization; Catholicism and resistance to the Reformation; middle groups and their politics; the response of the monarchy; and the move from localized militancy to sustained military insurrection.

These fourteen stimulating but relatively brief essays are preceded by an introduction by Philip Benedict and an overview by Nicolette Mout of the recent



historiography of the French wars of religion and the Dutch Revolt. Since it is impossible to comment here on the arguments of all fourteen essays, I will focus on a few general insights and issues.

Comparative insights certainly emerge from these paired essays. The essays of Mark Greengrass and James Tracy, for example, make clear that the financial resources of the French Protestants rested on a shakier foundation than those of the Dutch Calvinists. This difference helps to explain why the French Protestants repeatedly made peace with the French crown while the Dutch Calvinists were able to persevere.

Perhaps because comparable sources are not always available, however, or because of a predisposition among scholars to pursue lines of inquiry set by traditional French and Dutch historiography, several essays spoke to different aspects of a topic, making direct comparisons difficult. While Jean Marie Constant and Henk van Nierop both address the role of the nobility, Constant focuses on the Protestant nobility, their number and strength, the reasons for their conversions, and their political ideas. Van Nierop analyzes all nobles in the Netherlands and their role in the revolt.

In general, I gained a clearer comparative understanding of the conflicts by considering the essays as a whole rather than as paired sets. For example, one important difference that surfaced across a range of essays was that religion seems to have played a greater role in the French wars of religion than in the Dutch Revolt. Several essays on the French conflict reflect a recent trend among scholars to emphasize that religious concerns played a central role that was fundamentally revolutionary. Benedict's article on early French Calvinist militancy, which examines Protestant pamphlets on the eve of the wars and early Protestant militant actions, argues persuasively that Protestant goals were destabilizing and involved "a Church order and a Christian community reformed according to the purity of God's word" (p. 50). Marc Venard's article on Catholic resistance to the French Reformation, summarizing recent research, convincingly argues that the vigorous popular Catholic reaction against the Protestants, which provoked violent riots, was motivated by their outrage at attacks on traditional Catholicism, especially attacks on its holy relics and images and the Eucharist.

Similarly, Denis Crouzet argues in his article on Calvinist political mobilization in the 1560s and early 1570s that ultimately a revolutionary religious message lay at the heart of early Protestant political discourse. There were two major themes in early Protestant literature about political resistance: one rested the right of resistance on constitutional and legal foundations; the other stressed the need to "obey the divine will" and "allowed for the possibility that a Prince of the blood or even . . . ordinary subjects might be called by God to be the agent of providential intervention" (p. 113). In a complex yet compelling argument, he proposes that Protestants used political arguments in

pamphlets tactically to attract as much support as possible—but that nonetheless religious considerations were paramount.

By contrast, the role of religion seems often overshadowed by political considerations in the Netherlands, and in one essay the idea of a popular religious movement is actively rejected. For example, political concerns are predominant in van Nierop's article on the nobility and the Dutch Revolt, where he argues that the nobility's role in the revolt was key but that the central issue was constitutional: the nobles challenged Philip II's increasingly absolutist policy toward them. They were also concerned about religion but primarily to end the repression of heresy insisted upon by Philip and his representatives. The question was never, as in France, whether the country as a whole would adopt Protestantism.

In my view, the most controversial essay (and the most poorly edited) is Joke Spaans's essay, which looks at the resignation of Dutch Catholics in the face of the revolt and the suppression of their church. Drawing on recent studies of the English Reformation by Christopher Haigh and J. J. Scarisbrick, she questions how widespread popular support for Protestantism really was in the Netherlands and argues instead that a political reformation was imposed from above. She does not believe in the possibility of popular reformations from below. Drawing on recent discussions of confessionalization, she argues that neither Catholics nor Protestants of that time could be expected to carry on a popular revolt or reformation against lawful authority because a lengthy process of confessionalization was necessary before a strong confessional identity could be established. Hence, Dutch Catholics cannot be viewed as "uninspired and wishy-washy" (p. 160) for passively submitting to the state. They may, in fact, be more the norm. Spaans's article underscores the need for more studies of Dutch Catholic religious life on the eve of the Reformation. Although she is right that Tridentine Catholicism was different from earlier sixteenth-century Catholicism, surely Catholics of mid-century had some sense of religious identity. Why would Catholics need a process of confessionalization before initiating revolt? Historians need better to identify key elements of Dutch Catholic spirituality.

Furthermore, Spaans's argument against popular reformations from below ignores the very ample evidence of them in Germany and the strong popular support for the Reformation in France. For both countries, there has been widespread research into their pre-Reformation religious life. It may turn out that there was not a popular reformation in the Netherlands, but that does not prove its impossibility elsewhere. I would also argue, based on my study of La Rochelle, that popular religious support need not always come from a full-fledged confessional identity but may stem instead from people's identification with elements of a new religion that resonate with their own experience. In the case of La Rochelle, the Rochelais were not particularly noted for Catholic devotion. Yet

Protestantism, with its doctrines invoking freedom from ecclesiastical authority, appealed powerfully in large part because it meshed well with the Rochelais' longstanding traditions of independence from both political and ecclesiastical authority.

Overall, these essays offer a wealth of recent scholarship on the French wars of religion and the Dutch Revolt. If they do not always provide direct comparisons, they do make clear avenues for future research.

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PAUL MICHAEL KIELSTRA. *The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814–48*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xiv, 388. \$69.95.

Paul Michael Kielstra has produced a thorough analysis of the interactions of abolitionism, politics, and diplomacy surrounding British and French attempts to repress the slave trade—but not slavery, a topic he purposefully excludes—in the post-Napoleonic period. Beginning with the settlements of 1814–1815, the author shows how Britain was able to impose the abolition of the slave trade upon France but not the right to search suspected slavers that was Britain's preferred means of combating the slave trade. The weak and ineffective legislation passed by the Restoration government of Louis XVIII against the slave traffic, however, was insufficient to stop the illicit French trade, which actually grew in the early 1820s, despite London's efforts to pressure Paris and to revive an anti-slave trade movement in France. Only in the late 1820s did the latter two factors finally succeed in influencing Charles X's government to pass and enforce more stringent legislation. This amounted to a first step that eventually led to the eradication of the illicit French traffic after the more cooperative July Monarchy of Louis Philippe agreed to mutual search conventions in 1831 and 1833. For the duration of the 1830s, the two powers cooperated fully in their suppression policies, France even taking the lead at times in extending agreements to other nations. But the Egyptian crisis of 1840 and the subsequent souring of cross-Channel relations led to a serious dispute in 1842, when France refused to ratify the new, five-power mutual search agreement that it had originally proposed. Only in 1845 was the thorny matter finally resolved by replacing the existing search agreements with mutual commitments for joint Anglo-French cruising off the slave coasts. Kielstra's comprehensive analysis clearly demonstrates that, throughout the period 1814–1848, slave trade issues constituted an important element in both British and French diplomacy.

One might debate whether it is really possible in any analysis to isolate the slave trade from the question of slavery itself. Nevertheless, this study does offer more detail than any before it on the complicated dealings between London and Paris over slave trade issues. Kielstra affords his readers a blow-by-blow narrative

not only on slave trade repression diplomacy but on the internal pressures influencing it. His book provides the best account yet of the way in which British abolitionists weighed upon successive Cabinets in slave trade matters. Consequently, Kielstra's work is a veritable gold mine for any expert on the nineteenth-century slave trade who wishes to know the behind-the-scenes maneuvering and lobbying of pressure groups in Britain and France, the internal government debates and planning, and the intricate fashion in which slave trade repression decisions were made, implemented, and negotiated by both countries. The author's other important contribution is his debunking once and for all of the still-lingering assumption that France did not make serious efforts to suppress the slave traffic after 1815, and especially after 1830. Otherwise, hardly any of Kielstra's work is interpretively new or historiographically different. Despite desperate attempts to split hairs over minor issues and make revisions here and there, almost all of this book simply fleshes out and adds to what experts on the nineteenth-century slave trade, like David Eltis for Britain or Serge Daget for France, have already said. It provides more information than earlier studies, but in so doing it also often overwhelms the reader with unnecessary detail about what one clerk reported to another, rendering this book a very tedious read despite the author's felicitous style, and reminding one of the sort of diplomatic history produced in the early twentieth century that drove the founders of the *Annales* school to distraction. Like much old-time diplomatic history, this study is very thoroughly researched, making more extensive use of archives, private papers, memoirs, and secondary sources published prior to 1990 than any previous book in its field. It is regrettable, though, that secondary material published over the last decade is largely neglected, for only five sources listed in this work's extensive bibliography appeared after 1990, and only two after 1992. As a result, this study fails to avail itself of many recent contributions that could have informed it on numerous relevant developments, such as Howard Temperley's *White Dreams Black Africa: The Antislavery Expedition to the Niger* (1991). Kielstra's book, then, strongly resembles an exquisitely researched Ph.D. thesis—out of which he admits it arose—that was refurbished but not completely updated before its publication. It also has the disadvantage of being encumbered by some eighty-three pages of endnotes that are so erudite and difficult to decipher that the author himself suggests in his preface that they be ignored by anyone but intrepid scholars. Despite these reservations, however, this remains an impressive piece of traditional scholarship that elucidates many points in Anglo-French slave trade diplomacy. It should please and edify any expert on the questions of nineteenth-century slave trade repression and diplomatic history.

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AXEL KÖRNER, editor. *1848—A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xi, 232.

If hardly on the same scale as the bicentenary of 1789, the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the 1848 revolutions nonetheless saw a surprising number of commemorations. This book is itself a commemoration, the published proceedings of an anniversary conference sponsored by the German Historical Institute in London and University College London, and also a commentary on commemorations. The conference from which the book emerged dealt with the European dimension of the mid-nineteenth-century revolutions. A few of the essays in the volume pursue a comparative perspective, considering the 1848 revolutions across Europe, but this is not the work's main concern. Rather, as editor Alex Körner explains in the introduction, the volume is organized around the dichotomy of nationalism and internationalism. The 1848 revolutions, he asserts, were more internationalist in aspiration and action than their commemorations, which generally ran along national and nationalist lines. The volume, divided into three loosely connected thematic sections, is a very uneven work—a result of both the static use of concepts and of the varying quality of the individual contributions.

John Breuilly's programmatic essay on comparative approaches to the 1848 revolution is the star of the book's first section on "European" perspectives on 1848. While not actually conducting a comparison, Breuilly lays out a detailed and convincing framework for a comparative analysis. Not just helpful for 1848, his framework might be profitably employed in more general terms, for the comparative analysis of simultaneously occurring popular political movements. By contrast, Martin Swales's essay on artistic and literary representations of 1848 yields little for the study either of the revolution or of the arts. Gabriella Hauch's chapter on women in 1848 emphasizes the unparalleled opportunities the revolution offered women in many parts of Europe for political participation, albeit opportunities limited by gendered structures of society and discourse. Hauch's essay, however, is a very condensed version of a much longer piece that appeared in a German-language collection on 1848 in Europe (an English translation is forthcoming). Much of the value of her work lies in its density and richness of detail, which are missing here.

The second section, on nationalism and internationalism, includes essays by Körner and by Sabine Freitag devoted to demonstrating the commitment to internationalism and the relative lack of nationalism found among radicals in the 1848 revolution. The authors' points are well taken, and the many instances of Franco-German friendship they uncover in the mid-nineteenth-century revolution do seem quite different from future trends. These essays, however, are a sort of marking up of one side of the record. Consideration of the ideas of other political tendencies or of the

attitudes of radicals toward Russia and the smaller Slavic nationalities might show that chauvinism and nationalist goals were not uncommon in 1848. The third chapter in that section, Jan Havránek's essay on Czech historiography of the nationalities conflict in 1848 Bohemia, points to another problem with the book's dominant conceptualization. The author takes both the existence of nations and the conflicts between nationalities for granted. The social, political, and discursive construction of nations and national identity that has been of considerable interest to scholars in recent years (and with regard to the Czech case can be found in the work of Miroslav Hroch) does not enter into his account.

The third section, on commemorations, contains a wonderful, witty, and insightful essay by Rebecca Spang on commemorations of 1848 in France. Both playing on and dissolving the contrasts between history and memory, and between theatricality and authenticity, she runs riot through the works of Pierre Nora and Alexis de Tocqueville as well as the one hundredth anniversary celebrations of the February revolution in 1948. Unlike so many efforts at deconstruction that end up reiterating clichés, her work introduces a fresh new view: neither "*lieux de memoire*" nor the idea of the 1848 revolutionaries self-consciously acting out the revolutionary tradition of 1793 will ever seem the same again.

Simonetta Soldani's essay on commemorations of 1848 in Italy emphasizes clashing and evolving ideas. At the fiftieth anniversary of the revolution in 1898, she suggests, there were two main tendencies. One was officially sponsored, praising the efforts of Charles Albert and portraying 1848 as the precursor to national unification under the House of Savoy. The other was oppositional, supported by radicals and socialists. It was Garibaldian and Mazzinian in inspiration, celebrating the work of the two revolutionaries and their idea of the nation as an expression of the democratic will of the common people. This radical version came under Communist patronage in the commemorations of 1948, so that Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini shook hands with V. I. Lenin and Antonio Gramsci. The monarchy having just been abolished, it was the Christian Democrats who then formed the counterpoint to the leftist memory of 1848. They rejected the whole revolutionary and nationalist project, praising instead the counterrevolutionary ideas and actions of Pius IX. By 1998, as the author notes with some regret, there were just a few lackluster celebrations and obscure scholarly conferences and exhibitions. No competing discourses of 1848 were in evidence. At most, there was a faint regional difference, with slightly more attention paid to the one hundred fiftieth anniversary in the north than in the center or south. Overall, at the end of the twentieth century, no one in Italy seems to have cared very much about 1848.

Jan Merk's discussion of the commemorations of 1848 in Baden is designed with the editor's main theme



in mind. His argument is that the 1848 revolution in Baden, a "European frontier region," was strongly internationalist in nature, involving intellectual inspirations and even political actions across the borders of future nation-states. Commemorations, however, were hijacked by authoritarian nationalists in the nineteenth century. In a long process of political maturation, the original internationalist elements gradually came to the fore, climaxing in Franco-German-Swiss joint exhibitions in 1998. That is certainly one way to read the history of commemorations, but a certain teleology of interpretation is apparent. Reading Merk's account, I was struck by the extent to which the same revolutionary events could be politically instrumentalized for many different and at times downright contradictory purposes. Merk's chapter also does not address one of the most noticeable national features of the sesquicentenary of 1848: the much greater intensity and density of celebrations in Germany than in any other country.

Reinhart Koselleck's concluding essay returns to a comparative and more conventional approach, considering both common features and differences in the national revolutions of 1848 and attempting to place the 1848 revolutions in the broader history of revolutionary movements in Europe. Surprisingly, he makes no mention of the revolutions of 1989 in his account. While striking a quite different note from Körner's introduction, Koselleck's essay demonstrates a problem common to many of the chapters in this book. Their authors tend to conceive of national and international as fixed and opposing concepts, existing largely unchanged throughout the decades of modern history. Yet arguably the history of 1848 suggests that understandings of both the nation and internationalism were not fixed but malleable, open to different interpretations by different social groups and in different parts of Europe, and socially constructed and reconstructed over time. A tendency toward a static and transhistorical understanding of nation and internationalism, or perhaps the imposition of current ideas of European unity on past events, is the weakest part of this otherwise quite interesting collection of essays.

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MADELEINE HURD. *Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870–1914*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 316. \$54.50.

This is one of the rare books that considers the "peculiarities" of German history from a welcome comparative angle. What was distinct about Germany, Madeleine Hurd argues, is not the weakness but the relative strength of the bourgeoisie in its norms and assumptions, which made it so difficult to form alliances with working-class and petit bourgeois movements. In both cities, the public sphere became dom-

inated by bourgeois norms of self-improvement, respectability, association, and rational discourse. In both cities, the working classes and the petit bourgeoisie strove to define and prove themselves by these norms. Yet growing working-class claims as partakers of the bourgeois public sphere had two contrasting effects. In Stockholm, it paved the way for liberal-socialist cooperation after 1900, whereas to Hamburg bourgeois and liberal elites it made the socialist threat all the more potent. Working-class claims for respectability, morality, and independence of judgment were denied by Hamburg's bourgeois rulers, for whom the mere casting of a vote for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) served as evidence of political immaturity. In contrast to Sweden, it became difficult for the German bourgeoisie to lead a broad, democratic, anti-elite consensus because it was challenged simultaneously by both the working classes (enhanced by universal manhood suffrage) and a strong agrarian elite (encouraged by privileged access to state institutions). The traditional strength of the bourgeoisie in its urban context made the bourgeoisie yet more unwilling to engage in compromise with "lesser" social groups.

Hurd establishes her argument by demonstrating, for Stockholm, a growing understanding between socialists and left liberals that was based on common demands for franchise and social reform. By contrast, in Hamburg workers and liberals were on opposite sides of the political divide, so that very similar social constellations of workers, petit bourgeoisie, and mercantile interests resulted in liberalism siding with the upper bourgeoisie at least until 1906. Hurd proceeds to examine in greater detail pertinent issues of working-class and bourgeois contact in the public sphere. Crucial was the issue of education, both its attainment per se as a condition for participation in the public sphere, and its desegregating role in educating the bourgeois and working classes on equal terms. Once again, it was in Sweden that education became a forum for socialist and liberal rapprochement, whereas in Hamburg the refusal of bourgeois elites to contemplate the mixing of bourgeois and working-class children served to underline bourgeois/working-class divides. Finally, a crucial area of difference was religion, notably the strength of nonconformity in Sweden. Essentially an urban phenomenon, its social predominance among the lower middle and upper working classes formed a crucial basis for working and middle-class cooperation. Temperance in particular was an issue of common concern, but it also rendered working-class claims for respectability yet more viable.

It is remarkable that Sweden would feature in a comparative study that purports to show why Germany lagged behind in the development of a successful movement for liberal parliamentary reform. After all, as Hurd admits, liberal-socialist endeavors in Sweden to achieve parliamentary government failed dismally in 1914, while Hamburg left liberals participated fully in the renaissance that characterized the movement nationally. Only in the period after 1917 did Sweden



develop into a parliamentary democracy and a model of democratic stability, but this period falls outside the book's purview. However, Hurd's underlying argument—that the attainment of a social-liberal consensus for parliamentary democracy is contingent upon class relations between the bourgeoisie and the working classes—remains valid. Hurd emphasizes the importance of social relations with some success, because she never treats classes in isolation, considering instead their interaction in a common space. Indeed, this book is not simply about class but about the ways in which social interaction was shaped by civic culture, social norms, and moral/religious assumptions. It confirms, and enriches immensely, recent studies in German electoral history that emphasize the transformation of the SPD and the left liberals into urban-interest parties beyond the confines of class. Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to the book is that here is a comparative study that works. It is incisive on politics and society in Sweden as well as Germany, informed by methodological rigor, and exemplary in its careful analysis of both the particular and the general. In short, this is a valuable contribution to the history of imperial Germany, and a stimulating argument about the role of the bourgeoisie and its norms in the transformation of the German (and Swedish) polity.

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KLAUS J. BADE. *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. (Europa Bauen.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 2000. Pp. 510. DM 58.90.

Europeans have always been in motion, searching for employment and income. Klaus J. Bade's narrative begins with the long-distance migration systems of the eighteenth century identified by Jan Lucassen and Hannelore Oberpenning, for temporary work and migratory commerce, respectively. Nineteenth-century industrialization then fed both the supply and demand sides of such migration systems, vastly increasing the numbers of Europeans unable to support themselves where they lived but offering new opportunities for mainly temporary work in and near expanding urban centers. The technological revolution in transport employed vast numbers of temporary laborers building railroads and roads, while enabling millions of others to travel across the Atlantic Ocean.

Unlike most writers on migration, Bade is equally comfortable discussing the sociological and the political contexts of mobility. He sees the context of migration as having shifted since the late nineteenth century, from the socioeconomic to the political realm, as Western states have increasingly defined migration as a national concern. How much migration to allow across one's borders was usually linked to discriminatory beliefs about migrants: German anxiety about Poles in the Ruhr; immigration quotas in the United States favoring northwestern Europeans; French fears

of northern Africans; northern European efforts to limit the influx of southerners since the 1960s. Bade forces migration researchers, who often prefer the purity of quantitative data and the convenience of theories of unconstrained individual choice, to consider the coerced mass movements of the mid-twentieth century, including the international migrations of Jews to the death camps.

The value of the long chronology and international breadth of Bade's vision is demonstrated by his ability to note the secular changes in migration patterns. From the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the flow of Germans into Holland for agricultural labor (the so-called *Hollandgängerei*) was replaced by a reverse stream of Dutch laborers seeking work in German industry. Since the nineteenth century, the Swiss have consistently been taking in migrant labor in proportionately much greater numbers than their larger neighbors. But the sources of migrants have changed, from Germans and Italians to Yugoslavs, Turks, and Portuguese.

Bade has put his vast knowledge about migration to good use in the constant German political debates around migrants and citizenship. He was a principal author of the 1994 "Manifesto of the 60," which united leading German intellectuals behind a call for a less discriminatory citizenship policy. He uses the description of contemporary refugee politics in Western Europe to demonstrate the "historical scandal" of rich Europeans protecting themselves from purported floods of unwanted, meaning less civilized, refugees. Europe has been the site of massive human movements for centuries, often manipulated by the most powerful nations for their own economic benefit. Not these freer movements but those directly guided, even forced, by national policies have led to human disaster. Bade argues that there is nothing new or dangerous about the appearance of foreign peoples in European communities.

Both of the major concepts in the book's title have more limited meanings than they appear to claim. The book focuses on Western European migration and research. The bibliography is mainly in German, supplemented by many English and a few French titles. Thus the reader meets Italians, Spaniards, and Poles mainly when they appear in France or Germany, while Hungarians, Greeks, and Russians are rarely mentioned. "Migration" here means mostly international movements. The much more numerous but often less noticed internal migrations are occasionally discussed when they created clear geographical patterns, such as temporary movements to Paris or long-distance east-to-west German migrations in the late nineteenth century. The bewildering blur of daily local movements that formed the context for the rarer long distance, transnational, and intercontinental migrations are much more difficult to place into neat geographical patterns. The focus on international migration can lead to distortions in the migratory narrative. In the case of Germany, for example, the transnational move-

ments appear to have peaked around the turn of the century. But recent research has demonstrated that total mobility was already falling at that moment from its apex in the 1880s.

On both of these issues, Bade reflects the research literature he summarizes, which throughout the twentieth century emphasized those striking migration patterns that often caught the attention of governments, rather than the mundane migrations so crucial to family and regional economies. Although the search for work and income has generally ignored the artificial boundaries of nation-states throughout the past two centuries, research and publication have tended to remain within more parochial limits. Bade tells us where we are, and, by omission, where we still need to go, to get a history of European migration.

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MICHAEL PHAYER. *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 301. \$29.95.

This book is a reexamination of the reaction of the Roman Catholic Church to the genocide carried out against the Jews of Europe by the Nazi regime. At its heart is the controversial figure of Pope Pius XII, who ascended the papal throne in January 1939. As long ago as 1970, in his book, *The Silence of Pius XII*, Carlo Falconi set out what is accepted by all those who discuss this complex topic: Pius XII never issued an unequivocal condemnation of the Nazi war of aggression or of the acts of violence against Jews and other civilian populations carried out by the Germans and their accomplices. When he finally made his views public on October 25, 1943, it was in the vaguest language, claiming only that “the universal and paternal charity of the Pontiff has become, it could be said, ever more active; it knows neither boundaries nor nationality, neither religion nor race.” This silence was not the result of ignorance. The pope was extremely well informed about what was happening in Nazi-occupied Europe, as is clear from the eleven volumes of documents published by the Vatican between 1965 and 1967. It was also a matter of principled policy; the pope remained silent in spite of strong pressures to speak out against Nazi atrocities.

At the same time, the Vatican undertook a number of actions to aid the Jewish victims of the Nazis. The pope made use of papal officials, including the papal nuncios in Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary and the apostolic delegate in Istanbul (the future Pope John XXIII), to assist Jews and put pressure on governments. He encouraged actions by local churches, particularly in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Everywhere in occupied Europe, with the support of the Vatican, priests, monks, and nuns participated in the rescue of Jews and hid them in their monasteries, parish houses, and private homes. Many lay Catholics in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium, as well as in

Italy and Poland, acted in a similar fashion, which helped to save many Jewish lives, although certainly not the 700,000 claimed by some papal apologists. In addition, the church interceded on behalf of Jewish converts to Catholicism and, rather more rarely, of actual Jews. When Rome was occupied, although the pope issued no protest against the forcible deportation to their deaths of nearly 1,000 Roman Jews, he did organize the hiding of what some have estimated as another 4,000.

There have been a number of attempts to explain the contradictory elements of the Vatican's position. In his highly critical *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (1999), John Cornwell stressed Pius XII's desire to establish the power of a monarchical papacy, which led him to accommodate fascist dictators; his anticommunism and Germanophilia; and his dislike of the Jews, intensified by his experience as papal nuncio of the Bavarian Soviet Republic of 1919. This valuable book by Michael Phayer places the issue in a broader context, extending his analysis to the assistance provided by the Vatican to escaping war criminals, to Pius's attempts to intercede on behalf and to promote clemency for war criminals, and to his refusal to repudiate the church's traditional anti-Judaism after the war. He sees in the pope's actions evidence, above all, of the pope's desire to limit global conflict and to protect the role of church as potential mediator. He links this to the pope's fear of Soviet Communism, which had persecuted the church in a way that the fascist and Nazi regimes had not. Thus, as Phayer shows, the pope refused to denounce Nazi behavior in Poland, although he was repeatedly urged to speak out by the Polish church and the Polish government in London; he made no explicit call to stop the Nazi euthanasia campaign and received Ante Pavelic, whose regime was responsible for the murder of 700,000 Serbs, a matter about which he also did not protest publicly, although Archbishop Stepinac did privately make known the dissatisfaction of the Vatican.

Phayer sees the record of the papacy during the war as one of moral failure and contrasts the behavior of the pope with the courage of individual leaders of the church and local priests. He also contrasts the willingness of the pope's successors, above all John XXIII and John Paul II, to repudiate the anti-Judaic heritage of the church with the obstinate unwillingness of Pius XII to allow this subject to be openly discussed. Certainly there were alternatives to the line of action taken by Pius XII on the Holocaust. In December 1942, the metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Andrei Sheptytsky, issued a pastoral letter. In it he reminded the faithful of “the importance, sanctity, and greatness of God's commandment: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. We seek to contrast this heavenly image—the essence of loving the Creator and morality—with the dreadful crime of murder. In its essence, this crime is directly and severely opposed to the most sacrosanct human obligations, whose fulfillment can assure happiness in this world and eternal life.”

It is not clear what effect this unequivocal condemnation of the Nazi genocide had on the Ukrainian adherents of the Greek Catholic Church. It is even more unclear what would have happened had Pius XII issued such a declaration. It may be that it would have been followed by Nazi repressive actions against the church and its head. It would have given many of the faithful cause to pause and to reflect on their actions, and it would probably have saved some Jewish lives. It would certainly have made Pius XII a much more worthy candidate for canonization.

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ISTVÁN DEÁK, JAN T. GROSS, and TONY JUDT, editors.  
*The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 337. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

This important volume seeks to solve the sometimes frustratingly complicated puzzle of retributive justice in post-World War II Europe. The problem was that "justice" was deeply politicized, selective, and short-lived. Its results were skewed by foreign occupation, civil war, communist takeover, and/or bourgeois restoration, depending on geography and political circumstance. In the courts and out, the winners sought revenge, collaborators invoked excuses, the guilty attacked scapegoats, and national minorities were persecuted by majorities. Between liberation and the formal end of the war, many tens of thousands of alleged collaborators and war criminals were summarily executed; hundreds of thousands were imprisoned. But it is startling how quickly the desire for normality and the urge to rebuild overtook lingering anger and resentment. Above all, the desire to cover over the responsibility of one's own police, administration, neighbors, and relatives for the crimes committed led to the suspension of investigations and hostility to the trials. The fighting barely had come to an end when myths of resistance and national solidarity against the Nazi occupiers and their local supporters began to repress facts of collaboration and war crimes. Communists and noncommunists all over Europe sought votes and popular support by extolling the heroic resistance of their nations. The torment of the Jews and the crimes of their persecutors were quickly forgotten. Like the hills of wartime debris that were turned into parks and building sites all over the continent, the past of collaboration and criminality was buried to make way for the new Europe.

To their credit, editors István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt treat Europe, east and west, as one. The volume is also successful because the editors themselves make important contributions to the analysis of retributive justice. Deák's introduction and chapter on the problems of collaboration and resistance in Hungary make clear how inadequate the nation's response was to the "shameful episode" of World War II (p. 69). Yet despite all the problems with coming to terms with

wartime guilt in Hungary and elsewhere, Deák concludes, "those who were punished for good reason [still] far outnumbered those who were punished unjustly" (p. 12). Gross's contributions, "Themes for a Social History" and especially "A Tangled Web," continue his recent attempts to unravel the tortuous problem of Polish-Jewish relations during the war. The "unspeakable 'heart of darkness'" in the valiant and often-told story of Polish resistance, Gross insists, is some measure of Polish culpability for the evil fate of the Jews (p. 115). Polish anti-Semitism made it easier for the Nazis to isolate and then eliminate the Jews; it also made it much harder for those Poles who wanted to help or harbor the Jews to do so, both practically and psychologically.

The book is not an encyclopedia of postwar retribution; interesting and important cases, like those of Norway, Italy, and the Soviet Union, are not included. But the cases that are discussed—Belgium, Holland, France, Greece, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia—add a great deal to our understanding of the political determinants of postwar justice. The highlights include Martin Conway's analysis of postwar prosecutions in Belgium as "a contested space in which wider social and political conflicts were made manifest" (p. 134). Like Deák, however, Conway concludes that the principles of justice and liberty were served, "however imperfectly" (p. 144). Peter Romijn's contribution on the Netherlands emphasizes the imperatives of normalization and rebuilding in postwar Europe, including the deep desire to purge local administrations of Nazis and their primary collaborators. The 1953 Bordeaux trial of the participants in the SS massacre of the Oradour villagers (June 10, 1944) is the subject of Sarah Farmer's exploration of the influence of French politics on retributive justice. Should fourteen Alsatian SS soldiers, most of whom were under eighteen years old at the time, be punished for their participation in the massacre? The Oradour survivors demanded justice; public opinion in Alsace supported acquittal. The answer for the National Assembly was to pardon the convicted Alsatians. Farmer cites Edouard Herriot, president of the assembly: "The country is a mother. She cannot let her children tear each other apart on her breast" (p. 204).

The memory of the war in Greece, as Mark Mazower emphasizes, was permeated by the overwhelming impact of the Cold War and civil war. In Greece, political movements of the left and right tried, imprisoned, and executed their opponents as well as alleged traitors from their own ranks. Justice, in this case, fell victim to partisan politics, with both sides claiming to represent the Greek national will. Laszlo Karsai's article on retribution in Hungary provides valuable data about and insights into the politics of the postwar trials. However, without much more than anecdotal evidence, he asserts that the "Jews' thirst for revenge" dominated the people's courts and the harsh judgments meted out by them. "The essence of the whole process of retribution," Karsai cites István Bibó, "is



that now the Jews pass judgement over the Hungarians as a revenge for the past when Hungarians passed judgement over the Jews" (p. 246). In this connection, one is grateful for Gross's more sober assessments of Polish accusations about Jewish complicity in Soviet-occupied eastern Poland from 1939 to 1941.

Bradley Abrams's analysis of the Jozef Tiso trial confirms, as do almost all of the articles, the extent to which the postwar trials—in this case resulting in Tiso's execution—are still with us today. The outcome of the trial reflected the relative power of the new Czechoslovak government and its communist members versus Slovak autonomists and nationalists. Abrams points out that many Slovaks, now as then, abhorred Tiso's politics. But because his accusers claimed that his chief crimes were those committed against the Czechoslovak state and Czech people, Slovaks looked and still look to him as a symbol of independence and national pride.

Judt's conclusion to the volume emphasizes the alacrity with which nations in both Eastern and Western Europe conveniently forgot the experiences and lessons of the war; the result was selective memory and partial justice. In this connection, he observes that the absence of a peace treaty ending the war made the process of "recollection and awakening" even more difficult (p. 303). Judt also links issues of postwar retribution to the "sea of mismemories" that have emerged after 1989 in both Eastern and Western Europe (p. 316). The problems of transition justice in postcommunist societies are compounded by their immediate postwar experience. The result is that historical memory throughout Europe continues to be refracted through the lenses of partisan politics and distorted by buried remnants of the past.

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RETHA M. WARNICKE. *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 343. \$27.95.

History—like her husband—has treated Anne of Cleves badly. Scorned as the "Flanders Mare," her ugliness was so well concealed in Hans Holbein's portrait that Henry VIII agreed to marry her by proxy in 1540. His chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, wanted a dynastic union with Cleves, a Protestant duchy, to further the Reformation in England. However, when Henry actually met his bride—so the widely accepted story continues—he found her so repulsive that he could not consummate the union, leaving her a virgin. Anne purportedly rejected this status. "How can I be a maid," she naïvely asked, "and sleep every night with the King? When he comes to bed he kisses me, and takes me by the hand, and bids me good night sweet heart: and in the morning kisses me, and bids me farewell, darling. Is this not enough?"

As Retha M. Warnicke shows in this excellent study, there was far more to a royal marriage than either

Anne or many historians have envisaged. The first half of this book examines the process by which kings in general, and Henry VIII in particular, chose their brides, and the negotiations between England and Cleves for Anne's hand. Cromwell played a remarkably small role in these arrangements, which were not part of an attempt to make a Protestant alliance. Anne's trip to England is covered in great and illuminating detail, as is her first meeting with the king at Rochester and their subsequent marriage at Greenwich. Warnicke speculates about the nature of Henry's impotence, showing that his problem was with Anne—whom he believed had been contracted to marry someone else—and not with women as a whole, as evidenced by his immediate subsequent marriage to the far more attractive and experienced Katherine Howard. Such speculation begs the question of why a previous engagement should have deterred the king, while previous sexual activity did not.

While the secrets of the marriage bed usually—thank goodness—remain largely hidden from historians, their impact on public policy is an important topic for scholarly consideration. Warnicke examines them with great skill, sensitivity, and her usual mastery of the sources. Her explanation for Cromwell's fall and execution is particularly good. She rejects the view that he was a victim of a conservative reaction, led by the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester, arguing instead that Henry became convinced that Cromwell was a traitor who supported Anne and did not sufficiently sympathize with the king's physical and emotional problems. As students of the Henry VIII's psychopathologies have shown, his disfunctionality went way beyond the erectile. So, without Viagra, Cromwell's fate was sealed, and the first stage of the English Reformation came to a premature end.

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MICHAEL B. YOUNG. *King James and the History of Homosexuality*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 221. \$40.00.

Since the publication of Alan Bray's groundbreaking *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982), the study of sex between early modern men has thrived, particularly in literary studies. Yet the most prominent alleged British homosexual, James VI and I, has been surprisingly absent. James's relationships with a string of men—especially Esmé Stuart, duc d'Aubigny; Robert Carr, later earl of Somerset; and George Villiers, later duke of Buckingham—were the cause of real concern at the time, particularly given the meteoric rise of these men through the king's patronage to positions of considerable power. While previous scholars have marginalized the question of James's sexuality, or merely invoked it silently (and negatively) to depict James as a foolish and emotional king, now attention is being paid by David Bergeron's *King James*



and *Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (1999) and Michael B. Young's new, more wide-ranging study.

After sketching in James's life story and the shifts in scholarly verdicts on the king, Young evaluates (chapter two) the evidence that James had sexual relations with his favorites. Chapter three explores the codes available to James's subjects, through which they could talk and write about sex between men. The next three chapters deal broadly with war, examining perceived links between James's patronage of effeminate favorites and his peaceful foreign policy; the growing demand for James to behave in a more "manly" fashion by entering into the Thirty Years' War; and his successor Charles I's conscious attempts to distance himself from the image, personal and political, of his father. In chapter seven, Young examines the notorious Civil War anti-Stuart polemics (he is properly careful not to introduce this material into discussions of James's contemporary reputation) and, in conclusion, considers James's relevance to a larger history of homosexuality.

Young asserts boldly that James "did have sex with his male favourites, and it is nonsense to deny it" (p. 135), citing as evidence letters to and from the king, and contemporary accusations. The former are hardly conclusive (how could they be?), but Young shows convincingly that James was accused of sodomy in his own time. Scottish Presbyterians associated him with Sodom; Simonds D'Ewes claimed that James was suspected of sodomy; polemicist Thomas Scott wrote that James played with Sodomites; and the poem "Warre of the Gods" refers to James "loveinge so 'gainst nature." And these are only the most blatant examples: Young piles up works by Philip Massinger, Thomas Middleton, William Rowley, Michael Drayton, George Withers, Alexander Leighton, John Reynolds, Thomas Beard, Barnaby Rich, John Everard, and others, not to mention anonymous tracts and pamphlets, proving that James was ridiculed and criticized by a consistent set of resonant parallels: Edward II and Piers Gaveston, Tiberius and Sejanus, Henri III and his mignons, and his own ancestor James III.

Young is not slow to critique the sophisticated work of scholars such as Bray, Stephen Orgel, and Jonathan Goldberg, notably on the question of effeminacy. He has no truck with the current orthodoxy that early modern notions of "effeminacy" do not tally with modern understandings, and that the association of effeminacy with homosexuality is a recent innovation. "Effeminate meant then what effeminate means now" (p. 153), declares Young, showing that James and his favorites were portrayed as effeminate in dress, manners, and in their cowardly attitudes to war, and contending that James's pacifist policy was understood as linked to this effeminacy. But his thesis relies on some unexamined assumptions about the inherent manliness of war and the intrinsic effeminacy of flamboyant dress. On occasion, the faultlines show. Horse-riding is masculine in the case of James's heir Henry, but James's style of hunting on horseback is effemi-

nate. Physical combat is masculine, but vogueish duelling was decried as part of an effeminate court culture. James's favorites are contrasted negatively to Elizabeth's masculine young bucks—the Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, Philip Sidney—yet these, too, were derided as effeminate in their own time.

Young's book is a timely reminder of the complex interplay of sex and politics in Jacobean England (work remains to be done on James's years in Scotland). Even if some of his ideas will invite criticism, he succeeds here in gathering together a wealth of understudied materials that will be productively picked over by other scholars.

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ROSALIND MITCHISON. *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574–1845*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2000. Pp. 246. \$28.00.

In terms of academic research, the old Scottish poor law has been the poor cousin of the English poor law. This is ironic, given that the 1834 English act was patterned on the Scottish system, borrowing, for example, the concept of less eligibility. Thus, any addition to the literature on this important topic is welcome.

Rosalind Mitchison purports to provide the first modern study of the old Scottish poor law from its foundation in 1574 to its demise in 1845. To some extent, this claim is correct. It certainly is the first to provide a detailed picture of the operation and evolution of the law prior to 1745; however, it is not the first modern study to deal with the period between 1745 and 1845. Nor can it claim to be examining the experience of Scotland as a whole, for it largely ignores the urban system. Therefore, even though there is much to admire in Mitchison's book, there is also much to disappoint.

Mitchison skillfully demonstrates that although a poor law was established by the Scottish parliament as early as 1574, in fact the poor law evolved slowly and unevenly throughout Scotland until the mid to late 1700s. After that date, there was a greater degree of codification, yet considerable variation in practice remained. The rise and expanding geographical power of the established Church of Scotland, the main administrator of the laws in rural Scotland, ensured a greater degree of uniformity, at least until divisions began to appear within the church. Mitchison's exposition on this aspect is very good. So, too, is her relating the role of the Whig Party in its attempts to develop the concept of relief as a last resort as a reality of poor law legislation. Her explanation of the role of the heritors is also very good. Mitchison's background material on the 1844 report, which brought about the legislative change in 1845, is excellent. Herein lies the major strengths of the book.

The overriding weakness of the book is Mitchison's

failure to explain adequately that there were two systems operating within Scotland, both sanctioned by legislation. There was a rural system and an urban system. The legal administrator of relief in the burghs was the town council, which could delegate its responsibility to other interest groups and frequently did; Mitchison makes no mention of these facts. This is a significant omission, given that by 1845 approximately half of Scotland's population lived in urban areas. Thus, her discussion of the demise of the old Scottish poor law, though partially valid, is not the whole story.

Another major flaw of this book is the bibliography, which is simply an alphabetical listing of published sources. There are only three theses noted, all from Edinburgh and none recent; Ph.D. theses from other Scottish universities are absent. There are published works listed in footnotes that are not included in the bibliography. Mitchison examined the kirk session minutes of 300 parishes, approximately a third of those in Scotland at 1845. These minutes are the major source of information for Scottish poor law practice prior to 1845, yet the only information provided about them is contained in the footnotes. It would have been helpful if Mitchison had given us a list of those parishes, along with the dates of the existing minutes, and a map illustrating the areas of concentration, as surviving records are very patchy for large areas of Scotland. Thus, if too much emphasis is placed mainly on the use of kirk session minutes, a distorted view can emerge, such that, for example, the role of the urban system is underrated or overlooked.

In conclusion, though I welcome this book, it does not provide us with much that is new with respect to the overall operation of the poor law except for the period prior to 1745, thus limiting its usefulness. It is not the ultimate authority on the topic. Unfortunately, readers lacking prior knowledge of the Scottish poor law will gain only lopsided insights into this important topic—important because current-day politicians argue for a similar system.

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JONATHAN SCOTT. *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 546. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$27.95.

This is a conceptually imaginative study that will capture the center stage in historiographical discussion of seventeenth-century England. Jonathan Scott maintains that the political instability that constituted the "troubles" of Stuart England was rooted in three different historical processes, each of which had multiple phases. The first process was the Stuart attempt to fashion a durable state out of limited resources in the midst of the religious tensions of Counter Reformation Europe, a process that repeatedly provoked fears of "popery and arbitrary government." The second process was the "revolution" that has been the

subject of so much historical writing but so little historical agreement. For Scott, the English Revolution was an intellectual process rather than a constitutional event. The opposite of Stuart state building, the revolution was a process of reflection on political and religious experience that produced demands for change in the distinctive radical and republican writing of the century. "Restoration," the third process, was the repeated attempt, after the middle of the century, to contain instability and revolution within refashioned structures. In outlining these processes, Scott insists that the beliefs of contemporaries be taken seriously. He argues for the essential unity of seventeenth-century English political experience, and he maintains that Stuart political history can best be comprehended within broader European contexts.

Scott accomplishes much in the three chronologically overlapping sections that examine these processes. He exposes the financial and military weaknesses that handicapped Stuart monarchs in their attempt to create a coherent state. He explains the siege mentality of English Protestant leaders from William Cecil to William, Lord Russell, demonstrating that repeated fears about the security of the English Reformation were directly related to the progressive weakening of European Protestantism. Scott emancipates the radicals of the 1640s and 1650s from the artificial categories imposed upon them in modern scholarly classification. He finds a common moral purpose in the radical and republican political languages of those decades; and he provides the most sophisticated attempt ever made to link the radical arguments of the revolution to those of the Restoration. He successfully contextualizes Restoration history, showing how the issues of 1678–1683 and 1688–1689 were fundamentally similar to those of the 1620s and the 1640s. The "troubles" repeated themselves after 1660—contrary to much historical writing about the durability of the original Restoration structures—until warfare on an unprecedented scale required William III and his parliaments to create the modern British state out of the Stuart debris.

But the book is a work with its own troubles. Scott sometimes ignores and sometimes contradicts his admonition to take the beliefs of contemporaries seriously. His forte is the analysis of political texts, but he falters in his investigation of religious writing by not fully exploring how religious belief and teaching fed political argument and polarization. As a result, such peculiar constructions as "counter-reformation protestantism" and "radical Old Testament protestantism" (p. 153) raise more questions than they address. Similarly, Scott's suggestive treatment of radical ideas in the 1640s and the 1650s offers much about the moral language of the revolution as well as new interpretations of the Levellers and of republicanism. But he again too hastily reduces the connections between radical religious and political thought to moral action, to the "social doctrine of the radical reformation" (p. 256), or to an idealized Christian humanism.

Scott makes enormous assumptions about the social diffusion and reception of political and religious ideas, and he sometimes credits contemporary perceptions when he ought not. Here, as in his earlier work, for instance, he places Algernon Sidney and Sidney's largely unpublished work at the heart of the Exclusion Crisis, insisting again that "the capital became a republican bastion" in 1680–1683 (p. 298). But evidence suggesting that republican thought—whether as a moral language or as a political program—was widespread within the parliamentary and urban oppositions to Charles II is limited. The claim cannot be established by pointing to loyalist name-calling or to the thoughts of continental visitors who observed English politics through Venetian and Dutch-tinted lenses. Scott's history of revolutionary ideas is, then, one that reads the thoughts of significant authors into the minds of ordinary readers. He does not examine the interactions between ideas and historical actors who were influenced by them. His organizational separation of intellectual processes from political processes further detaches ideas from the environments in which they developed and to which they responded.

Moreover, Scott rarely moves beyond printed sources and his stunning command of the secondary literature to engage fully, as a historian, with the primary evidence that bears on the structural creations and collapses that are "the troubles." He cuts through layers of historical detail to outline the major dimensions of an old story in a new way, but he also sacrifices the nuanced argumentation that might have been achieved through greater familiarity with critical unpublished sources. This approach could be defended on the grounds of reopening the story to broader audiences, but the potential impact of the book is narrowed by regular outbursts of in-house wrangling directed at other Stuart specialists. The result is a major historiographical essay based on limited historical research that will provoke many of its most perceptive readers.

Some early Stuart historians will feel that their period has been empirically telescoped as a prelude for the main post-1640 show. Some will find Scott's definition of republicanism too open-ended or too likely to conflate republican style with republican substance. Some will object to arguments offered without considering the evidence, like the dismissal of party before 1688. Others will object to particular conceptual constructions as new lamps too hastily substituted for the old. Why, for instance, should we confuse Restoration history by applying the concept of restoration to the events of 1688–1689 or by converting the serviceable contemporary concept of settlement into restoration? In contemporary belief, 1688–1689 was a revolution; 1660 was a restoration; and the difference was important. Some of Scott's new lamps have also been lit before. The argument that the disasters of Bohemia and the Palatinate were critical to English Protestant perception in the 1620s is not particularly original. Neither is the contention that 1688 was a Dutch

invasion. In the end, some of Scott's lamps will shine on, while others may dim before the brighter illuminations that his book will provoke. In both cases, this volume will prove a seminal study in reconceiving Stuart political history.

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SUSAN E. WHYMAN, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 287. \$55.00.

Scholars of seventeenth-century England have known the papers of the Verney family as a valuable source for seventeenth-century social and political history ever since a selection was first published in the mid-nineteenth century. Susan E. Whyman uses the archive to focus attention on the later seventeenth century, and particularly the life of John Verney (1640–1717), later first viscount Fermanagh. Because John was a younger son (his older brother Edmund died in 1688, eight years before their father, Sir Ralph), he was raised to make his own way in the world. He spent several years trading in the Levant before returning to the life of a London merchant. The book depends on the use of an elaborate and extensive "sociability database" drawn from over 8,000 letters to and from the Verneys during the period. The database allowed Whyman to track precisely not only who interacted with whom, but in what ways. This enables her to chart not just contacts but the nature of the relationship expressed in a contact, from patronage and solicitation to friendship. It also enables her to provide precise mappings to ground the stories she tells.

Whyman uses the letters first to describe the interlocking but separate networks of Sir Ralph Verney (after the Restoration) and John Verney. She shows how Sir Ralph's London networks echo and replicate his country networks. Then she demonstrates some of the ways that John Verney's London experience shifted patterns of sociability and politics. In her most original chapter, Whyman shows that John Verney eschewed his father's gifts of venison as a tool for building and sustaining relationships throughout his social network, instead adopting the London custom of formal visits (carefully calibrated according to status), using these and carriages to maintain and enhance relationships. She also shows how the Verney patriarchs, along with their female relatives, used the marriage market to establish and maintain the family fortunes, concluding (unsurprisingly) that "marriage for money was a reliable component of their family fortunes" (p. 146). A final chapter looks at how party politics changed the shape of county sociability in the early eighteenth century. Throughout the book, Whyman understands the significance of gender to sociability, and she argues that, as its significance was grounded in the ways it crossed "public" and "private,"



sociability provided an arena for female authority in late Stuart gentry families.

Whyman travels over familiar territory with a fresh eye, providing us not so much with a new picture of the late seventeenth century, as a clearer one, more sharply focused by its attention to one family. This is also the book's greatest weakness, as it occasionally leads to somewhat myopic conclusions. After all, London-based merchant sons of the country gentry were not new at the end of the seventeenth century. And—like Gregory King, whose social taxonomy she uses—Whyman's sense of the social order has many divisions at the top, with a rather undifferentiated middle and bottom: the Palmers, who owned land in three counties as well as in Little Chelsea, are described repeatedly as "middling sort" (pp. 61, 69). A broader context would show such a categorization to be excessively simplistic. One wishes that Whyman were occasionally a more critical reader of her sources, like the laments about the attractions of London (pp. 55–56). And, although the book generally reflects very careful scholarship, Whyman is occasionally sloppy: the Molly Verney whose elopement is discussed in three places (pp. 126, 132, 140) is apparently one of the three otherwise unnamed children of Edmund Verney who predeceased her grandfather, but she does not appear in either the family tree or the index.

Such carping should not detract from Whyman's real accomplishments. The Verney archive allows her to explore a wide range of elite social interactions. As a thoughtful and intelligent observer, she provides us with a nuanced and interesting map of the gendered impact not just of London, but of economic and political change, on elite sociability. Historians of the period should be grateful for this reminder of how much is to be learned by a careful and methodologically sophisticated analysis of a particular archive.

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STEPHEN CONWAY. *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. vii, 407. \$90.00.

Although there have been a number of works on the political and economic effects of the War of American Independence on Britain, Stephen Conway's new book is the first major, comprehensive attempt at reconstructing the war's impact on metropolitan society. It is a fine, well-documented study, marked by sophisticated argumentation and persuasive conclusions. Structured into nine chapters analyzing the various aspects of the war's impact, it is supplemented by six case studies of localities to show the varying nature of this influence on different communities.

The book opens with a scrutiny of the mobilization of manpower for the armed forces, the scale of which is shown to have been greater than heretofore assumed, not only creating a precedent for the wars of 1793–1815 but also involving broader social integra-

tion through participation across class lines. This is followed by a review of the economic effects of the war—on taxation, loss of assets, public debt, trade, incomes, and prices—suggesting that their negative results were smaller than would appear, because government expenditures stimulated domestic demand and thus helped to offset suspended exports. The chapter on social and cultural impact (one would wish more space were devoted to culture) reveals changes in mobility, gender relations, crime, and social reform. The end to the transportation of felons to America spawned new ways of dealing with prisoners, such as hard-labor prisons and impressment into the military, and opened the way to using Australia as a penal colony. Britain's defeat brought a perception of decline and inspired a movement to reform manners—but also a fashion for things military. At the political level, the conflict caused divisions both over the justice of the war and over the mobilization, bringing fears of tyranny at home. It polarized Catholics and Protestants, landed and middle classes, wool producers and textile industries. Heavy taxation weakened the perception of the Parliament as a representative body, increased accusations of corruption, and advanced the movement for parliamentary reform. Catholics and Dissenters in England, Wales, and Ireland received relief, but as the author points out, contrary to some recent studies, the Anglican backlash was significant enough to cancel out many of the moderating effects.

The analytical axis of the book is formed by an examination of the complex relationship between the power of localism and the power of central state. In a subtly balanced argument, Conway demonstrates both the impressive growth of state authority and the numerous limitations on its power. He shows that they were not contradictory; state power was made possible by innumerable and diverse local and independent bodies. The state brandished power with its mobilization efforts, involving compulsory recruitment by press-gangs, forced enlistments of the unemployed, conditional pardons to criminals for enlisting, and offers to artisans—against the will of local corporations—of freedom to choose localities to practice their trades after serving. An equally huge state effort involved the financing and logistics of military operations in America, the largest ever conducted abroad. At the same time, localism is shown to have played a significant role. Volunteers in Britain and Ireland, attached to local interests, did not readily submit to governmental control, and even regulars were mobilized by local interests—such as Highland chiefs, towns, merchants, aristocracy—and not primarily by government initiative.

The book is thus a voice against the historiography portraying the American war as a relatively limited episode, involving mainly professional armies and issues of imperial power. Instead, it points to the continuity of the eighteenth-century British experience of war. Although the French and Napoleonic campaigns are usually seen as more momentous than the



American war, they should be viewed as "the culmination of a process of greater mobilization and more intrusiveness" by the state, a development accelerated by the American episode (p. 347). The book also has implications for the ongoing debate over the role of the eighteenth-century state and its wars on the creation of Britishness. The American war put an end to transatlantic British identity, but as Conway shows, it engendered a new sense of Britishness, limited to the British Isles. The emergence of this new identity, it is argued, can only be understood within a longer time span. The loss of the American part of the imperial nation launched a reassessment of national identity, but only the French and Napoleonic wars and the threat of invasion inspired more substantial unity and patriotic pride.

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RANDOLPH TRUMBACH. *Sex and the Gender Revolution*; Volume 1, *Heterosexuality and the Third Gender in Enlightenment London*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 509. \$35.00.

This is Hamlet without the prince. The main character—the transition from "one of the two worldwide systems for organizing homosexual behavior" (p. 6) to the other—is offstage. A system of subordination achieved by differences in age yielded around 1700 to differentiation based on gender, specifically on the advent of a new "third gender role for a minority of men" (p. 6). The effeminate male, the sodomite, the mollie was born, and all this will be dealt with by Randolph Trumbach in future volumes.

The subject of this book is the sodomite's *doppelgänger*: the new majority, the modern male heterosexual who exclusively desired women. Women are absent from the book save as victims because, in the absence of a sapphic counterpart to the sodomite and with their sexual lives "much more likely to be have been confined to marriage" (p. 13), they remained in the earlier world with its three kinds of bodies (men, women, and hermaphrodites) and two genders (male and female) instead of proceeding into the new one in which for males only there were now two bodies (male and female) and three genders (man, woman, sodomite).

The history of this world as told by Trumbach is "substantially a history of extramarital relations" (p. 13), of what men did, or did not do, to distinguish themselves from the despised sodomites. They, but not women, were warned against masturbation because only a woman's body should satisfy a man. Women could still be dishonored throughout the eighteenth century by being called whores, but calling a man "whoremonger" only showed to his credit that he was not a sodomite. Prostitution flourished, largely untrammelled, because it allowed married men to avoid intimacy with their wives and unmarried men to show where their exclusive sexual interests lay. Whores, in

short, allowed males "to establish that they were not sodomites" (p. 195).

Widespread venereal disease was "the harsh legacy of modern western heterosexuality" (p. 225) because, due to all the new extramarital sex, it came to infect not just a narrow strata of sailors, soldiers, and gentlemen as before but everyone. So was the rising illegitimacy rate and the suffering of women who bore children out of wedlock, because seducing women with promises of marriage and then abandoning "may have reinforced" in the minds of men "the power and standing of exclusive heterosexuality" (p. 275). (For women, bearing bastards proved nothing since "there was no comparable standard of female behavior" [p. 275] to justify their lapse.) So, too, was violence against women "a major source of sexual excitement for men," inspired, especially in the middle classes, "by a combination of traditional patriarchy and the new heterosexuality (p. 325). And so were adultery and divorce. The "new heterosexuality" encouraged close friendships between men that were not sexual; a man might bring his friend home, his wife might fall in love with the friend, the two might have sex, and the husband would feel that his wife's adultery "brought with it the sting of homosexual rape" (p. 395). She was ready to humiliate her husband because romantic love had raised the expectations of women, and "usually after they had been married a few years they expressed their needs by falling in love" with men who had entered their domestic worlds.

There is very little reason to believe any of this. In the first place, Trumbach offers no evidence on anything from the world that came before. It is hard, for example, to imagine a more unfeeling, brutal treatment of prostitutes than Niccolò Machiavelli recounts in his letter to Francesco Guicciardini, written from the heart of Renaissance Florence in the good old days with its flourishing homoerotic culture based on age difference. (He ends by joking that he vomited all over her.) Trumbach also offers no argument either for the "three gender" revolution or for his view that the history of male heterosexuality is the history of extramarital relations. ("No apology" may be necessary, but some motivation for so big a claim would be nice.) The real problem, however, is that almost none of the evidence that we are given is convincing on a point-by-point basis. This is a deeply researched book—tables and graphs and stories laboriously extracted from long runs of judicial and other records—that cumulatively does not make its case.

Sometimes Trumbach ignores counterevidence. Yes, masturbation seemed to be a species of effeminate softness, but it was also regarded by its critics as a prelude to hypersexuality. And writings against it were not confined to males in danger of betraying the new heterosexuality: "the disorder seems even to make greater progress with women," thought the major eighteenth-century expert on the subject. The Cambridge Group's explanation for the rise of illegitimacy—along with fertility generally—based on socio-

economic change is more convincing and has the added virtue of explaining why this trend is also evident far from London and its sodomitical minority.

Sometimes, the author over-interprets what he has. Yes, men were increasingly less likely to bring defamation actions for being called whoremongers, but they brought only a tiny percentage of the actions before the "new heterosexuality" (six percent in 1700–1709). True, the number dwindled to nothing by the end of the century, but the number of women bringing cases for being called whores declined by seventy percent as the population more than doubled. Soon, these cases too disappeared.

Sometimes the numbers are just not there. Maybe prostitutes became more likely to be arrested than their clients, but there are no serial data. The only relevant evidence comes from the 1720s; from it I calculate that the ratio then, before the new heterosexuality really took effect, already stood at 9:1. Maybe there was more venereal disease. But estimates for its spread to the general population come from the most highly infected group where it had long been endemic: sailors. The big surprise here is that they had such low rates of infection (from one to twenty percent in the Atlantic and Mediterranean fleets); it was higher in the Pacific but, as Trumbach says, the men had been away from London for a long time; they might have contracted the disease in Tahiti; or they might have infected each other through sodomy!

Sometimes the qualitative evidence is not there. Nothing suggests that prostitution was more tolerated in the eighteenth century than before so that men could prove they weren't mollies. A footnote citing the contemporary literary critic Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick on the triangulation between men in nineteenth-century novels is all that sustains the view that husbands cuckolded by their best friends felt that they had been the subjects of homosexual rape. Violence is, and was, certainly part of domination; the strong beat the weak. And court records reveal all manner of pretexts for the brutality of husbands against wives—she tried to curb his extravagance, she objected to his visits to prostitutes, he wanted to be free of financial obligations—not to speak of uncontrollable rage. But no case suggests that men beat their wives murderously because "violence against women was a major source of sexual excitement for men" or because of anxiety about slipping into the third gender.

All this said, however, there is much to learn from the riches in this book about extramarital sexuality in London. And it points to a major historical question. Clearly there was a major change in the nature of male friendship at the end of the early modern period. Clearly, there was also an immense new anxiety about sodomy, not just in England but elsewhere. Why this occurred, and how it shaped masculinity, femininity, sexuality, and the relations between the sexes, need to be answered. But nasty though it might be, male heterosexuality was not born in extramarital relations; it was not reducible to facts about prostitution, rape,

illegitimacy, and adultery. And it was not created by men alone.

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DAVID CARLTON. *Churchill and the Soviet Union*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 2000. Pp. 234. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$19.95.

Winston Churchill remains a subject of fascination, but the biographical side of Churchill studies is currently in a lull, with the official life completed and with Martin Gilbert inching his way through documentary volumes; there are thirteen years of Churchill's public life to go in that massive project. But there remain important gaps, not least because of the official biographers' determination to present Churchill without commentary ("He shall be his own biographer"), so that studies of single strands of Churchill's career can be very rewarding. There is, for example, no study yet of Churchill's attitude to Japan, a subject on which he was systematically wrong throughout his long political career, almost with fatal results in 1941–1942.

David Carlton applies such a longitudinal approach to Churchill and the Soviet Union between the Bolshevik Revolution and his final retirement. This is a short and readable book, necessarily dependant on secondary and printed primary sources now available rather than on archival research. Carlton's thrust is to restore the traditional image of Churchill as an ideological, obsessive anticommunist that has been largely obscured of late. This necessarily leads him into the investigation of Churchill's preference for fascism over communism if forced to choose. This he himself openly admitted on at least one occasion, but it becomes clear through the examination of his sympathy for Benito Mussolini and his dogged defence of Francisco Franco (whose survival in 1945 depended hugely on Churchill's determination to save Spain from communism, just as he had "saved" Greece). On Mussolini, Carlton is traversing some familiar ground, but he does print a more unconditional endorsement of Italian fascism by Churchill than we have previously seen, from a speech in Rome in 1927 (the relevant paragraph having been omitted from both the official biography and its documentary companion volumes, an omission more helpful to Churchill than to historians). He was more circumspect over Nazism and Adolf Hitler. A reader may, of course, note that Germany was nearer and far more threatening to Britain than Italy or Spain and wonder whether, if a creed like Nazism, with all the cruelties and barbarisms that Churchill so publicly and so insistently deplored, had established itself in Italy, Churchill would have been as inclined to condone it, in the interests of British realpolitik, as he was Joseph Stalin's barbarities over the Katyn massacre. Carlton suggests that Churchill thought Nazi Germany "less frightful" (his words in

1934) than Stalinist Russia, his real yardstick for totalitarian horror.

In presenting Churchill as an unrelenting Cold Warrior, Carlton easily illuminates such phases of his career as intervention in the Russian Civil War and warning of the Russian threat in the 1940s (including his readiness to use—or threaten to use—atomic weapons before the Russians had them, so to force Stalin to the negotiating table). It is less easy to explain the interludes in which Churchill became an advocate of friendship for—or at least cooperation with—the Soviets, in the later 1930s, in 1941–1943, and in his quest for a peacemaking summit in 1950–1955. Taken together, these phases occupied almost as much of his career as his anti-Bolshevism, and one of the most interesting lessons here is just what a switchback ride it all was. It was so bumpy a ride partly because Churchill always itched to bring things to the point of decision, entirely lacking the political gift of *not* taking a view on issues when inconvenient, a talent that David Lloyd George, Stanley Baldwin, and Clement Attlee all possessed in great measure.

Carlton offers three overarching theories to explain these constant reversals. It may simply be (and sometimes certainly was) that Churchill used a convenient pro-Russian policy to serve his own short-term political ends (making friends with the left in 1937, for example). In this context, Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain, and Harry S. Truman all appear here as more principled and more responsible than Churchill in some phases. Second, it may be that Churchill himself was pursuing an opportunist policy in terms of traditional balance of power politics to serve Britain's interests rather than his own (as for example embracing the devil and making favorable references to "hell" when Hitler attacked Stalin in 1941). Or it may be, as Carlton believes, that Churchill's pro-Soviet phases were never more than tactical maneuvers during which those first two motives came into play, but that deep down he was always an inveterate anticommunist and to that he would always return. If Carlton does not entirely convince with this conclusion, he certainly compels us to look again at the evidence and presents the case persuasively.

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JOE MAIOLO. *The Royal Navy and Nazi Germany, 1933–39: A Study in Appeasement and the Origins of the Second World War.* (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with King's College, London. 1998. Pp. xii, 259.

This nicely calibrated monograph focuses on one of those puzzles in the international diplomacy that marked the run-up to World War II: why did the Royal Navy, the largest and probably the most renowned of all maritime forces in world history, agree to a dubious fleet limitation treaty with Nazi Germany in June 1935,

and then seek to preserve that deal over the next few years while the Germans were intent on betraying it as soon as was convenient?

The received historiography is condemnatory or apologetic. In the first case, it agrees that the Admiralty foolishly embraced a devil's pact with Germany that, in reality, did nothing to preserve its maritime aims in European waters. The 1935 naval treaty, by which Berlin agreed to limit its fleet build-up to only thirty-five percent of the Royal Navy's total tonnage, sent false signals of encouragement to the Nazi regime and dismayed the French, who rightly viewed it as a weakening of the recently concluded Stresa Front against German revisionism. It was folly to expect Adolf Hitler to keep his word and when his anger with Britain grew, lo and behold, Berlin denounced it in 1939, making the British look silly. Apologists explain that the Admiralty was engaged in a global strategic juggling act and that, by limiting the size of the Reichsflotte as it did, the Royal Navy would (in theory) still have sufficient force to send a "main fleet to Singapore" in the event of Japanese aggression. Not an ideal plan, but not a bad one, either.

The merit of Joe Maiolo's book is that, while he does not sidestep this controversy, he invites the reader to consider the technical design and operational calculations that pushed the Admiralty into believing that the 1935 pact was the "least worst" policy in sustaining British naval mastery. Britain's naval leaders and planners were aware of the country's constrained financial and productive circumstances. They were also aware that they had to juggle their shrunken naval resources between the North Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Far East. First Sea Lord Chatfield and his successors hoped (rather unrealistically, in retrospect) that a vastly increased shipbuilding program would restore British naval mastery by 1942. In the meantime, however, the biggest threat probably lay in an Anglo-German war occurring prior to that time, with Germany employing unorthodox or "freak" naval weapons systems rather than established types of warships. The 1935 treaty, with its 100:35 ratio, suggested a quantitative relationship and discouraged (so the British hoped) qualitative innovations by other navies. All this is well argued by Maiolo, and his emphasis on the technical shipbuilding aspects follows nicely the work of scholars such as Jon Tetsuro Sumida and Gilbert Gordon. Also good is his analysis of British decision-making structures and intelligence in the 1930s.

At the end of the day, however, Maiolo cannot really alter the larger picture of British naval policy in the 1930s. Stupid these men were not, and they did a wonderful job in keeping up fleet morale in those depressing years (a topic unto itself). But they were victims of larger circumstances—industrial decline, the austere grip of the Treasury, the rising impact of airpower, Neville Chamberlain's policy preferences—and also of timing. Had the war in Europe not come until after 1942, the picture might have been different, although even that is not clear. The Admiralty clearly



did its best in impossible circumstances, and when the war began a depleted Royal Navy fought magnificently. But neither was enough to preserve mastery of the seas.

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DAVE RENTON. *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Britain in the 1940s*. New York: St Martin's. 2000. Pp. ix, 203. \$65.00.

NIGEL COPSEY. *Anti-Fascism in Britain*. New York: St Martin's. 2000. Pp. ix, 229. \$65.00.

As both authors make clear in their respective introductions, the literature on the history of fascism in Britain is extensive. The size of the literature, especially in relation to the British Union of Fascists (BUF) during the 1930s and the National Front in the 1970s, is probably far greater than would be merited by the political importance of either movement. The work of both Nigel Copsey and Dave Renton is an attempt to redress the balance and to fill a serious lacuna in the historiography of extremist politics in Britain. Throughout the twentieth century, the number of people involved in antifascist activity has always outstripped the totals of those enrolled in or supportive of the fascist ranks. Despite this, and the key role that antifascists have played in undermining the chances of British fascism from gaining a political foothold, there have been few previous works that have attempted to understand what motivates antifascism, how successful antifascist campaigns have been, or the political backgrounds of those individuals and groups that have fought against fascism in Britain. What work that does exist detailing the history of antifascism has usually been the product of those involved in the struggle and can therefore be understood as personal memoir rather than considered historical analysis. Copsey and Renton have identified this gap in the history of an important part of British political history, and both offer high quality and original research in a highly readable form.

Copsey's work covers the history of antifascism in Britain across the whole of the twentieth century, whereas Renton concentrates specifically on the experiences of the 1940s. Renton explores the activities of fascism during the postwar period, when the horrors of the concentration camps and the efforts of fighting Nazism were fresh in the mind. This, one would expect, was a period when fascism would have no chance of political success. However, as Renton explains, British fascism, by mobilizing around specific issues, such as British involvement in Palestine, did make some minor headway. As a result, antifascists gathered to oppose any fascist resurgence. In effect, Renton's work can be read as a fascinating period case study and test case of many of the general arguments put forward by Copsey.

Copsey's book takes a chronological approach to the twentieth century. His work is based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources and concentrates,

where possible, on the material published and produced by antifascists themselves. Copsey's strength is that he seeks to move the debate surrounding the history of fascism and antifascism in Britain beyond a concentration on the BUF and the activities of Oswald Mosley. While stressing the importance of that period in generating the specter of a potentially powerful fascism in Britain, and the legends that surrounded the antifascist response, especially at Olympia and Cable Street, Copsey sees that period within its own context. He is at pains to demonstrate that the domestic fascist threat did not disappear with the onset of World War II. Copsey's central thesis is that antifascism, whether during the 1930s, before or since, has essentially been a reactive force. He argues throughout the book, and illustrates his point convincingly, that the vibrancy of antifascism bears a direct correlation to the potency of any given fascist or far right movement. While this may appear, at the surface, a straightforward argument, it is one that has not previously been tested in a century-wide study.

In addition to demonstrating the oppositional nature of antifascism, Copsey is at his best in explaining the nature of the different responses to fascism and the perceived nature of the threat that the far right posed. He shows that those who were involved in opposing fascism were not a uniform group and that their agendas were quite different. During the 1920s and 1930s, the key opponents of British fascists were those drawn from the ranks of the left. Fascism did not however, produce an official response from the Labour Party at the central level; opposition to fascism was conducted on a localized and often issue-specific basis. The response was, until the 1960s and 1970s, ad hoc and far from universally organized. The 1930s did, however, bring about two key themes within the battle against British fascism: the involvement of Jewish organizations and the legislative attempts of the state to control political extremism in the shape of the Public Order Act.

Copsey sees the reemergence of a British fascist movement, especially the one that was headed by Mosley in the post-World War II years, as untenable given the cultural and political legacy of the Holocaust and British involvement in the fight against Nazism. In this, he argues that the main bodies involved in the struggle against any renewed fascist activity were drawn from the ranks of British Judaism. Copsey is at his best when covering the rise of the National Front in the 1970s and the British National Party in the 1990s and the antifascist response that these movements, especially their limited political success, produced. The Anti-Nazi League was central in the late twentieth-century struggle against fascism. Copsey shows how powerful a largely united antifascist umbrella movement, which joined together the radical and moderate left along with representatives from the Jewish and new Commonwealth immigrant populations, could be. Despite the success of the Anti-Nazi League in combating the National Front and the



British National Party and creating a general public awareness of their activities, the history of the League also clearly demonstrates Copsey's central thesis: without the active threat of a potential political breakthrough by fascist groups, antifascist groups do not maintain steady levels of high popular support. It is clear that antifascists have been a constant feature of the British political landscape in the twentieth century, but their numbers and power are totally reliant on some semblance of far right threat.

Renton's book, which is based on a thoroughly impressive trawling of available primary sources, looks at a period which emerges from Copsey's work as one of the least important in the century. In covering the 1940s, Renton has carried out important work. True, the level of fascist activity in the 1940s was, by comparison with the 1930s or 1970s, low. The political threat, the levels of street violence, and even the scope of antifascist action seem insignificant when compared to the other high water marks of the twentieth century. In offering coverage of this period, Renton skillfully explores the political culture, especially at the margins, of British society at a time when it had emerged victorious from a war fought on moral grounds and was engaged in a major experiment of welfarism. Renton demonstrates that while fascists were relatively low in number during the 1940s, their ideological message was as virulent as ever, and their ability to find political space for themselves around the Palestine issue was illustrative of the potential power of fascism. The antifascists of the 1940s were comprised mainly of those from the 43 Group, the Communist Party, and the Board of Deputies. Renton illustrates how these groups were often divided on points of detail surrounding levels of activism and ideology, yet combined around the central issue of vigilance with respect to any renewed fascist threat.

Renton is someone who is clearly attached to the antifascist cause at the personal level. This could be problematic if it were not for his thorough use of available historical material; instead it actually adds to the book. Renton's style demands attention, as it is that of someone who sees in the antifascists of the 1940s the roots of the postwar political activism that would so empower the antifascists of the 1970s. He is more cautious than Copsey in seeing the antifascists solely as a product of fascism, and he uses police records in the Public Record Office to argue that the state is as hard, maybe even harder, on antifascists as it was on the fascists themselves. In this, the antifascists emerge with a dual purpose that Copsey does not ascribe to them. First their job is to defeat fascism; second it is to fight against the laissez-faire attitude of the state toward fascism and to defend civil liberties more generally.

The history of antifascism in Britain is one that has previously received little attention. These two books offer a fresh dimension to the historiography of British

extremism and should be read with enthusiasm by anyone interested in the topic.

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MICHAEL FARRY. *The Aftermath of Revolution: Sligo 1921–23*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 270. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

Almost a quarter of a century after David Fitzpatrick's pathbreaking study of "provincial experience of war and revolution" in County Clare, his students are slowly giving effect to the lesson taught by his work: that only local studies can fully reveal the complex and often contradictory texture of the Irish "revolution." Michael Farry's study of County Sligo may not rival the sweep of Fitzpatrick's analysis, and certainly not the pungency of his writing, but it provides a workmanlike slab of original research on a vital moment in modern Irish history, one that has proved exceptionally resistant to systematic general interpretation. In the Irish civil war, even more than the war of independence, big ideological issues were entangled in local organizational fights that make it very hard to say what, if anything, the conflict was "about." While it looks odd to label a civil war—a conflict that was more destructive in Sligo than the Anglo-Irish war that preceded it—an "aftermath," Farry's assumption (albeit unstated) seems to be that the "revolution," which by implication was over in 1922, had been about the clear issue of national freedom, but things became increasingly obscure thereafter. Republicans were defending a republic whose political essence they could not exactly define. The Free State leaders trumpeted the cause of liberal democracy and accused their enemies of militarism (at best) and criminality (at worst), but as Farry observes, the footsoldiers of their army did not join up to assist in the creation of a stable new state but to secure a career.

Here, as elsewhere in his account, he happens on a profound insight, whose significance he does not seem quite to grasp. He notes, for instance, the paucity of public discussion of the treaty itself and demonstrates that the basis of the anti-treaty Irish Republican Army's (IRA) claim to authority had been established in disputes with the Sinn Féin-controlled county council well before 1922. Local divisions seem to have been rooted in resistance to effective central government. This is important, but it does not really provide an explanation of the IRA's stance, which Farry describes as "strong in resolve but weak in ideas" (p. 204). He usefully confronts the flawed efforts of pioneering scholars such as Erhard Rumpf to discover a social-structural basis for the treaty split. Farry's comprehensive (if not always entirely lucid) statistical analysis leads him to the conclusion that there was no "social basis" for the civil war in Sligo. And in Sligo at least, where as elsewhere the initial military balance definitely favored the anti-treaty side, the whole course of

the conflict seems to have been set by a single nonviolent confrontation in Sligo town at Easter 1922. The local IRA commander issued a ban on a forthcoming pro-treaty meeting, which his superiors then rescinded on the grounds that it was a policy they could not systematically sustain. In the ensuing confusion, the meeting went ahead despite the dominance of anti-treaty forces in Sligo, and the demoralized IRA never subsequently got its act together.

If Farry's analysis of the social dimension of the conflict is short on explanation, his account of its impact on life is solid and illuminating. The period saw an economic downturn, although the extent to which this was caused by the war rather than the general economic climate remains difficult to assess. Farry's most unequivocal statistics on the war's effect are those for sporting events; more than mere recreation in a society like early twentieth-century rural Ireland, these were a true social cement. The dramatic and sustained reduction in such events from January 1922 to June 1923 bespeaks a real impoverishment of social experience. In line with other recent work by Fitzpatrick's students, he also shows that for Protestants the revolution was not an encouraging experience. However, Farry suggests that the war's most serious effects lay in the sphere of law and order. Sligo witnessed a crime wave in the wake of the Anglo-Irish war, aggravated by jurisdictional and organizational clashes between republican and Free State police. The patchy performance of the Dáil Courts in Sligo indicates that earlier suggestions that the system reached its high point of effectiveness in 1921–1922 may be mistaken. All this degraded the quality of life in Sligo. Perhaps Kevin O'Higgins's much-maligned insistence that "the ceasing of the bailiff to function is the first sign of a crumbling civilization" had greater public relevance, and his purge of the court system greater justification, than has frequently been argued.

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WILLIAM PHILLIPS and CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS. *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. 441.

FELIPE RUIZ MARTÍN and ÁNGEL GARCÍA SANZ, editors. *Mesta, transhumancia y lana en la España modern*. Barcelona: Crítica. 1998. Pp. 415.

Much of the time, scholarship moves in small increments; occasionally it takes a large leap all at once. These two books offer striking examples of the second situation. Each is important in its own right. Together they constitute a major revision of the Spanish *Mesta*, a topic that has been misunderstood in ways that have consistently distorted general histories of Spain. Although very different in organization and emphasis, each is the result of long and thoughtful gestation.

Carla Rahn Phillips and William Phillips's book is an

example of the type of sweeping monograph that is relatively rare these days. It combines massive research with broad synthesis within a major institutional study. The institution (if that is the correct word) is not the *Mesta*, although the *Mesta* is central to the story: the institution is the Spanish wool trade. It is an institution not in the sense that was a single, chartered, easily identified organization but in that it was a network of interlocking structures and patterns of behavior. The underlying elements remained in place for five centuries, even though some of its component parts changed with time and circumstance. As a result, the boundaries of the institution, and the relevance of aspects of its changing context, remain a bit fluid in a way that can frustrate both the reader and, I suspect, sometimes frustrated the authors.

By contrast, Angel García Sanz and Felipe Ruiz Martín have edited a collection of monographic articles by ten Spanish scholars and one Italian. It began as a symposium on the topic, after which the authors and editors spent much time revising and coordinating their material so as to produce a coherent volume. By coincidence, it was published within a few months of the Phillips's magnificent book. This volume is focused much more directly on the *Mesta* itself, examining specific issues about the relationship between that organization and both its institutional privileges and various regional economies inside Spain.

There are important overlaps between the two volumes, but one can characterize the emphasis of each in a way that demonstrates how well they complement one another. Both are probably best labeled economic history in that they deal with the commercial and economic relationships connected with the production and sale of wool. The Phillips's book deals primarily with the production and commercialization of wool for export to the European textile industry, although the authors also take into account the demands of domestic industry for wool as a raw material. They also offer three short chapters that provide a general account of the fortunes of sheep raising within Spain. While their monograph was published before the collection edited by García Sanz and Ruiz Martín, the Phillipses are fully aware of the work of its contributors.

The essays in the edited volume deal primarily with the commercial and economic relationships between those who produced wool and the rural and regional societies within which they operated. One chapter parallels the Phillipses' work as Luis María Bilbao summarizes the history of wool exports to England, while another, by Franco Cazzola, provides a useful comparison with transhumance in southern Italy. The findings of the books coincide, although the levels of generalization are different. The main emphasis, however, is on the changing position of the sheep raising industry in the economic, social, and political context of peninsular Spain.

The Phillipses divide their work into three large sections. The first discusses the physical context for the grazing industry in Spain and summarizes the fortunes

of the herding economy within Castile's changing economy. The second section offers a magnificently detailed account of transhumance and the ancillary industries of shearing and washing the fleece to prepare it for marketing. The third section, which was the most interesting for this reviewer, is a detailed description of the interlocking institutions and practices that actually commercialized the wool. This includes a discussion of the internal wool market and the interplay of domestic textile producers, the crown, royal finance, and the export-oriented wool merchants. In the process, the authors discuss the domestic textile industry and the complexities of transporting wool from washing areas to foreign consumers. Thus we get an account not only of the marketing structures within Spain but also of the marketing arrangements overseas. This is based not only on secondary accounts but also on examination of the archives of Spanish merchant communities in several French, Dutch, and Italian ports. The book concludes with a discussion of long-term trends in wool production, prices, and exports, along with an attempt to provide some idea of the changing degree of profitability inherent in the trade.

The authors offer some useful insights and reinterpretations both of the Spanish wool trade and of the *Mesta* as an economic institution in Spain. The *Mesta* undeniably enjoyed special privileges involving separate jurisdiction, protection of the *cañadas* essential to transhumance, and privileged access to pastures. Yet the Phillipses take the position that these did not really protect sheep owners from the changing balance between population and land and the steady shift of relative prices that made foodstuffs more profitable than wool. I came away with the impression that the complex privileges of the *Mesta* created disputes between transhumant and nontranshumant sheep owners as often as they generated tension between grazing and farming. The authors also note the major changes in our understanding of the Spanish economy in the seventeenth century and place the wool industry within that revised context. Thus, despite a drop in population, land continued to move into agriculture, a process that favored nontranshumant sheep raising. As a result, the number of transhumant sheep declined even though the total number of sheep rose significantly.

As an institution, the *Mesta* prospered financially, mostly because of the numerous fines it collected for violation of its privileges. For the most part the crown left the situation to drift in response to market pressures. In the eighteenth century, strong overseas markets, growing domestic demand, and high prices for wool encouraged growth of Spanish flocks, but gradual acceptance of liberal assumptions about market forces led to the erosion of the *Mesta's* privileges. Ironically—and this is an interesting new insight—the really powerful graziers became independent of the *Mesta*, leaving it much more representative of smaller and mid-sized flock owners than in the previous century.

The Phillipses devote considerable space to the

interaction between foreign demand for wool and the domestic textile industry. Their discussion is not always as effective as it could be, since the narrative is cast in terms of rationalizations offered by arguing parties. What is not clear is how foreign and domestic wool markets interacted and respective price levels when adjusted for cost of delivery. The major wool merchants seem to have “preferred” to export the wool, while domestic manufacturers sought to keep it at home. This presumably involves an argument over the prices, and it is not clear why exporters would not sell to domestic buyers if the net return was the same. However, the authors do a good job of demolishing the old stereotype of “the treason of the bourgeoisie,” in which Spanish merchants supposedly abandoned entrepreneurial values for aristocratic ones, bought land, and joined the feudal landed class. They show that the merchants in question did change the nature of their business but demonstrate that at each phase they acted as profit-maximizing, economically rational entrepreneurs.

The eleven essays edited by Ruiz Martín and García Sanz fall into four sections. The initial chapter is an exhaustive and technical discussion of the environment and the long-term evolution of behaviors that shaped the system transhumance as it emerged in the Middle Ages. This is followed by three chapters that deal with the *Mesta* as a national institution, tracing its history, development of its privileges, and the limited nature of what has been characterized as its most damaging privilege, the right of occupancy (*derecho de posesión*) of land once it had been rented to sheep owners from the *Mesta*. A third section, probably the most interesting, consists of four essays, each of which analyzes the impact of the *Mesta* and of sheep raising on a specific region. A fourth section contains three more essays: one on exports to England, one on the Italian counterpart of Spanish transhumance, and a third on the interaction between sheep raising and capital formation in Extremadura. The last is one of the most suggestive essays in the entire book and offers intriguing insights into the link between the wool industry and incipient economic development in a region usually thought to have been a stagnant backwater.

At the general level, the conclusions are similar to those of the Phillipses. Contrary to what still appears in many general histories of Spain, the tension in the Spanish countryside was not between sheep herding and farming; it was between agriculture integrated with livestock and transhumant stock raising disassociated from farming. Once this is understood, the number of disputes over occupancy of pastures is easier to understand, as is the growing vulnerability of the *Mesta*. All over Spain, land moved from grazing to farming, but far more moved from transhumant grazing to grazing by local residents. In that context, is clear that, despite disputes over privileges, land use reflected trends in the price people were willing to pay for pasture. That being the case, we have to accept that the entire Spanish countryside was more attuned to



national (and international) economic trends than our older stereotypes of the Castilian peasant would have us believe.

Neither of these books is an easy read. They both have dense passages, numerous tables and graphs, and a certain tendency to repetition. The reader who wants a quick and dirty grasp of what both books are about should note references to Julius Klein's *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History* (1920). García Sanz devotes a large part of his essay to a searching critique of Klein's work and the pernicious influence it has had in Spanish economic history. He complains that Klein slavishly assumed the British model as an appropriate yardstick, misunderstood the nature of specific privileges, ignored broad economic trends, misread royal policy, misunderstood the eighteenth-century *Ilustrados* regarding the *Mesta*, and was guilty of gross errors of fact. The critique of Klein offered by the Phillipses is less trenchant, but the same picture emerges. This is not to minimize the contributions of Klein's book. Rather, it is a way for the reader of the two magnificent books under review to grasp the ideas and revisions that they offer. English-speaking readers will tend to rely on *Spain's Golden Fleece*, and they will do the history of Spain a great service. If they also spend time with *Mesta, transhumancia y lana*, however, they will come away with a fuller appreciation of how much the history of Spain has changed in the last generation and of the quality of current scholarship there.

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CHRISTINE MÉTAYER. *Au tombeau des secrets: Les écrivains publics du Paris populaire; Cimetière des Saints-Innocents XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel. 2000. Pp. 456. \$39.95.

Historians of France have led the way in analyzing the shifting relations between texts and people that characterized the emergence of literacy in early modern Europe. Christine Métayer explicitly situates herself within this cohort with her book on Parisian *écrivains publics*, or scribes who lent their services to the unlettered. Pursuing lines of inquiry traced by Daniel Roche and Roger Chartier, the novelty of Métayer's approach lies in drawing our attention away from reading practices to examine how city dwellers understood and appropriated the act of writing at a time when the need to offer written texts, to business associates or loved ones as well as to state and ecclesiastical authorities, was outstripping common people's ability to produce them.

To illuminate the roles that *écrivains publics* played in what Roche has described as the "usages and customs of urban writing," Métayer considers them simultaneously as cultural figures and as social beings. She locates the cultural figure by describing scribes' activities and analyzing how elites represented them. From the sixteenth until the nineteenth centuries,

*écrivains publics* throughout Paris wrote private letters and public documents, offering advice on proper phrasing and legal matters to clients without other resources. Fully integrated into the "graphic culture" of the city, scribes were nonetheless disdained by state and religious authorities and by cultural elites. Lacking corporate organization and practicing an itinerant trade—many had only a desk that they moved from place to place—*écrivains publics* were considered vagabonds without the status, alliances, or regular employment that conferred respectability in old regime society. Worse still, the scribe's mastery of a skill possessed by more respectable notaries and corporate *maître écrivains* aroused suspicions that he had landed in this lowly trade after a shameful reversal of fortune. But despite such antipathy, a new definition of the *écrivain public* emerged in the eighteenth century, which celebrated the modest condition of these writers who devoted their professional lives to serving the city's humblest residents.

It is to weigh the validity of the older definition and explain the emergence of the new that Métayer turns to the scribe's status as a social being. Here she narrows her focus to the men who were emblematic of the trade: the scribes of the Saints-Innocents cemetery. What Métayer finds in Saints-Innocents, which she defines alternately as a microcosm of Parisian popular society and a community of the city's most marginal (pp. 21, 184), are scribes whose public and private lives were intermingled, fraught with rumors and potential violence, and firmly rooted in neighborhood networks. In other words, the scribes of Saints-Innocents were by no means the vagabonds contemporaries assumed them to be; they were much like other members of the popular classes that Arlette Farge and David Garrioch have so fully described.

Ultimately, Métayer argues, it was the scribe's status within Saints-Innocents that gave rise to new definitions of his condition and occupation. When the canons who administered Saints-Innocents tried to rid the cemetery of "profane" commercial activity in the early seventeenth century, they singled out public writers for criticism, claiming that their itinerant trade made them fomenters of disorder. When the same body of canons admitted the defeat of their project at century's end and set about administering the commerce there, they again chose the scribe as an exemplary figure. Now, his modest condition and service to the city's poor were praised and offered as proof that the canons' commercial aspirations had charitable and pious ends.

This is a wide-ranging and learned book. Métayer's mastery of the archives is prodigious. In addition to the text itself, her appendixes provide a wealth of information on men and women whose lives outside the corporate structure of the old regime have rendered them elusive, at best, to historians. Equally important, Métayer marries her research with impressive analytic sophistication. Taking the *écrivain public* as a touchstone, she redefines the role of the "cultural interme-



diary," develops a detailed history of Saints-Innocents in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and contributes to a growing body of work on neighborhood and community in early modern Paris.

If the book's breadth of vision is a strength, it is also a weakness, for Métayer periodically loses sight of her principal arguments. For example, while she has much to say about the administration of Saints-Innocents and the activities of the living communities rooted there, such detail tells us more about the cemetery and Parisian popular life than it does about the cultural function or specific social condition of the *écrivain public*. In particular, Métayer's move from the act of writing to the person of the writer—necessitated by the nature of the documents themselves—prevents her from telling us as much as she promises about the evolution of the usages and customs of writing. However, if defined not as a social history of writing (p. 13) but as a cultural history of *écrivains publics* and an examination of Parisian popular life that complements the work of Garrioch and Farge, Métayer's book contributes to the growing literature on men and women who lived outside the formal economic and cultural structures that shaped Old Regime France.

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PETER N. MILLER. *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 234. \$40.00.

In his introduction, Peter N. Miller emphasizes that he is not writing a biography of Nicolaus-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) but presenting a composite picture of cultural life in the early seventeenth century. His purpose is to "summon this lost but whole world back to life and, having done so, to suggest that its story cannot be told without recognizing the place in it of men like Peiresc" (p. 14). He begins with Pierre Gassendi's heroicizing life of the antiquary, published in 1641. Peiresc himself published nothing, although he left a large number of essays and memoranda in manuscript and, through his voluminous correspondence, has become a well-known historical figure.

In chapter one, Miller reveals Peiresc's intellectual reach. At the same time he defines the craft of the seventeenth-century antiquary whom Peiresc exemplifies. He was a traveller, an observer, a collector, and a working scholar. He acquired his collection not merely for decoration or esthetic pleasure but to acquire a better understanding of the past, to satisfy a "reconstructive ambition" (p. 31). Chapter two explores the role that scholarly friendships played in Peiresc's life, and more generally, the ideal of civil conversation in the humanistic "Republic of Letters." Miller places Peiresc's notions in the context of earlier Italian texts on the subject, tracing the influence of Matteo Palmieri, Stefano Guazzo, Giraldo Cinthio, and Paolo Paruta, who provided French writers with the conceptual framework and vocabulary for describing the ideal

scholarly life. Peiresc's own time saw a bifurcation represented by the Cabinet Dupuy, which Peiresc frequented and of which he later became a corresponding member, and the fashionable salon of Madame Rambouillet. The former stood for the traditional ideal of sociability for the sake of self-perfection, while the latter served political and personal ends as well. At its lowest level, it was "all about recreation and pleasure" (p. 69), as Jean Goulu complained.

Chapter three examines Peiresc's political thought. Peiresc, himself a *parlementaire*, approached politics through the prism of history. In the typical classical and humanistic fashion, he believed that history had a teaching function and that its lessons could be directly applied to the present. It was in this subject area that Peiresc left the most tangible proofs of his own interests. He wrote a short history of Provence, *Abrégé de l'histoire de Provence*, which traces the political and ecclesiastical history of the region from the high Middle Ages into the sixteenth century. While this tract has been published (edited by J. Ferrier and M. Feuillas, 1982), others remain in manuscript: a draft for a life of Paolo Sarpi, an essay on the origin of the parlements, and a history of French relations with the principality of Orange, commissioned by Louis XIII to support French claims of sovereignty. The last work shows Peiresc as scholarly civil servant, a role for which his antiquarian researches had amply equipped him.

The last two chapters of the book deal with theology and philosophy of history respectively. Here, Peiresc's persona all but disappears in a mass of historical context. Miller tells us much about Hugo Grotius, Guillaume Du Vair, and Matteo Ricci but little about Peiresc, who, he concedes, "did not talk much about theology" (p. 103). From snatches of correspondence, Miller pieces together Peiresc's approach to theology: he pared Christianity down to a few, fundamental articles of faith; he did not think that science posed a threat to Christianity and therefore protested the silencing of scholars like Galileo Galilei. In Peiresc's opinion, such censorship betrayed ignorance and insecurity. In the last chapter, entitled "History as Philosophy: Time and the Antiquarian," Miller draws on a panoply of writers from Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne to Jacques-Auguste de Thou and William Camden, only occasionally glancing at Peiresc. The antiquary's views may be condensed into three points: a desire to preserve the relics of the past in a setting that was accessible to working historians and the public at large; a tendency to see the destructive forces of time as a lesson in (Stoic) philosophy; and a willingness to regard the periodic overthrow of theories not merely as a history of errors but also as a history of progress. Peiresc's acknowledgement of the limitations of human judgment and his corresponding pleas for tolerance of ideas made him, in the eyes of his admirer Gassendi, a sage "who embraces all humanity in his sentiments" (p. 147). Miller has skillfully used Peiresc's life to evoke the intellectual milieu of the early Enlightenment and succeeds in training a

spotlight on a rather neglected corner in the intellectual history of Europe. He draws extensively on unpublished material in the Peiresc archive and quotes a wealth of other sources not readily available to English readers. My only regret is the absence of a full bibliography that would save readers the chore of combing through the notes for pertinent information.

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ANNE ZINK. *Pays ou circonscriptions: Les collectivités territoriales de la France du sud-ouest sous l'Ancien Régime*. Foreword by EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, in association with the Centre d'histoire des Espaces et des Cultures de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II. 2000. Pp. 374. 230.00FR.

This book is about the spatial boundaries, institutional characteristics, and cultural implications of territorial collectivities in southwestern France during the eighteenth century. Although its emphasis on the spatial differentiation of institutions makes it a work of historical geography, it is also an original contribution to French political and cultural history. The author, Anne Zink, is well-known among French historical anthropologists for two earlier volumes that compared family systems and community institutions in the area stretching from the western Pyrénées northward to the valley of the Garonne and eastward to the hill country of Gascony: *L'héritier de la maison: Géographie coutumière du sud-ouest de la France sous l'Ancien Régime* (1993); and *Clochers et troupeaux: Les communautés rurales dans la France du sud-ouest avant la révolution* (1997). In both of these previous books, Zink was interested in the geographical distribution of distinctive peasant cultures. In her new book, she approaches the problem of cultural identity from the perspective of intermediate territorial jurisdictions that structured spatial relations among towns as well as rural communities. In contrast with *pays* (areas) that can be defined by their ecological characteristics or by the ethnic origin of their inhabitants, the jurisdictions that Zink describes as "territorial collectivities" developed a historical identity based on administrative and judicial institutions. Instead of boundaries inscribed by nature, these jurisdictions depended on the state for their legal forms and territorial articulation. Consequently, their persistence or transformation during the Old Regime and the French Revolution raise interesting political as well as cultural questions about the relationship between institutional structures, territorial solidarities, and local conflicts.

The book is divided into three sections: territories defined by the state; territories demarcated by common agricultural practices, cultural activities, or economic relations; and territorial expressions of solidarity or conflict. The first section presents very detailed information about the intermediate judicial, fiscal, and administrative jurisdictions that existed in southwest-

ern France during the Old Regime. Nonspecialists may find these details overwhelming, but they support Zink's general argument that territorial institutions supported by the French monarchy, including traditional estates in the Pyrénées as well as intermediate royal law courts (*sénéchaussées*) throughout the region, exercised considerably more influence over rural populations than did older feudal counties or dioceses of the church. Zink contrasts the stability of these intermediate jurisdictions with the shifting territorial jurisdictions of higher-level parlements and intendancies in southwestern France. This sets the stage for a concise and well-documented analysis of the political rivalries among towns and *pays d'états* over the territorial reorganization of this region during the French Revolution. Zink concludes that towns in the valley of the Garonne ignored wider territorial solidarities in their competition for departmental seats, while the institutional traditions of *pays d'états* shaped the formation of departments in the Pyrénées.

The second section of the book describes and maps the distribution of many cultural practices such as dialects, leisure activities, and modes of farming that cut across the boundaries of territorial collectivities in the region. Zink's erudite demonstration that cultural zones did not coincide with institutional jurisdictions supports a major theme of her third section: that conflicts between the residents of historic *pays* and outsiders were rare. Even Basque migrants to the predominantly French-speaking city of Bayonne, easily recognized by their unique language, were not subjected to discriminatory practices. Zink uses the term "indifference to difference" to characterize this tolerance of outsiders. In a fascinating case study of the relations between Jews and Christians in the bourg of Saint-Esprit, across the river from Bayonne, Zink shows that despite religious differences that did foster disputes occasionally, the two communities coexisted and even shared a common resentment of Bayonne, whose municipality tried to tax them while refusing to extend the commercial privileges of Bayonne's seaport to merchants at Saint-Esprit. The defense of privilege also characterized the *pays d'états*, as Zink shows in considerable detail. In her concluding chapter, Zink traces the influence of privilege on territorial identities. Because of the spatial fragmentation of privileged institutions in the southwest, these territorial identities did not foster a regional identity in opposition to the French monarchy. Paradoxically, the very strength of local privilege made it easier to accept the transformation of privileges into equal rights for all territorial collectivities of the region during the French Revolution.

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L. M. CULLEN. *The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France*. Dublin: Lilliput Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 244. \$29.95.

In recent years scholars, either implicitly or explicitly, have questioned the utility of studying individual business enterprises or business leaders to address broader questions of social and economic change. Even those interested in more conventional business and economic issues have questioned whether the individual firm is an appropriate unit of analysis. With a variety of interdisciplinary tools, researchers have offered fresh perspectives on business and business history. Moving away from the study of the individual entrepreneur or enterprise, historians have focused on various industries to address the ways in which larger changes in the social, political, and economic order were reflected in new patterns of business organization and how, in turn, business and industry forged links between commerce and culture. Scholars who continue to focus on individual firms and industries often attempt to place their study within a broad historical framework.

L. M. Cullen's study of the Irish brandy houses in eighteenth-century France does not fit neatly into these trends within business history. An outgrowth of his earlier work, *The Brandy Trade under the Ancien Régime* (1998), Cullen is most interested in the "Irish connection" within key "brandy families of Cognac, Jarnac, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle" (p. vii). The "Irish connection" is defined broadly: cognac houses that originated with Irish families; cognac firms that had Irish associates; or, in the case of the Martell firm, non-Irish owned firms with important interests within the Irish brandy trade. Using a vast array of private and public business records and correspondence, Cullen reconstructs the story of the central role of brandy houses of foreign origin—such as Delamain, Hennessy, Saule—in the movement of capital and skills to southwestern France in the eighteenth century. This movement, he argues, "was an essential factor in the conversion of the southwest of France from two separate economic regions into a single and richer entity" (p. 11).

Cullen's ability to show the importance of Irish capital and skills to the transformation of southwestern France is hampered by his traditional approach to business history. Much of the book is focused on narrating a story of individual entrepreneurs and their business strategies. Drawing on his earlier study of the brandy trade, the author provides background on the rise of the brandy trade and the changing economics of wine during France's revolutionary upheaval. The background narrative would have been much more effective, however, if the author had woven it into the story of the brandy houses. The connection between the social and economic changes of the eighteenth century and the daily travails of the brandy business are often obscure.

The brandy trade that Cullen describes is dominated by unstable markets, numerous brandy houses, continual challenges from newcomers with ties abroad, erratic wine quality, and wildly fluctuating fortunes. The small coterie of Irish families who survive in the business owe their ultimate success to a combination

of expert trading, shrewd marriage alliances with other local elites, and sheer luck. Stripped of the many myths and legends that often pass as wine history, Cullen's work tells us much about the years of trial and error needed to develop quality brandies with a durable market. His story of the continued influx of young, ambitious men into the brandy trade, despite these difficulties, attests to the potential for large profits and illustrious careers that the modern French wine trade offered.

Although this work reflects a conventional approach to business history, historians interested in family firms and business history can still profit from a close reading. The final section, "Notes on Sources," will be of much use to researchers interested in reconstructing family or business histories. Cullen provides the reader with detailed information on sources, such as notarial records and the *Controle des actes*, and explains methods for using both private and public archives. This study also suggests the need for further research on immigration patterns, marital alliances, and the importance of women to the survival of family firms. In this way, Cullen should be congratulated for producing a book on brandy that leaves the reader with a thirst for more.

KOLLEEN M. GUY

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LISA JANE GRAHAM. *If the King Only Knew: Seditious Speech in the Reign of Louis XV*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xi, 324. \$29.50.

The king of France, Louis XV, is here seen through the prism of the archival dossiers of five author-prisoners charged with seditious libel between 1745 and 1771. Lisa Jane Graham adds to the evidence put forth in recent scholarship by Dale Van Kley, Roger Chartier, and Jeffrey Merrick that the monarchy was becoming "desacralized," a process dramatically illustrated by Robert Damiens's 1757 assassination attempt on Louis XV. These were years of intense Jansenist-Jesuit conflict, as well as of the *Encyclopédie* wars. The surveillance efforts of the Paris police under Gabriel de Sartine intensified: anyone remotely suspected of sedition was arrested.

The title of the book suggests that the king was so high above his subjects that he could not know what was going on in his kingdom. So these faithful "authors" warned him of the dangers, including conspiracies, that surrounded him. Their usual targets were the "despotic" ministers and mistresses (the duchesse de Châteauroux, the marquise de Pompadour, the comtesse Du Barry) who kept him debauched and misinformed. In their fictional works, these author-prisoners claimed to be "faithful subject[s]" (p. 42) who wrote or acted alone, without accomplices.

Who were they? Graham devotes a chapter to each. Marie Bonafon was a chambermaid of the queen, who satirized the king's pathetic illness at Metz in 1744 as well as his mistresses in a novel *Tenastès*. She was



clapped into the Bastille, then transferred to a convent for thirteen years, and pardoned in 1759. Auguste-Claude Tavernier had been educated by the Jesuits and was imprisoned for informing the police of a plot to kill the king. He defended himself by arguing that the conspiracy was fictive. Antoine Allègre alleged a plot to poison Madame de Pompadour in 1750 and then endured a long incarceration, which included one prison break. Paul La Chaux revealed a phony tale of assassination in 1762 and was caught in his "tangled skein of lies" (p. 197). He was the first of this group to be caught after the Damiens affair and was executed in February 1762. Pierre de La Rivoire, a barrister and former solicitor of the Châtelet [Court], was arrested on circumstantial evidence for having written an "unabashed critique of Louis XV's performance as king" (p. 214). Although he, too, posed as a faithful subject, his critique of the regime was wide ranging, touching on prices, taxes, and famine. After a few months he was sent to the Hôpital de Charenton.

Graham disavows that these cases are "typical" (p. 259) but derives far-reaching conclusions from them nonetheless. A wider net, the French serial or prosopographic method of, say, Daniel Roche, might have been more trustworthy. Instead, the author has followed the microstudies in cultural history of Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi. The more exhaustive approaches of Yves and Nicole Castan on *honnêteté* and criminality are missing from the bibliography. The monarchy was callously desacralized in public opinion around 1750, yet the author seems to exculpate her subjects of actual sedition. If the latter is correct, why does she call their speech "seditious?" The answer is most likely that even messengers of sedition were considered seditious.

Graham's discovery of the reaction of one abbé Jean Baptiste Mesquet to the attempted assassination by Damiens is revealing (p. 257). Mesquet asserted boldly: "It is certainly not the hand of a royalist," to which a stunned bystander replied: "Do you know of two parties in France?" Is this the first documentation of "a pluralistic political culture" (p. 258), or had there not been several since the Politiques, the Guises, and the Huguenots of the 1590s, not to mention the Jesuits and the Jansenists of the 1750s? The novelty is not so much political pluralism as the perception of a "party" aimed specifically against the king. Bernard Plongeron has argued that a regicide tradition (originally Jesuit) predates the revolution. But like Graham's prisoners, most *cahiers* of 1789 professed love and devotion for the king. How can one be surprised by protestations of love of the king in the 1750s when that was exactly what these authors were accused of lacking? Graham's extensive work in three archives and some fine writing and translations make her book important reading for anyone working on law, conspiracies, free speech, and public opinion in the Old Regime.

EMMET KENNEDY  
George Washington University

KENNETH MARGERISON. *Pamphlets and Public Opinion: The Campaign for a Union of Orders in the Early French Revolution*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 258. \$36.40.

Kenneth Margerison challenges the revisionist, intellectualist, discursive interpretations of Keith Baker, François Furet and Ran Halévi that have made such an impact on the historiography of the French Revolution over the past two decades. Margerison has consulted over six hundred pamphlets (seventy-five of which are listed in the bibliography) and has come to conclusions similar to those of Timothy Tackett's *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture, 1789-1790* (1996): the revisionists are wrong for having looked at only the prominent evidence. If they had cast a wider net, they would have come to different conclusions. Thus Margerison and Tackett agree that the revisionist thesis of noble benevolence, enlightenment, and solidarity (with the bourgeoisie) is not sustainable, given their voting and emigration records.

Margerison's most important target in this polemic is the paradigmatic place the revisionists have given to the abbé Sieyès. Sieyès's *What is the Third Estate?* is certainly a monumental pamphlet, but focusing on it alone, Margerison argues, overlooks the role of the aristocratic Society of Thirty's campaign for a union of orders or estates in late 1788 and early 1789. (The importance of this group of some fifty nobles who lobbied for union has been brought to life by Daniel Wick's *A Conspiracy of Well Intentioned Men: The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution* [1987].) In addition to these unionists, Margerison emphasizes the role of the Parliamentary party, which was eager to restore the influence of "the ancient constitution" (i.e. its supposed legislative role). Acknowledgement of the importance of these two groups would diminish Sieyès's importance. Indeed, Margerison's discovery of the "linguistic pattern" (p. 103) of these pamphlets indicates that one hundred and seven advocated a union of orders, while only eight revealed any influence of Sieyès, even though he invented the term "national assembly" (pp. 134-36).

Margerison also analyzes the *monarchiens* led by Jean Joseph Mounier, who in the late summer of 1789 campaigned for an absolute royal veto and for a two-house legislature to counterbalance the omnipotence of the National Assembly. His proposals were firmly rejected. Here Baker *et al.* again highlight Sieyès's role during these weeks, arguing that he overcame Jean-Jacques Rousseau's strictures about the incompatibility of representative government and democracy. In his speech in the Assembly of September 7, Sieyès argued that each deputy would represent the general will directly and would not be bound by mandates to his constituents. In rejecting the absolute veto and preferring the three-term legislative suspensive veto, Sieyès envisioned a more direct democracy because there would be plenty of popular pressure on



the deputies during those three terms to make the public's will known. This analysis would reconnect Sieyès to Rousseau, whose influence on the revolution was questioned more a generation ago than today.

Margerison does not see the determining events of 1789 to have been the result of the High Enlightenment or even a High Revolution. "The crowds were not motivated by the ideological implications that Furet, Halévi and Baker attributed to the Constituent Assembly's decisions of 1789 regarding representation" (p. 181).

Another claim that the Furet school makes about 1789 is that it sowed the seeds of the Terror. For Furet, by 1777, there was no *dérapiage* (veering off course) during the Terror (Furet's earlier contention); the revolution was on track toward the Terror from the beginning. In his *Penser la Révolution française* (1978), Furet was thinking less of popular or journalistic violence than the quest for direct democracy, which Baker finds in the legislator who would become the oracle of the general will. Certainly direct democracy was enough to make the monarchy a republic in all but name.

Margerison assumes public opinion is registered in pamphlets, but he has not coded or counted them in a way that George V. Taylor, John Markoff, and Gilbert Shapiro have done for the *cahiers des doléances* of 1789. The descent into the corpus of pamphlets would be exhausting if not exhaustive. But if one chooses this route, one must justify the reasons why one highlights some documents rather than others. A similar observation can be made of Baker regarding abbé Mably, Sieyès, and Maximilien Robespierre. On what grounds can these historical figures be considered paradigmatic? History's verdict to date is that they were—but verdicts are subject to change.

Margerison's challenge is that 1789 was about more than Sieyès, that the campaign for a unity of Old Regime orders was brought about by scores of publicists, again not just Sieyès, and that Rousseau counted for little in the outcome. His points are well taken, but in this reviewer's opinion, he has not successfully refuted the revisionists' arguments but has rather provided a more crowded pool of pamphleteers against which the decisions of the well-known legislators were made. For this alone he deserves credit. The book should be read by specialists of the French Revolution and of public opinion.

EMMET KENNEDY

George Washington University

DAVID ANDRESS. *Massacre at the Champ de Mars: Popular Dissent and Political Culture in the French Revolution*. (Studies in History, new series, number 17.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2000. Pp. x, 239. \$60.00.

One would expect that such a well known event as the French Revolution would have developed an extremely detailed chronology of its formal politics. Yet

this is not the case. Over twenty-five years ago, the chronology of the period before 1787, including the political descent of the monarchy, focused almost exclusively on activities of the Parlement and the royal court. Narratives of the revolution were more abundant but remained quite superficial. Elite political groups or parties, the monarchy, and the commoners, when these latter were included, appeared largely as coherent entities with little understanding of their complex situation. Although the working people as *sans-culottes* or the crowd had entered these accounts, they still appeared largely one-dimensional.

In the intervening years, the work of scholars such as Arlette Farge, John Hardman, and Dale Van Kley, to name but a few, have delineated the politics of the Old Regime. The revolution has been less well served, even though Barry Shapiro, Timothy Tackett, and Ran Halévi have published valuable works. Nonetheless, major events such as the massacre at the Champ de Mars have received little scholarly attention in recent years. It is in this context that David Andress addresses the Champ de Mars incident.

The massacre at the Champ de Mars certainly demands study, as it is part of the crises of the summer of 1791 that fatally destroyed what remained of the monarch's credibility. On June 21, Louis XVI and his family secretly fled Paris, seeking to reach friendly territory abroad. Although captured a few days later and denounced by many, he maintained his legal position as the National Assembly was unwilling to move toward a republic. Enraged by this decision, many Parisians, led by radical politicians, met on July 17 at the Champ de Mars (near the current Eiffel Tower) to sign a petition urging his removal. The municipality of Paris sought to disperse these dissidents, and this confrontation between petitioners and the National Guard led to the death of over fifty protesters. Although the government triumphed, this victory undoubtedly redoubled the efforts of the opposition in succeeding months.

Andress's work explores the reasons for the bloody end of the demonstration at the Champ de Mars. Not particularly interested in the motives for the king's departure or the Assembly's reconciliation with him, Andress wants to know why each side reacted in the manner it did at the massacre. He finds that the confrontations issued from long-term hostility. The authorities, Andress argues, could not believe that the protesters (whom both they and Andress identified as a part of the artisan class) could act independently; they must have been motivated by spies or brigands. Thus degraded, the dissidents could be abused. Coupled to this was the general attitude among the National Guard and others in power that the mutinous and disruptive workers ought to be repressed. Interestingly, even the radical press, which one would expect to have been allied to the people of Paris, contributed to this perspective by assuming that anything other than the purest of behaviors by the "crowd" had been encouraged by criminals of one sort

or another. Thus, all factions were aligned against worker protest. On the other side, the artisans were hostile to political power. Accepting the findings of Farge that during the Old Regime the poor had been belligerent toward authority, Andress believes that this worker anger had a long, deep history. For him, the assertiveness of the artisans at the Champ de Mars simply occurred at an opportune time. They could openly show their own frustrations by associating themselves with the elite political anger concerning the reinstatement of Louis XVI. Thus, both artisans and authorities were spoiling for a fight, and they got it.

According to Andress, his greatest contribution lies in his characterization of the artisans. While others, including Marxist historians like George Rudé and Albert Soboul, depicted the workers as mobilized only by the leadership of the middle-class press and politicians, Andress argues that the artisans operated independently. The bourgeoisie was but a cover for the protesters' goals. In short, the workers had agency. Of course, Andress's explanation ensures that conflict, and thus radicalization, would be more rather than less likely in the revolution. Although drawing similar conclusions to François Furet and others about radicalization, Andress attributes it to social frustration and suspicion rather than revolutionary ideology.

The brevity of this review has necessitated providing a simple account of a very complex book. In fact, the book meticulously presents the interchanges on the Parisian street during the revolution. Relying on police reports and teasing out their meaning, Andress attempts to give direct insight on popular behavior. Thus, the book is essentially a succession of incidents arranged chronologically. These narratives require the reader's close attention. From them, Andress fashions the broad interpretation described above. In the process, he discusses other topics and, in fact, emphasizes that the artisans sometimes agreed, sometimes disagreed, with authorities. This argument would seem, at the least, to complicate, if not undermine, his contention about the barely repressed anger of the workers. If they held divergent views, was their hostility as strong as Andress has portrayed it? Second, it is important to Andress's argument that the workers and the radical press differ substantially in order to argue the former's independence. Yet evidence on this would seem to be significantly more ambiguous than Andress allows, and more consideration of this issue is required. Nonetheless, Andress surely joins and advances the contentions of other historians that the people were "political" before the revolutionaries discovered them. This point definitely deserves recognition and further study.

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EWA LAJER-BURCHARTH. *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 374. \$50.00.

This densely written appraisal of the state of the visual arts in France—from the fall of Maximilien Robespierre and Jacques-Louis David's two subsequent incarcerations in prison to 1800 and the seizure of power by Napoleon Bonaparte—fills a lacuna in David studies. The volume has the ambitious purpose of examining David's personal crises in light of the public reaction to the excesses of the Reign of Terror and David's despondency over his questioned status as the leading professional artist in Paris. The artist's life is set against the difficult political adjustments and reconciliation after the French Revolution. What makes this study so revolutionary is the fashion in which Ewa Lajer-Burcharth argues that the meanings of David's works are to be read as "self-representations," subjective interpretations of his own body that capture the psychological tensions as David struggled with the humiliation of his imprisonment and sought for ways to remake his reputation. This intriguing investigation of body language and gender as a metaphor for political ideology is best realized in the first and final chapters, in which Lajer-Burcharth explores the artist's self-portraits (1791 and 1794), *The Abandoned Psyche* (1794), and the unfinished portrait of Juliette Recamier (1800) as images of desire bonded to the artist's redefinition of himself and his culture.

At the heart of this book is an extension of an interpretation of David's *Sabine Women* that the author first suggested in an essay published in 1991 in which she noted that, in the heat of the Terror, the male figure became the icon of the revolution. In the period following the excesses of Robespierre and the Jacobins, the image of the female figure became a device to gain a distance from the violence and fragmentation of French society.

This study joins a distinguished collection of essays written in recent years by art historians (Timothy J. Clark, Dorothy Johnson, Thomas Crow, Lynn Hunt, Alex Potts) who, largely through their employment of various critical literary methodologies, have revised our notion of the art of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In her discourse, Lajer-Burcharth employs a mode of investigation she refers to as "psychoanalytical," in which she makes use of psychoanalytical approaches to the artist and his works coupled with discussion of gender and a sensitive interpretation of the popular arts, especially very rarely reproduced political and social caricatures, scientific and medical writings, and an astounding array of supportive information from historical archival sources to paint this pivotal moment in French political and visual culture.

Lajer-Burcharth expects her readers to be conversant with the subtleties of Parisian politics in the last years of the eighteenth century and also well acquainted with the recent use by art historians of critical semiotic writings by such scholars as Jacques Lacan and Joan Copjec. The sophisticated level of the author's interpretations implies that the book is directed to a discrete number of scholars, familiar with the various critical methodologies employed with skill on

the pages of this provocative study of David's work and visual culture in the twilight years of the French Revolution.

ANTHONY LACY GULLY  
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SHERYL KROEN. *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 40.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 394. \$55.00.

Sheryl Kroen's book has an ambitious agenda: to recuperate the period of the French Restoration (1815–1830) from the bad press it has received virtually from the moment of its demise. Instead of the standard reading of the alliance of throne and altar, she proposes that church and state were continuously at odds. Rejecting the standard explanation that the 1830 Revolution was brought on by Charles X's July Ordinances, she instead traces the long-term conflicts leading up to the "Three Glorious Days." In her reading, the Restoration, tempered by the fires of counterrevolution, consolidated the gains of the revolutionary period.

The book is divided into two main sections. In the first, "Politics as Theatre," Kroen follows the attempts of church and state to retake public space and resacralize public life through the restoration of religious and monarchical symbols from the Old Regime. In the second, "Theatre as Politics," she discusses popular manifestations of opposition politics in reaction to these attempts.

In "Politics as Theatre," Kroen's central point is the contradiction between the "politics of oubli" adopted by the regime and the missionary revivalist campaigns waged throughout France, some 1500 of them between 1815 and 1830. The regime, attempting to repair the disruptions of the revolutionary period, was reluctant to commemorate regicide and was even willing to accept the loss of *biens nationaux* sold off during the revolution. The missionaries, however, wanted to "re-christianize" France, and so mounted huge outdoor revivalist spectacles, vociferously condemned all revolutionary reforms, and burned books and revolutionary symbols. Their traveling fundamentalist crusades visited major cities, usually during Carnival, to preach against pleasures such as drinking, dancing, theatres, cafés, even reading novels and to urge a return to the verities of the Old Regime. Kroen convincingly demonstrates that the result of these extreme positions was a new consensus leading to a long-term conviction in France that church and state should be separate. By emphasizing the conflicts and contradictions between local and departmental governments, between departmental prefects and state ministers, and even between the traveling missionaries and church officials, she reveals the fissures that eventually erupted in the 1830 Revolution.

"Theatre as Politics" treats cultural politics: when,

where, how, and who practiced them. Its central focus is the role of popular anticlerical practices during the period from 1825, when Charles X ascended the throne, to 1829, when performances of Molière's *Tartuffe* (1664) were demanded throughout France. The heart of the book, and by far the liveliest writing, is in chapter five, "Popular Anticlericalism," and chapter six, "Tartufferie." Here we see the revivalist missions from the oppositional point of view, theater in counterpoint to church.

Kroen establishes that protests took place around festivals and holidays and that the major sites of unrest were, as might be expected, cafés, theaters, market-places, and cabarets. She shows all the ways in which the public, although lacking political power, criticized the missionaries and the king. The cookiemaker of Metz, for example, was charged with baking and selling gingerbread cookies in the form of the head of Charles X wearing a priest's cap—a favorite oppositional trope. There were songs, caricatures, charivaries, and—most effective of all—performances of *Tartuffe*.

"Tartufferie" recounts the battles throughout France when performances of Molière's play became a rallying point for the opposition, timed to coincide with the arrival of the missionaries. *Tartuffe* had been a stock anticlerical figure long before the Restoration, of course, but during the 1820s, when there was widespread suspicion that Charles X had secretly been ordained and was indeed a priest, the play served to express opinions that would otherwise be censored. If the most inflammatory lines were censored, the audience shouted them out anyway; if the play was forbidden, it was read aloud in the audience while another was being performed onstage.

In analyzing popular political activity during a period of narrow suffrage, Kroen follows the trail of signs and symbols admirably, whether she is chronicling the campaign of destruction of symbols of the revolution or the contradictory results of this campaign when these symbols were valorized by interdiction. While Kroen has, perhaps, overstated her case in insisting on a monolithic historiography previous to her own work, nonetheless it is true that younger scholars are nuancing our readings of past regimes in new ways, often with an emphasis on cultural history. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret's recent study, *L'Etat et les artistes: De la Restauration à la monarchie de juillet (1815–1833)* (1999), for example, takes a position similar to Kroen's with regard to the continuities of the Restoration with previous and subsequent periods. Kroen's book is a valuable addition to a growing body of cultural history and a welcome addition to our understanding of French history.

PATRICIA MAINARDI  
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RAYMOND JONAS. *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 29.) Berkeley



and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 308. \$40.00.

Few tourists leave Paris without making their way to Montmartre to pay a visit to the basilica of the Sacré Coeur, whose white domes are one of the city's most distinctive and controversial landmarks. In the historical memory of the left—and indeed in some supposedly objective historical studies—the neo-Byzantine monument represents the triumph of reaction over the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871, both a reclamation by the church of the territory where the doomed uprising began and an act of expiation for the murder of the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Darboy, by the communards. In this handsomely illustrated new study, which does much credit to the publisher as well as to the author, Raymond Jonas exposes this version of the construction of the church as a myth. The cult of the Sacred Heart had a much longer history, and its strength was such that by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the decision to build a votive church to the Sacré Coeur had already been taken.

In Catholic theology, the heart symbolizes not only the flesh of Jesus but especially his love for all mankind. Devotion to the heart of Jesus is therefore a devotion that recognizes the infinite charity of God toward sinners. In the Middle Ages, the cult was practiced by some individuals and a number of religious orders. It attained wider currency only in the seventeenth century, which is where Jonas's story begins. Thanks especially to the missionary activities of the Jesuits, the cult became a popular devotion, centered around the visions and raptures of the Visitation nun, Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, at the convent of Paray-le-Monial. In the eighteenth century, Jansenists and other enemies of the Jesuits like the revolutionary priest and constitutional bishop Henri Grégoire were contemptuous of what they dismissed as a sentimental and embarrassingly anti-intellectual devotion, but that did nothing to diminish its appeal among the counter-revolutionaries of the Vendée, who placed their fight to defend both the monarchy and their traditional Catholic faith under the banner of the Sacred Heart.

The connection between the cult of the Sacred Heart and counter-revolution was cemented in the nineteenth century. In the context of the Restoration and of a religious revival spearheaded by female religious orders such as Sophie Barat's Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the cult became the symbol of the road not only to personal salvation but also to national salvation. France had to turn its back on its revolutionary past and place itself under the sign of the Sacred Heart, in conformity with a vow of the martyred Louis XVI. The Sacred Heart stood for a Catholic vision of the nation that repudiated the republican vision developed by the Jacobins and their nineteenth-century descendants. Although the latter would triumph with the establishment and consolidation of the

Third Republic after 1870, Jonas is correct to suggest that the beliefs and political action of the Catholic right have been relatively neglected by historians of modern France. His study is a valuable introduction to the mindset of those who were temperamentally unable to identify with the revolutionary tradition and who persisted in their attempts to reconstruct a Christian social order.

It would have been helpful if Jonas had been better able to distinguish the different elements of the "Catholic France" he writes about: Catholics were no more of a bloc than republicans, since they included legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, and even democrats, quite apart from those who, like the crusading journalist Louis Veuillot, considered themselves *catholiques avant tout* (Catholics before all else). Jonas stresses the links between the cult of the Sacred Heart and legitimists: those who saw the return of a Bourbon king in the person of "Henri V," the count of Chambord, as the best means of effecting a Christian restoration. Thus his story largely ends with the death of Chambord in 1883, and on a downbeat note, with the suggestion that as the basilica rose over the Paris skyline, the prospects of Catholic France were not good. Yet better days lay ahead. The cult of the Sacred Heart underwent an upsurge during World War I, and the canonization of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque took place in its aftermath. The years between 1920 and 1960 would see a notable Catholic revival. Catholic France has a history in the twentieth century that remains to be written. In the meantime, Jonas has shown how it can be approached, and his excellent study should serve as a stimulus to further work in a fascinating and unduly neglected field of French political and cultural history.

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SARAH A. CURTIS. *Educating the Faithful: Religion, Schooling, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 255. \$38.00.

For some time now, scholars of nineteenth-century France have been moving away from the traditional view of French education as the work of the Third Republic, which snatched the young from the arms of the church and schooled them, thereby making the modernization of France possible. Sarah A. Curtis is one such scholar; she insists that we take into account the contribution of Catholic education to the process of modernization. Concentrating on primary education, where the church was paramount throughout most of the century, she investigates the role of religious teaching orders, male and female, in transmitting national as well as religious values to their students. For this purpose she uses the diocese of Lyon, including the departments of Rhône and Loire.

The book covers the founding of teaching congregations, the training of their members, and the accep-



tance by local authorities of their primary schools, which fulfilled the state's requirements for schools at a minimum cost. Curtis supports the view that, even where male primary schools were secular, communities were content to have girls educated by nuns. She also agrees that the congregations required only minimal knowledge from their teachers, concentrating on their ability to evangelize their students. During the period of the Falloux law that favored them, French religious orders trained large numbers of teachers, not only for their own but also for secular schools.

Curtis insists that the congregational schools did socialize their students for the new society of nonagricultural work. She notes that employers and other elites favored the discipline of these schools and the limitation of their curriculum to subjects that would not make of their scholars any threat to social stability. For girls, the curriculum emphasized religion, domestic skills, and, occasionally, marketable needlework. Most republican educators shared these social goals of the church.

As a result, Curtis states, the religious schools of the early Third Republic were not very different from the state schools, only substituting for religion the subject of *morale*. It is certainly true that the two systems had a great deal in common, particularly on the primary level. However, it is going too far to say that Catholic schools, like the secular ones, taught a "common language, geography and history" (p. 9). On the fringes of the nation, such as Brittany, where secular schools insisted upon the use of a proper French, Catholic schools survived longer by providing education in the local language. And although the proprieties taught to children in the two systems were the same, the history certainly was not.

As a result of the Third Republic's school legislation, it became essential for the teaching orders to upgrade the education of their members. Their elimination from the secular schools resulted in the opening of *écoles libres*, which became a popular alternative to the state schools. Many orders allowed their members to resign so they might continue their teaching in secular schools ("the subterfuge of secularization"). As a result, committed Catholics were the teachers of a large portion of boys and of an overwhelming majority of girls to the end of the century. Curtis insists that if the French were modernized through primary education, then it was largely through Catholic teaching that this occurred. One might add that where they were held back from the process, as with the girls, state and church were in general agreement.

The separation of state and church at the beginning of the twentieth century, which banned the religious orders from teaching altogether, was fought on the local level, particularly by women, as magistrates tried to enforce it. Although the church's campaign to evangelize France was over, the laicization of French education was never completed, even in the twentieth century.

By concentrating on primary education and on the

religious teaching orders, Curtis has been able to elucidate a great deal about Catholic education and its interaction with the people and the government, particularly on the local level. Her work is a solid contribution to the ongoing dialogue about the nature of French education in the nineteenth century.

PHYLLIS STOCK-MORTON,  
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ANSELM GERHARD. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by MARY WHITTALL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 503. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

Anselm Gerhard has set himself the task of redefining "grand opera" as it developed in Paris in the middle of the nineteenth century and of rehabilitating the reputation of an art form often dismissed as stale, formulaic, and crassly commercial (Richard Wagner's "causes without effects" jibe still stings). Gerhard sees grand opera as the "first modern form of musical theater," marking a critical transition from *tragedie lyrique* or *opéra seria*, with its classical aristocratic subjects and its requisite happy endings, to the modern musical dramas of Giuseppe Verdi, Wagner, and beyond.

Despite the chronology that precedes the text (a tabular account of political, economic, literary, and musical events between 1826, which saw the premiers of Gioacchino Rossini's *Le Siege de Corinthe* and the revised version of Gustave Meyerbeer's *Margherita d'Anjou*, and 1859, with the premiers of Charles Gounod's *Faust* and Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera*), Gerhard's interest is not broadly historical. Instead, his aim is to move beyond the economic determinist argument (opera as commerce appealing to a new bourgeois audience) and the political argument (opera as state-directed propaganda) and to focus instead on the city itself and the sociological and psychological effects of urbanization. He argues that the new operatic audience was shaped by "the stress and confusion of life in a large city: a phenomenon that invaded every area of sensual experience." The analysis is sometimes forced (can operatic fascination with father/child conflict really be traced to the fact that "as life under capitalism became increasingly complex, the family lost more and more of its traditional economic function"?), but Gerhard never quite falls over the line into monocausality. Often his point of view provides thought-provoking juxtapositions, such as the comparisons of operas to dioramas, film scripts, and international exhibitions, or his assertion that the French Revolution of 1789 contributed to the shift from happy endings to horrific ones.

Much of the book is devoted to defending the originality and power of Meyerbeer's work against those who uncritically accept Wagner's bitter anti-Semitic dismissal of that composer. Gerhard argues that Meyerbeer originated the formula that Verdi would use to such powerful effect, combining the

external, spectacular effects of grand opera with inner, psychological truth.

Eight chapters—the true meat of the book—are devoted to the precise description and interpretation of operas by Rossini, Daniel-François Auber, Meyerbeer, Verdi, and Louise Bertin (her almost totally forgotten *Esmerelda*, with libretto by Victor Hugo). These chapters represent an invaluable source on eight rarely performed works and on the historical, psychological, and sociological world that produced them. The operas are Rossini's *Le Siege de Corinthe* (1826) and *Guillaume Tell* (1819); Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (1828), now known mostly for its peculiar role in sparking the Belgian Revolution of 1830; Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836) and *Le Prophete* (1849); *Esmerelda* (1836), by Bertin; and Verdi's *Les Vêpres siciliennes* (1855) and *Un Ballo in Maschera* (1859). These closely argued analyses explore not only musical structure and dramaturgy but also such unexpected topics as suicide, horror, the powerless father, the indecisive hero, fear of the mob, or the longing for interior space.

Like the plays of Eugene Scribe and Victorien Sardou (both now known mostly for their contributions to opera), these grand operas are museum pieces that once encapsulated popular taste and the heights of contemporary artistic accomplishment. Even if they were never to see the boards again, they would remain priceless documents for the historian, gold mines of information about the cultures that created and loved them and about the development of successive forms of musical theater. In today's climate of operatic resurrections and revisions, however, grand operas are once again taking the stage, either in their original (and very expensive) forms or as updated revisions. Directors interested in religious persecution have turned to *La Juive* for social and historical commentary. If we are to be treated (or assaulted) by revisions of the great Paris operas—*Le Prophete* in Waco? *Les Huguenots* in China or Ethiopia?—one would hope that the directors would at least digest Gerhard's book before proceeding.

This is a fine piece of scholarship that has much to contribute to the rapidly growing field of research into the historical context of opera. Its indexing follows the continental style (separate indexes by title and by name), which gives us a very good guide to specific works and artists but is almost useless for finding topics. Given the nature of this book, a subject index also would be useful.

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ELIZABETH EZRA. *The Colonial Unconscious: Race and Culture in Interwar France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 173. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$16.95.

"Colonial discourse, both in the interwar period and in its more recent postcolonial guises, is the product of

conflicting desires, desires that, rather than cancel one another out are mutually reinforcing and, therefore, inseparable" (p. xiv). This sentence captures both the potential interest and the drawbacks for historians of Elizabeth Ezra's book on French discursive structures that "seem to celebrate the mixing of cultures, but . . . actually seek to preserve the exotic as such" (p. 8). Ezra examines a number of interwar texts—none of which are self-consciously colonial or canonical—to explore the ambivalent status of the "Other" depicted within them. She argues that these texts, produced at the apogee of empire, unconsciously rendered as different colonial subjects who had become all too familiar through French rule. Historians unschooled in recent literary theory will find Ezra a deft and lucid practitioner of this critical approach to reading texts; but they will encounter only intermittent attention paid to historical context.

Ezra is most interested in how the substitution of difference between groups for differences among individuals takes place discursively. She seeks to unmask not the open racism of certain authors in this period, but the more subtle exclusions that underpinned the apparently liberal and nonracist official rhetoric of assimilation. This is an important subject, and Ezra is to be applauded for tackling it. After a brief chapter on colonial culture in France in the 1920s and 1930s, Ezra turns to a series of case studies in which she brings to light this process of "the identification of difference." Her main point about the colonial fair of 1930 seems rather obvious: the display of colonial subjects served to objectify them in the eyes of the voyeuristic French public. Here, her rather spotty use of documents from the Exposition will certainly jar historians familiar with the event. In contrast, Ezra convincingly analyzes the second half of this same chapter the ambivalent coded messages of the Miss France d'Outre-mer contest of the 1937 World's Fair: contestants had to be métisses, suggesting both the sexual incorporation of the empire into France and a domestication of difference that only rendered the latter more permanent. If only she had told us more about the contest itself!

The following two chapters treat the writing of Raymond Roussel and René Crevel respectively. For readers unfamiliar with these authors, these chapters are hard going, although not inaccessible. Ezra relies here exclusively on the literary texts and the criticism that they have already generated, as well as the work of Sigmund Freud, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and, more recently, Pierre Nora. Roussel and Crevel were associated with the Surrealists: the eccentric Roussel helped inspire the movement, while his younger contemporary Crevel was a fellow traveller until his suicide at the age of thirty-four. Their work "displays the mechanisms of repression and displacement that characterize the colonial unconscious" (p. 75), although neither author fully distances himself from the ideological positions he depicts. Roussel locates his plays in colonial settings, where his protagonists "discover" an undifferentiated and static primitive in order to establish but also

mourn their own restless modernity: "typically what colonizers discover is validation of their own conception of history and their place in it" (p. 73). Crevel, who specifically condemned racism, uses cannibalistic imagery to allegorize "the lack of differentiation that is constitutive of absolute difference" (p. 18). Bourgeois (and colonial) society refers to others as cannibals in order to exclude them, but it is also shown to be "subject to its own cannibalistic images" (p. 95).

The final two chapters deal with the theme of failed assimilation of exotic others into French society, as exemplified in Josephine Baker's two best known films, *ZouZou* (1934) and *Princesse Tam Tam* (1935), and the tales contained in the amateur ethnographer and fiction writer Paul Morand's *Magie Noire* (1929). The best parts of the Baker essay humorously analyze the central role food plays in the ultimately unsuccessful transformation of Alwina from "natural" Tunisian shepherdess into "civilized" French princess. Drawing on James Clifford's concept of salvage ethnography in her analysis of Morand, Ezra claims that the latter's "positive" racism worked as much against assimilation as the more negative variant. Her analysis of Morand would have been more compelling if she had chosen to compare him to France's interwar anthropologists, whose ideas about race were as ambivalent as those of Morand. Instead Ezra anachronistically contrasts Morand's racism to Lévi-Strauss's humanism of the 1960s.

Ezra's essays are full of dexterous word play and suggestive and at times compelling ideas about how a colonial unconscious functioned in interwar France—an unconscious that surely has left residues that are resurfacing today. These qualities do not always compensate for the lack of contextualization or rigor in her use of historical documents. Some of her material feels dated, and her grasp of the historical literature on French colonialism is particularly weak. The book in the end promises more than it delivers, which is a shame, given how much we still do not know about race and culture in modern France.

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SAMUEL HUSTON GOODFELLOW. *Between the Swastika and the Cross of Lorraine: Fascisms in Interwar Alsace*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 230.

The current map of fascism resembles one produced by medieval cartographers in which stretches of terrain pullulating with colorful detail exist alongside vast tracts of bland *terra incognita*, all enclosed within a notion of the concept's outer limits that owes more to mythopoeic speculation than to rigorous empiricism. Samuel Huston Goodfellow's book is thus to be welcomed for the thoroughness with which he has carried out his ordinance survey of interwar Alsace, a region that not only has appropriately jigsaw-like contours but that hosted three distinctive forms of nationalist politics whose complex interactions call into question

some prevailing stereotypes about the nature of fascism. The contrasting outcomes of the Franco-Prussian War and World War I on what had for centuries been a liminal area where Gallic and Germanic cultures clashed and cross-fertilized inevitably brought into being a significant constituency of inhabitants who felt unrepresented by the Second Republic and were drawn instead to French, German, or autonomist brands of ultranationalism.

Apart from the wealth of empirical detail Goodfellow has assembled, his book complements fascist studies in several ways. It provides an important case study in the existence and complexities of French fascism, which has prevalently been studied within the context of a few literary intellectuals such as Drieu la Rochelle, individual movements such as the Croix de Feu, or Nazi-occupied and Vichy France. In Alsace, French ultranationalism, with its visceral hatred of republican liberalism, is shown to have germinated into a successfully marginalized but tenacious political subculture that for over twenty years provided local recruits to a succession of national organizations, notably the Action Française, the Faisceau, the Jeunesses Patriotes, and the Croix de Feu. It is an episode that lends weight to Zeev Sternhell's still controversial thesis that fascism, far from being alien to French society, was endemic to it from the late nineteenth century.

Yet at the same time, Goodfellow's account indirectly challenges Sternhell's concept of fascism in one important respect by showing how closely bound up Nazism was with the same European climate of structural crisis that produced French fascism, and hence how absurd it is to treat it as a discrete political force *sui generis*. However "biologically racist" it was in the variant promoted by some of its ideologues, Nazism's primary appeal lay in the way it provided, like all variants of the fascist genus, a source of cultural identity and revolutionary hope bound up with the prospect of a general national rebirth. Moreover, the ease with which some communist autonomists were sufficiently enthralled by Nazism's growing success to substitute an ethnically conceived *Volk* for an economically conceived class anticipates a process that was to play a major role in the emergence of nationalist parties led by former hardline Communist Party leaders throughout the former Soviet Empire after 1989.

As Goodfellow himself maintains, however, the main potential value of his research is to shift the focus of fascist studies from the national to the regional. Certainly, as Kevin Passmore has demonstrated with his research into the Croix de Feu in Lyon, regional microstudies are vital to create a nuanced picture of any fascism. But what seriously compromises the value of Goodfellow's contribution is the conceptual flabbiness of his working definition of the key term, which stresses the idea of cultural homogeneity and the subordination of the individual to the community in terms that allow no clear distinction to be made between the thinly disguised hierarchical conservatism of Francisco Franco's Spain or Miklós Horthy's Hun-

gary and the revolutionary populist ethos of fascism and Nazism. It also blurs the important differences that exist between groups attempting to secede from a multiethnic nation-state, and ones that set out to regenerate an existing national community perceived to be in advanced decay. More information is needed on the type of state envisaged by Alsatian separatists and their relationship to such movements as the interwar Ustasha or contemporary secessionist movements in South Africa and the Balkans to place his taxonomy on a sound scholarly footing. Even if the utopianism of neofascists gravitates around the image of a "Europe of a thousand flags," it is their emphasis on locating revitalized regionalist cultures within a reborn Europe that links their aspirations to interwar fascism.

In short, Goodfellow's book displays a blend of empirical thoroughness and originality of subject conceptual naïveté with youthful impetuosity of judgment reminiscent of a published Ph.D. thesis rather than a mature work of scholarship. But veterans of fascist studies can only be pleased that an enthusiastic new recruit has produced a book that highlights how easy it is to underestimate the subtlety of the "enemy," while pointing out some fresh terrain to reconnoitre and new strategies to explore in the battle for understanding.

ROGER GRIFFIN  
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JEFFREY MEHLMAN, *Émigré New York: French Intellectuals in Wartime Manhattan, 1940–1944*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. 209. \$38.00.

In a series of elegant essays of cultural criticism, Jeffrey Mehlman has assembled nine intellectual aristocrats of French modernity, from the aged symbolist, Maurice Maeterlinck, to the beginnings of structuralism under Claude Lévi-Strauss, by way of a side glance at the surrealism of André Breton. Yet it was less their contributions to French thought in the twentieth century than in their attitudes toward the France they had left that linked these disparate representatives of French culture. All of them were exiles from a defeated France that became an "odious," counter-revolutionary France under Vichy's New Order. Like the counter-revolutionary émigrés of 1789, these radical innovators, reversing the ideological compass, took refuge in a country that they expected would, by liberating the homeland, enable them to be restored to the cultural eminence they had enjoyed under the Third Republic, the "old regime" of twentieth-century France.

Psychological distance runs as a major theme through these essays. By definition, such distance is a condition of exile, as is the desire to return or to redefine a relationship to the land one has fled. The exiles debated and quarreled among themselves over a stance toward Vichy and what it represented. More than implicit was the question of collaboration and

resistance as responses to what France had become. Many reflected on the human condition and the temptation of evil.

After a rather forced prelude on the presence of Pierre Laval and Marshal Pétain in New York in 1931, Mehlman deconstructs Janet Flanner's narrative of Pétain and his regime, criticizing Flanner's comparison between Marshal Bazaine's role in the defeat and surrender of 1870 and Pétain's behavior in 1940. Flanner is taken to task for treating Vichy as farce and ignoring its sinister policy toward the Jews.

Confronting, or failing to confront, evil and the issue of anti-Semitism link a number of essays. Maeterlinck adopted a naïve, American optimism that evil did not exist with everyone admitted to Paradise. He also shared Marshal Pétain's admiration for Antonio Salazar's Portugal. A reply to the Americanized Maeterlinck came with Denis de Rougemont's *La part du diable*, which argued that an illusion that evil does not exist plays the devil's game.

Certainly Vichy represented "evil" in the minds of post-1940 exiles, and there was no middle ground between collaboration and resistance. Anyone who tried to make a case for Pétain, as did Louis Rougier, was excluded by the exiles and blocked from resuming his academic career after the war. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's hesitancy to condemn Pétain distanced him from his colleagues in New York, although he would give his life in service to France. Others were more nuanced, as in Simone Weil's identification with the starving French alongside her criticism of Jewish materialism. Ambiguity also marked George Steiner's *Bérénice*, whose love for Titus marked her as "an honest traitor" in her collaboration. That Steiner should have explored this theme via Racine while the notorious anti-Semite and collaborator, Robert Brasillach, composed his own version, is one of the many ironies that Mehlman brings to light.

Distance, however, is the key to understanding the reemergence of the poet, Saint-John Perse, from the diplomat, Alexis Leger. Of all the exiles, Leger was the first to recognize and condemn Vichy for what it would become. His exile was an early act of resistance, and his criticism came in terms that Charles de Gaulle would employ. None of the exiles, even the supposedly Gaullist Lévi-Strauss, were Gaullist supporters, but Leger was the most militantly anti-Gaullist. Here Mehlman equates the emergence of the distant persona of Saint-John Perse with Leger's distancing himself from de Gaulle in London. It is as if the poet became the "other" to the politician, who criticized on legal grounds de Gaulle's pretention to represent France. The diplomat could not go back, and the poet, expressed in a poem inspired and written during a trip to New York, knew that he had no choice but a condition of permanent exile.

Eventually the return occurred, save for Leger and for those who died, Weil and Saint-Exupéry. None of them regained an early eminence. Maeterlinck resumed his reclusion, Rougier became increasingly



bitter and reactionary, and Steiner's career was in the Anglo-Saxon intellectual world. On the other hand, Lévi-Strauss would launch structuralism, put an end to the École Libre, founded to preserve French intellectual life in the exiles' New York, and engage in polemics with Jean-Paul Sartre after the war. The "return" of the exiles was less than a cultural restoration.

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CRAIG HARLINE and EDDY PUT. *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 387. \$27.59.

Who wants to read about an early seventeenth-century Belgian bishop? That may be the most important question to ask in assessing this lively and engaging book. As Craig Harline and Eddy Put explain in their afterword, they set out to study some aspect of the Catholic Reformation and hit upon the idea of writing a biography of Mathias Hovius, archbishop of Mechelen from 1596 to 1620, after discovering the copious documentation concerning his episcopate. Once they began to work through the material, they also clearly came to believe that their story could be made into a tale accessible to nonspecialist readers as well as scholars and wrote the book with such an audience in view. They are amply skilled to reach such an audience, for they set each scene deftly, spin their yarns well, and keep the pace moving.

The book opens with a vivid account of the Calvinist seizure of Mechelen in 1580, which Hovius survived by hiding in a wardrobe. After two further background chapters trace his subsequent years of exile and return until his appointment as archbishop and the establishment of the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, the book's twelve central chapters recreate scenes from his two dozen years of service as the leader of the Belgian church. As successive vignettes show Hovius battling to enforce rules of monastic enclosure, judging cases involving turbulent canons and grasping or randy curates, guiding a provincial council to a successful conclusion, and fostering a diocesan seminary that must soon face formidable competition from peskily independent yet undeniably worthy Jesuits, the reader gains a vivid sense of the range of problems with which a would-be reforming bishop had to grapple and of the many powerful interests within the church with whom he had to strike compromises. Hovius ultimately won more battles than he lost. Still, he always proceeded circumspectly, lest in exposing clerical wrongdoing too aggressively he provide fodder for anti-Catholic propaganda from across the nearby Dutch border. In keeping with recent trends in the study of the Counter Reformation, the ultimate emphasis of this book is thus on contested meanings and negotiated outcomes. No other book of

which I am aware takes one so immediately into the life of a seventeenth-century bishop or the world of early modern ecclesiastical politics and administration. It is accessible and lively enough to be assigned in undergraduate courses.

Like all choices, of course, those made by the authors in writing this book have costs as well as benefits. In aiming for vividness and readability, Harline and Put have minimized systematic analysis. When one compares the picture of Hovius and his episcopate that emerges here with the way in which individual bishops are treated in the classic monographs that initiated the study of Catholic reform at the diocesan level, one quickly realizes that neither Hovius's specific reform goals nor the extent of his success in reaching them are identified and measured with the precision typical of that genre. In using Hovius's episcopate to illustrate the concerns and battles of a reforming bishop, Harline and Put give short shrift both to the most basically material aspects of his life—his daily routine, lifestyle, and personal finances—and to his inner spiritual life, about which one learns surprisingly little. Their casting of him as a typical bishop of the period produces a life story with fewer details that will surprise and stimulate specialists than might otherwise have been expected.

So who wants to read about an early seventeenth-century Belgian bishop? Specialists in the religious history of this era undoubtedly do, for they know the significance of the Counter Reformation in the Southern Netherlands. They will find this book at once enjoyable and illuminating yet may regret that its vivid details have ultimately been chosen to tell a story that does not enrich or modify their understanding of the topic as much as they will suspect a book addressed more directly to them might have. If they believe that historians should also attempt to communicate with a larger public, as I do, they will still judge this an acceptable loss if the book succeeds in attaining a wider readership. Let us thus hope that general readers can be tempted to buy an eminently readable book about a Belgian bishop—something, it must be admitted, that is far from obvious in advance. The final sales figures will be the best judge of whether or not these two skilled historians made the right choices as they crafted this sparkling book.

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CRAIG M. KOSLOFSKY. *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700*. (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xiii, 223. \$59.95.

Craig M. Koslofsky's book is an important contribution to the social history of the Reformation. Like many recent books, it employs insights derived from anthropology to broaden our understanding of the changes brought to Germany by Martin Luther and his successors. Death rituals are a good choice for such a

study, since Luther began his revolt against Catholicism by challenging the validity of the intercession for the dead promoted by the church. Luther's attack on indulgences led to a rejection of the doctrine of purgatory and, after some theological waffling, the new Lutheran Church denied the living any ability to help the dead achieve salvation. This theological orientation was reinforced by the tendency of German cities to support extramural burial: that is, the closing of cemeteries within city walls and the construction of new burial grounds outside the city. Extramural burial, which in fact began before the Reformation, contributed to "a new Protestant way of death" characterized by a complete separation of the living from the dead.

Koslofsky emphasizes that death rituals were simultaneously religious rites organized by theological concepts and vitally important social events. In Koslofsky's presentation, Lutheran funerals evolved primarily in response to social needs. In the 1520s, an evangelical willingness to overthrow all aspects of traditional death rituals created a predilection for simple funerals with limited clerical involvement. Koslofsky argues that "Lutheran reformers were horrified that the simple disposal of the dead, without processions, song or the ministrations of the clergy, was somehow the result of their doctrines" (p. 92). They therefore encouraged the development of a structured funeral ceremony, which included a communal procession, a sermon, and the extensive participation of the clergy. Not surprisingly, such rituals left plenty of opportunity for displays of wealth, status, and power. By the end of the sixteenth century, critics had begun to mock the hypocrisy found in funeral sermons, equating *Leichenpredigen* (funeral sermons) with *leichte Predigten* (easy sermons) and even *Lügenpredigten* (sermons of lies). In partial response to these criticisms, the *Beisetzung*, a new style of nocturnal funeral, became popular among the Lutheran elite in the later seventeenth century. These funerals were private in character, without a sermon, and with only a small role for clergymen. Although the *Beisetzungen* were originally less ostentatious than the traditional Lutheran funeral, in the hands of courtiers and aristocrats they soon developed a lavish character.

Koslofsky returns throughout the book to "the uneasy balance between Christian ritual and social display that shaped the Lutheran funeral from the beginning" (p. 158). Funeral practices, like all rituals, developed over time at the intersection of theology and practice. In chapter five, Koslofsky presents two case studies of popular attitudes toward the Lutheran death rituals. The funeral of Lampert Distelmeier, a respected official and diplomat who was buried in Berlin/Cölln in 1588, represents the normative Lutheran funeral, complete with extensive and respectful popular participation, a proper funeral sermon, and the active presence of the clergy. Christian Schütz's 1592 funeral in Dresden provides a contrasting example. Here a crowd of common people, hostile to the deceased official's Calvinism, disrupted the widow's

attempt to organize a funeral by mocking the procession, jeering at the attempt at a sermon, and stoning the house of the family. Koslofsky emphasizes that both episodes demonstrate that the wider population knew how a "normal" Lutheran funeral should proceed. At the same time, funerals were important liminal moments in which norms could be contested, challenged, and negotiated. Concerns for honor and pollution were especially prevalent around funerals, which made popular religious violence even more likely during such moments of contestation.

Koslofsky has given us a clear, concise, and persuasive presentation of developments in Lutheran funeral practices. His argument that the Lutheran funeral could never really contain the tension between the religious meaning and the social importance of death rituals is convincing. The structure of the book, however, sometimes undermines this theme. Koslofsky begins with Luther and his writings, continues with a discussion of Luther's successors, especially Philip Melancthon, who institutionalized Lutheranism, before delving into a discussion of actual practice. Despite his theme that funeral practices developed out of the complicated tension between social practice and theology, the format of the book often creates a neat picture of Lutheran funeral practices developing in response to the (apparently all-important) theological changes. Koslofsky wants this book to be more than a study of how Luther's theology changed death rituals, but he has not completely freed himself from the structure of a traditional Reformation history.

The book is also missing a comparative element, which would have helped the reader understand what aspects of these new death rituals were unique to Lutheran Germany, and which ones were perhaps more universal, or were the consequence of social needs. Comparative materials, at least from Calvinist and Catholic Germany, would have made the significance of this study more obvious. Have we learned something particular about Lutheran Germany, or something about the larger relationship between Christianity and death, or something about the changing place of death in early modern Europe?

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KATHY STUART. *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 286. \$64.95.

For a generation or more scholars have recognized that early modern European society was structured, in part, by complex distinctions of honor and dishonor. Insults to honor could trigger conflicts and duels. The label of illegitimacy barred many from citizenship, inheritances, holy orders, dignities, and membership in various groups such as the guilds of many towns. Students of the Mediterranean have supposed that a

special code of honor prevailed in that region, governing local customs and inculcating powerful feelings of pollution and offense. It is not surprising that anthropological studies of taboo have been brought to bear upon such customs and systems of honor. In this book by Kathy Stuart, however, the subject is different, and she argues that notions of taboo provide a false analogy. She has analyzed with care and precision the legal and guild records of Augsburg and has compared her surprising results with the few other studies that have concentrated on social outcasts, especially in northern Germany. Stuart documents the rise and decline of a secular system of honor and dishonor that was connected to one's trade rather than to sexual or religious stains. In Augsburg of the sixteenth century, the artisan guilds came increasingly to emphasize their honor as opposed to the defiled trades of the executioner, the skinner (who disposed of dead animals), and several other marginally dishonorable occupations. Extreme aversion to executioners and skinners produced, by the seventeenth century, whole families of outcasts, whose dishonor was so intense that just drinking with an executioner or handling the implements of the skinner's trade could ruin a person's reputation. If defiled, one could no longer practice an honorable profession or enter into an honorable marriage.

Stuart calls this a system of secular honor because there were no religious sanctions brought against the dishonorable; in fact, religious leaders, Catholic and Lutheran, welcomed executioners and skinners into their churches and provided normal religious services for them. No one claimed that God would punish those who defiled themselves through contact with these dishonorables, and so in that sense, according to Stuart, this was not a system of taboo. The most zealous enforcers of this secular system were guildsmen, and especially journeymen, and Stuart emphasizes that one of the reasons for this was that journeymen depended upon the good reputation of their Augsburg guild in order to move easily into the guild-run workplaces of other cities. When threatened by actions that might compromise their guild, the journeymen regularly went on strike or merely threatened to do so. Until the end of the eighteenth century, countless imperial edicts of legitimation and numerous patrician-backed local ordinances declaring certain trades to be honorable were powerless to affect the stringent rules of exclusion and avoidance imposed by guilds and journeymen.

The system of dishonor was also rich in ambiguity and contradiction. It was never entirely clear why certain trades were dishonorable: why linen weavers, barbers, bathmasters, and millers were infamous in the north but not in Augsburg; why skinners and shepherds were—but latrine cleaners and grave diggers were not—dishonorable. Legal theorists did sometimes expatiate upon the topic of *infamia*, but they did not understand and justify the local customs and variations that made the guild-run system of dishonor

so hard to defend but so seemingly impossible to uproot. Perhaps most peculiarly, dishonor did not necessarily produce poverty. Executioners were, in fact, among the more substantial members of the artisan classes, partly because they supplemented their necessarily irregular income by acting as unofficial healers, men whose knowledge of anatomy and access to the body parts of recently executed criminals gave them a remarkable reputation as medical consultants. While intimate conversation with an executioner might defile, consulting an executioner for medical treatment was usually acceptable, even though one had to submit to being handled by a man whose very touch, under other circumstances, was defiling.

Stuart's best sources are the 132 honor conflicts that erupted in Augsburg between 1542 and 1801, cases that are well documented in the city's *Urgichten* and in the records of the various guilds. Despite or perhaps even because of the Enlightened critique of "irrational" privileges and dishonors, most of these honor disputes occurred in the eighteenth century, and it is one of the strengths of Stuart's book that she pursues her theme to the end of that century and even into the decades after Napoleon, when the imperial cities were all absorbed into larger territorial states and journeymen lost their leverage. In this way, she illuminates the way in which the fragmented constitution of the Holy Roman Empire conduced to the formation of the social discriminations that became characteristic of life in early modern Germany. Along the way, she effectively criticizes the abuse of "social discipline" as the key concept for understanding urban society, for it is clear that this system of honor and dishonor was not under the control of the city regents. Rarely has an anthropologically informed study been joined with such careful attention to local judicial records. This is an excellent book.

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STEVEN OZMENT. *Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early Modern Germany*. New York: Viking. 1999. Pp. xvii, 348. \$29.95.

This handsome book is the fourth in a series of popular histories of sixteenth and seventeenth-century German family life by one of America's most distinguished Reformation scholars. After several admirable studies of late medieval and sixteenth-century religious developments, Steven Ozment turned his impressive research efforts to family history and, in 1983, published *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe*, a general interpretation of patriarchal domestic relations. His explications of prescriptive literature, situating moral or social doctrines in their intellectual and theological framework, were a valuable antidote to unhistorical condemnations of the authoritarian and disciplinary norms in early modern society, even if Ozment also displayed unfortunate tendencies to equate moral treatises with widely shared social atti-



tudes and behavior and to exaggerate interpretive positions as a means of refuting them. While his revisionist agenda far outran the evidence he offered, Ozment sampled a wide range of German sources: medical tracts, handbooks on household management, popular sermons and catechisms, etiquette and conduct books, as well as family chronicles and household accounts. In arguing defensively for the existence of companionate marriages, deep affection among parents and children, and genuine attention to personal needs in the patriarchal family, the author was addressing a popular audience more than the professional historians researching such social relations.

Over the following years, his concern with reaching a broad educated public as well as illustrating the beneficial aspects of premodern family life has led Ozment to search out revealing personal papers and to publish a series of fascinating personal histories: *Magdalena and Balhasar* (1986), *Three Behaim Boys* (1990), *The Bürgermeister's Daughter* (1996), and the title now at hand. While the last is the least focused of these volumes, it shares many features with its fore-runners. Ozment is an excellent stylist who knows how to tell a good story in a fluid, graceful prose that quickly engages readers. In all four books, the narrative strategy outweighs any interest in furthering the research agendas or scholarly debates in the field, so he eschews copious bibliographical references and historiographical discussions. At the same time, he quotes his vivid early modern sources amply, captures individual personalities and historical situations with warm human sympathy, and keeps textual criticism as well as sweeping generalizations to a minimum.

Here five interesting stories emerge from journals, account books, and letters by members of the patrician, educated, and mercantile elites of Nürnberg in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The first relates the complications arising in a courtship and love match between two young patricians, while the second illustrates solicitous child rearing and the satisfactions of late parenthood in a prominent civic jurist's household, where private family life was apparently a comforting haven for devout Catholics in a community becoming strongly Lutheran. Next we encounter the tensions between a young patrician overspending his budget for legal studies and travel in Italy and his widowed mother in Nürnberg struggling to keep her large family's finances in order. Then the diary of another patrician law student illustrates a pious Lutheran teenager's fascination with the political crisis and traditional Catholic religious practices he encountered during a semester at the University of Louvain in 1577. The final account juxtaposes the public career of Lorenz Dürnhöfer, a prominent pastor and leader of the moderate or Philippist Lutherans in his increasingly orthodox city, to his private life, with its two marriages (one a love match and the second a more pragmatic partnership) and an intellectual father's sensible adjustments to the nonacademic abilities or interests of his sons.

While these individual narratives may not constitute a coherent general discussion of the life cycle, as readers of Ozment's introduction might hope, they do illuminate the everyday lives of elite Nürnberg families. They detail social practices and attitudes handsomely, just as they offer concrete instances to buttress the author's observations about the modest and pragmatic principles shaping domestic relations or the profound formative influence of familial experience on young people during the early modern period. Although professional historians and general readers alike should appreciate Ozment's attempt at a balanced assessment of the benefits and inequities in patriarchal family relations, they may also puzzle over some of his final assertions that seem linked more closely to his ideological rejection of contemporary individualism or egalitarianism than to the historical evidence provided by the social circle he has described so richly in this volume.

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ANN GOLDBERG. *Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and German Society 1815–1849*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 236. \$35.00.

From a historical perspective, the field covered by Ann Goldberg's book is up to now in many ways wasteland. It is either dominated by a traditional history of medicine searching for progress and professionalization of medicine and psychiatry—the great doctors and their theories—or by scholars following the paradigm of social disciplining, who in most cases neglect to analyze the complex interaction of different and partly contradictory cultural processes of the production, shaping, and articulation of madness.

Goldberg's enterprise is a breakthrough: an original and long-missing contribution to the social and cultural history of madness in the first half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, her work provides valuable insights into the broader field of the history of peasant culture and of social experience, especially in the rural world in Baden, one of the German states. Goldberg's book, largely based on a close reading of 463 patients' files of the Eberbach asylum from 1815 to 1849, is an outstanding sensitive interpretation of the individual's experience of madness as a language of distress and dissent in rural lower-class culture, shaped by gender, class, and ethnicity. The presentation of the few longer case histories, for example those of Elisabeth G. and Elisabeth W. in the context of Goldberg's discussion of nymphomania as well as the two case histories of Jewish Eberbach inhabitants in her last chapter, completely matches her intention to unfold contextualized meanings of madness or to make madness historically intelligible. The book will be a model for future research in this field. The author's methodological and analytical care and thoughtfulness go



together with an interpretative strength that really draws the reader into different perspectives on madness and the lives of the patients, demonstrating what it means when a historian fulfils the often only programmatic promises of an interdisciplinary enterprise.

Unfortunately, Goldberg does not fully use her anthropologically informed approach when it comes to what she introduces as "the" asylum, "the" doctors, and "the" psychiatric theories, which are to a certain extent presented as closed entities acting in a timeless tableau. The reader is not introduced into political, social, and cultural change during the three decades under consideration. The important intersecting historical phenomena of the German *Vormärz*, which Goldberg convincingly sees to be tied to the shaping of madness, namely state-building; the development of a bourgeois public sphere; and the socioeconomic crisis of the countryside could have been more thoroughly analyzed.

The Eberbach asylum in Baden, one of the model institutions of the Enlightenment madhouse reform, soon changed into a place of detention and confinement for the deviant rural poor. Goldberg combines this observation with the current thesis of the institutionalization of madness, accompanied by "an enormous increase in the numbers of those people diagnosed as insane and incarcerated as a result, an increase that closely accompanied the asylum wherever it appeared in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century" (p. 18). Here Goldberg's book is a starting point. Up to now there has been little research done on this topic that is based on archival sources for single mental institutions. There is also a general lack of information about the relationship between institutional and familial or communal accommodation for allegedly mad persons. The question of who actually paid for the relatively expensive detention in a mental institution has yet to be answered on a large scale.

Goldberg emphasizes that the asylum played an important part in the state-building, but she is not generous with information about the interaction and the possible lines of conflict among the representatives of the state medical administration, the asylum director, and the doctors or about the cultural, religious, and political backgrounds of the actors. Therefore it is difficult to understand the anti-Semitism that Jewish patients confronted in Eberbach other than as being an essential German trait of character. Baden especially witnessed a relatively strong liberal movement that supported the emancipation of Jews in the decades before the Revolution of 1848–1849. It would have been interesting to learn about a probable commitment of middle-class psychiatric doctors to this cause. Questions like this inevitably arise from a thought-provoking book like this one. It is a remarkable and pathbreaking contribution to the history of rural culture in the first half of the nineteenth century in Germany and to the emergence and experience of modern madness.

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STEVE HOCHSTADT. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989*. Foreword by GEOFF ELEY. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 331. \$52.50.

In the last twenty-five years, disquieting sets of evidence have cracked the once dominant model of historical demography that correlated permanent rural-to-urban migration with modernization. Steve Hochstadt has contributed to as well as profited from these challenging new findings. As a committed historical demographer, Hochstadt is on a mission: to demonstrate the centrality of demographic data for social history; to use its evidence to critique influential historical concepts and models; and to connect, by comparisons, German and European patterns of migration over two centuries with similar events occurring in other parts of the world, most notably Africa and South and East Asia. If this book is about numbers (it has 41 tables and 24 figures), there are only a few excursions into mathematical abstractions. At times, the writing style is lyrical. The work in essence is an exegesis into historical methods and evidence and should find wide appeal beyond those interested in the specific subject matter at hand.

But the topic is fascinating in its own right. Hochstadt argues persuasively that assumptions about migration patterns are at the core of important interpretive concepts in modern history such as urbanization, industrialization, and proletarianization. Thus, if he can reveal flaws in the arguments on mobility, he can call into question major interpretations of the human past (through a German prism). This is a daunting task. As he shows clearly, each of the pieces of migration history constructed over the past century was "developed out of powerful intellectual and psychological needs" (p. 111). Even if historians now reject simple linear notions of "modern" development, parts of the argument still remain influential in the writing of social history, affecting even scholars of the two-thirds world who at times are baffled by discrepancies between their own data and the assumptions of the powerful Western historical paradigm.

Hochstadt offers a strong empirical case for his arguments, based on a sophisticated methodological analysis of aggregate data on mobility drawn from historical censuses, migration registration data of large German cities, and other quantifiable sources. He has uncovered an extraordinary set of statistics on regional migration for Düsseldorf in the Rhineland between 1820 and 1860, before the onset of industrial transformation in Central Europe, and from these materials he develops his case. He shows that preindustrial societies were hardly static but rather characterized by high rates of in and out-migration and urban growth from family migrants (chapter two). The aggregate data permit gender analysis but downplay regional distinctions. The German materials are compared to those from France, England, Japan, Sweden, Spain, and

Scotland. Hochstadt then carefully dismantles the dominant assumptions about urban mobility and industrialization in the long nineteenth century (chapters three through five). For the Kaiserreich, he compares mobility levels of large cities, the sole focus to date, with those of agrarian communities, provincial towns, and outlying suburbs to arrive at a common "German migration" structure (p. 264). He describes the dynamics of urban in and out-migration to arrive at specific net immigration rates and has excellent data on who migrated, by age, gender, family cycle, and socioeconomic status. From these statistics, Hochstadt offers new ways to think about working-class formation. He also reconstructs the rural socioeconomic contexts of urban growth, which promoted or stemmed high levels of migration during the nineteenth century. Chapter six confounds assumptions again by showing a decline in urban mobility in the twentieth century in periods from 1912–1940, in total war, and after 1946 for West Germany, with good data on who stopped migrating. The argument for stability reflects a stasis in internal migrations between and within provinces for native Germans, not in the immigration and emigration rates of non-native labor to and from West Germany between 1946 and 1989. But the analysis of the post-1945 period is curiously bounded within the German nation-state rather than set in a wider context of transnational labor and emerging globalization. And it is lifeless, with no comparable aggregate data on the new immigrant labor force or their families.

At times, Hochstadt describes too simple a process of change to centralized, industrial large-scale production and he maddeningly reproduces a superficial analysis that links anti-urban and antimodern rhetoric inexorably to National Socialism. For the rich comparative data in the text, furthermore, the index is woefully deficient. But this only means that the book must be read from cover to cover to mine the wealth of details, wide-ranging analyses, and extraordinary scholarship that are at the heart of this impressive sociodemographic study.

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PASCAL GROSSE. *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850–1918*. (Campus Forschung, number 815.) New York: Campus. 2000. Pp. 266.

Interest in German colonialism has recently been revived by the work of historians who have brought new interpretive perspectives to the subject and who have tried to contextualize Germany's colonial experience in novel ways. Pascal Grosse's book will have an important place in this revival.

Grosse connects Germany's brief colonial experience with two other phenomena of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the emergence of eugenics among natural and social scientists, and important

changes in what Grosse calls "bourgeois society." He interprets eugenics as an attempt to redefine the "bourgeois social order" in biological terms, which coincided with and helped to shape perceptions of changes in the structure of the global economy, industrial labor, war, and gender roles. Grosse traces the positions of self-identified eugenicists on issues arising from Germany's possession of a colonial empire, especially during the era of colonial reform that immediately preceded World War I. He uses these positions both as a way of exploring the relationship of colonialism to the rest of German society and as a key to a central theme: the development in Germany of a racial basis for defining German citizenship, a process in which both eugenics and colonialism played crucial parts.

Grosse argues that although tendencies toward biological, mostly racial, restructuring of social concepts occurred quite generally in Western countries before and during World War I, a combination of factors—especially the role of colonialism in German politics and the growth of bourgeois militarism—led them to be accentuated in Germany. National Socialist racial policies were clearly linked to this development, but Grosse does not focus on the Nazi connection (the summary on the book's back cover notwithstanding). Much more interestingly, he suggests a continuity stretching from pre-1914 colonial reform debates through the Weimar and Hitler eras to the now-controversial citizenship laws of the Federal Republic. The contemporary issues of citizenship and ethnic minorities in Germany are discussed only briefly at the end of the book, but they are, by implication, in the background throughout.

Grosse portrays the racial reconstruction of the social as a product neither of an aberrant radical strain in German politics nor of a conservative reaction to modernity but rather of an internal development in bourgeois society itself—a development that led to a rejection of fundamental bourgeois (i.e. liberal) principles. He thus places his study within the framework for interpreting modern German history pioneered by Geoff Eley, David Blackbourn, and Roger Chickering. He represents the eugenicists not as "pseudo-scientists" but rather as serious, often prominent and innovative practitioners of their disciplines. They broke with earlier paradigms for reasons that can be explained to a large extent in terms of the dynamics of those disciplines, which usually included a political element. Grosse's discussion of the physical anthropologist Eugen Fischer (pp. 184–90) is particularly interesting in this regard. The eugenicists are not portrayed as a homogeneous group. Grosse makes it clear that they differed among themselves and that their positions were often ambiguous.

The book is organized around a number of topics of debate about German colonial policy in which eugenicists participated significantly. The topics are taken up more or less chronologically, but because the debates overlapped and ultimately converged, the presentation

is sometimes difficult to follow. The first topic covered is the controversy over whether or not white settlers could acclimate to tropical colonies and create self-reproducing societies. The issue is famous in the history of German colonialism because the physiologist and liberal politician Rudolf Virchow used the negative position on it to attack Otto von Bismarck's colonial expansion. It also generated a substantial amount of theorizing among procolonial scientists and, according to Grosse, helped to initiate a rupture between liberal and postliberal bourgeois social thought. The second topic is the "native question," an issue that developed as the central feature of the German colonial reform movement after the turn of the century and that Grosse interprets as an effort to use racial categories to construct a version of the bourgeois order in colonies, initiating a discourse that reflected back on social perceptions in Germany. The third topic is the issue of "race mixing" in the colonies. This subject received vastly more attention in Germany than its significance in demographic or economic terms warranted. Official colonial reform policies and the aims of the organized women's colonial movement both became heavily focused on banning sexual relations between white men and nonwhite women. It is in this area that Grosse appears to see the strongest involvement of eugenics and the greatest impact of colonial affairs on the reordering of German bourgeois society. The impact of discourse over the colonial race issue and the other issues was reinforced just before and during World War I by the emergence of what Grosse calls "bourgeois militarism," which incorporated the biological reordering of social conceptions and gave it paradigmatic status within the German nation-state.

This is a provocative, intensely interesting book. Its greatest weakness is a tendency to employ broad, abstract, and inadequately defined concepts such as "the bourgeois social order" and "bourgeois militarism" as though they were concrete entities rather than contentious discursive fields. Even in the process of analyzing these concepts critically, however, the reader is led to look at the matter to which they refer in new and suggestive ways.

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GREG EGHIGIAN. *Making Security Social: Disability, Insurance, and the Birth of the Social Entitlement State in Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 297. \$59.50.

Over the past twenty years, the history of social insurance in Germany has been studied intensively by historians, political scientists, and sociologists. The politics of social insurance legislation and the social impact of social insurance programs have been the focus of most of the extant literature. Greg Eghigian's book aims to complement this literature with an

analysis of the culture of social insurance, focused specifically on accident and disability insurance: a history of the construction of disability and entitlement by the state and the political elite, of the way recipients of (and applicants for) social insurance constructed their own problems, and of the relationship between the two.

The heart of this book is in its third and sixth chapters. In chapter three, Eghigian examines the social security system as it was experienced from multiple perspectives, including those of administrators, claimants and pensioners, doctors, the state, organized labor, and the insurance courts. Here the ongoing operation of the social insurance system is revealed as a complex, cross-cutting set of struggles over truth, authority, and control. The most important of these is the struggle between insurers and insured over the meaning of disability and the purpose of compensation. The perspective of insurers was informed by what Eghigian calls the "thermodynamic vision" (p. 115): they defined the "problem" as the inability to work, and saw benefits as compensation for that loss of earning power. Thus, a worker judged to have lost twenty percent of his or her earning power was awarded a twenty percent pension, and so on. Claimants and pensioners, by contrast, defined their problem as one of need and suffering, and believed that the level of benefits should reflect and ameliorate that need. In fact, social insurance functioned for workers as a "secular theodicy" (p. 116), validating the disabled as honorable and respectable despite their disability. An irreconcilable conflict was, therefore, planted at the heart of the whole system: while insurers regarded claimants' demands as evidence of malingering, self-pity, laziness, and greed and demanded that objective criteria determine benefit levels, claimants insisted on the reality of their experience and saw insurers as stingy and exploitative. Not surprisingly, the proportion of pension rulings that was appealed rose steadily in the prewar period.

The bulk of chapter six is devoted to tracing the emergence of new forms of collective action, a new sense of collective identity, and a new understanding of entitlement among pensioners in the early 1920s. Viewing the war and attendant hardships as a sacred sacrifice for the state, pensioners came to regard compensation for their suffering as a sacred duty of the state. Claimants redefined themselves: no longer "pensioners" or "claimants," they were now "victims" (*Opfer*) (p. 199). Further, inflation and the fiscal constraints of the period after currency stabilization created escalating competition between different groups of claimants, each attempting to secure scarce benefits by proving that its need was greater and its claims more legitimate. The failure of the welfare state to maintain standards of living thus generated political, rather than merely legal or administrative, conflict. What is more, that failure was seen as evidence of moral bankruptcy and meant that the welfare state failed in quasisacred terms; it failed as a theodicy.

The result was a "profound loss of faith" (p. 228) in a literal sense.

Five other chapters build on this essential conceptual core. Chapters one and two set the subject in broad historiographical and historical context; chapters four and five trace the emergence of a therapeutic regime of occupational rehabilitation and the impact of the war on the social insurance system, respectively; chapter seven discusses the emergence of a backlash against the culture of victimhood among claimants in the late 1920s—a backlash that argued that social insurance was pathogenic because it created an incentive for passivity and whining, and "turned being sick into a profession" (p. 259).

In a concluding eighth chapter, Eghigian observes that, by 1933, social insurance had become a "fixture of German political culture" (p. 276). The modern German definition of civic selfhood, he argues, is founded on the idea of entitlement; the modern German state is legitimated not in moral or metaphysical but rather in strictly utilitarian terms. Again, however, that utilitarianism is essentially religious in nature: "technology and the human sciences are the object of this faith, which . . . seeks safety and certainty" (p. 287). This is why social insurance continued to exist, largely unchanged, under Nazism, Communism, and West German democracy.

The argument at the core of this book is elegant. The adversarial relationship built into German social insurance, with its system of claims and appeals, was the foundation of its legitimacy, since it convinced workers that they could at least attempt to get a fair hearing. It was also, for a time, an effective strategy for depoliticizing the hardship created by industrialization, since it made each individual case unique and negotiable. But it created a "sense of civic selfhood that could only be expressed in the form of fulfillments and disappointments, validation and resentment" (p. 282). In consequence, it generated escalating conflict and ultimately the self-destructive dynamic (and subsequent backlash) of the 1920s. As a mechanism for taming social problems, then, the system was not successful; it was forced to respond defensively to the problems it institutionalized or to fail in the eyes of its constituents.

Eghigian's writing is in some places hard to follow; while chapters three and six are tightly argued, in others he has not effectively subjected the narrative to the organizing discipline of his interpretive agenda. More important, in a number of respects Eghigian does not push his theoretical insights to clear or convincing conclusions. The idea that social insurance functioned as a secular theodicy is an interesting and promising one, but the assertion is not backed up by the kind of dense discursive analysis that would establish its validity. Eghigian also does not quite develop a clear dialogue with Detlev Peukert, whose work has so profoundly shaped the literature on the German welfare state. Eghigian largely agrees with recent critics of Peukert's argument that National Socialism was an

outgrowth of the normative rationality of early twentieth-century social engineers. Yet the development he describes seems to fit Peukert's model remarkably well: the collision of bureaucratic rationality with the subjective life-worlds of the targets of social policy generates steadily escalating conflicts; in the context of economic crisis, those conflicts give rise to institutional crises and radical—even homicidal—solutions. In fact, Eghigian's account raises the obvious question whether there was not a connection between the "thermodynamic vision" of the insurance system, on the one hand, and the Nazi project of simply murdering those who could not be reintegrated into the workforce, on the other. Was there not a homicidal logic to the way the insurance system constructed social problems, and in the terms of the "conformist" search for material security? Eghigian's discussion of these issues is unfocused. Finally, ending the book in 1933 creates some conceptual problems. Eghigian argues both that social insurance institutions were constantly being reshaped by the conflicts they institutionalized, and that their basic outlines were set from 1933 onward. The two assertions do not seem to mesh. How did social insurance, as a system of social interaction, function after 1933? Did the Nazis' obsession with struggle, with individual responsibility, and with the beneficial effects of hardship have no effect on the languages in which administrators and claimants negotiated within the social insurance system? Did the recipients of "dynamic" pensions linked to the rising general standard of living in the 1960s speak the same language of need and suffering that pensioners in the first three decades of the century had?

This is nevertheless a rich book, one that rewards the careful reader with complex and provocative insights. In recovering some of the experience of those involved in the daily operations of the social insurance system, Eghigian makes an important contribution to our understanding of those institutions and their place in German society. His effort to construct a broader historical and historiographical perspective is also fruitful. His willingness to raise essential theoretical issues, and to make bold theoretical and interpretive assertions, is particularly rewarding. This book will be essential reading for those interested in the history of the German welfare state.

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KEVIN REPP. *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 358. \$55.00.

Thanks to the work of George L. Mosse, Fritz Stern, and others, we now have a good understanding of the antimodernist currents of thought that circulated in pre-World War I Germany. What has received less attention, however, is a type of thinking present during the same time period that embraced rather than



rejected modernity, but then also went on to stake out a position highly critical of modernity's worst tendencies and excesses.

In his new book, Kevin Repp has helped broaden our picture of the Wilhelmine era by focusing in some detail on this latter frame of mind. His chief concern lies with those individuals—mostly economists, social workers, political activists, and other reformers—who, in the 1890s and after, explored the possibilities of working within and guiding the modernizing process as best they could, instead of opting for cultural despair. The individuals to whom Repp gives close attention agreed with much of the criticism that antimodernists leveled against the technologizing, industrializing, and depersonalizing forces that appeared to have taken hold in late nineteenth-century Germany. But they disagreed with the antimodernists in that they still saw hope that the modern world could be reformed and its highest potentialities unleashed. Reality, they were certain, did not have to be shunned or condemned; it could be worked with, and its best possibilities could be uncovered and creatively unfolded.

With his sights set mainly on this reformist impulse, Repp investigates the response of the generation of 1890 to what was called at the time the "social question." The social question had many dimensions, but at its core it involved the issue of how to reconcile class tensions in modern industrial society, and more particularly how to integrate the working class into a capitalist economy in such a manner as to create peace, harmony, and social justice within the German nation as a whole.

After a helpful early chapter laying out the background to the 1890s (including a good discussion of the "socialists of the chair" and the important role that the sciences played in shaping the discourses used to address the social question), Repp looks carefully at three key figures in the conflicts and disputes of the 1890–1914 period. Each figure receives a lengthy chapter of his or her own. Here Repp chooses his subjects well, for he wisely highlights not obvious choices such as Max Weber or Friedrich Naumann but the relatively more obscure Adolf Damaschke, Gertrud Bäumer and Werner Sombart.

Damaschke was an influential German social theorist before World War I who developed a critique of capitalism that sought "national regeneration" by taking the revenues from rising land values out of the hands of bankers and speculators and returning them to the community. For a while, this message had great appeal among large numbers of artisans, municipal officials, and non-Marxian socialists. Bäumer was a prominent middle-class feminist in Wilhelmine Germany who approached the social question from a different angle. Her goal was to bring "feminine qualities" to the public sphere by opening the way for more women as welfare workers, factory inspectors, educators, and the like. The established order need not be dismissed out of hand, as the far right contended; it could be improved from within through "new form[s]"

of feminine *Kultur*" (p. 142). Sombart, probably the best known of the three, was a prolific young economist whose trajectory through the prewar period and beyond was the most eccentric. Early on, he shared in the progressive optimism of the generation of 1890, believing that the goals of socialism could be fused with modern capitalism. Later, he shifted to a pessimistic outlook when it seemed to him that the depersonalizing and value-destroying aspects of mechanistic capitalism probably could not be overcome.

As different as these three critics were, what bound them together (and also linked them to dozens of other contemporaries mentioned by Repp) was their search for an antipolitical route out of the morass of Wilhelmine social life. The way forward to "alternative modernities" would have to bypass the normal channels of Reichstag and party politics and follow instead the less-traveled road provided by a host of independent organizations and associations, many of which offered practical opportunities for applied expertise at the grass-roots level.

This is an impressively researched and finely crafted work of scholarship. Repp displays a thorough knowledge of all the dimensions of the period he treats, and he opens to view a complex but exciting climate of opinion that, were it not for his efforts, would still remain virtually unknown outside Germany. However, it should be said that Repp presumes from the start that his readers have a good deal of prior knowledge about the period. Unavoidably, given the nature of his topic, Repp's study is mainly for specialists in German history. Through no fault of his own, the bewildering welter of names, organizations, and issues with which he deals is likely to dampen the interest of the general reading public.

DAVID GROSS

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JEFFREY VERHEY. *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 268. \$59.95.

The failure of diplomacy to resolve the Balkan crisis ushered in mounting tension and jingoism in all the major European cities. In Germany, events were reaching a climax. On July 25, 1914, Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with Serbia, which it alleged had been responsible for the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his consort. That evening in Berlin, crowds gathered outside the Reichstag and the Austro-Hungarian embassy and began burning Serbian flags. Describing these events, the socialist newspaper *Vorwärts* reported that the crowds consisted mainly of young people. As the crisis intensified, the crowds grew. By July 31, Germany was gripped by war fever and hysteria with rumors abounding.

In the period of mobilization immediately after the declaration of war against Russia, the mood of the

population fluctuated dramatically, reflecting the general uncertainty. James Gerard, the American ambassador, noted the excitement of large crowds in Berlin "parading the streets singing *Deutschland über Alles*, and demanding war." A young Adolf Hitler is captured in a photograph of the cheering crowd that gathered in the Odeon platz in Munich on August 2. He wrote later that he was "carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment and I sank down upon my knees and thanked Heaven out of the fullness of my heart for the favour of having been permitted to live in such a time."

Set against this apparent overwhelming sense of euphoric national unity were the antiwar demonstrations that took place all over Germany. Such demonstrations, often organized by women, were censored and rarely appeared in the press. We should therefore be careful about generalizations concerning "popular belligerence" and "unanimity of enthusiasm" that have framed subsequent historical writings on the subject, and we should not be misled by those largely male, avant-garde intellectuals and artists who wished to escape from "materialism" and the boredom of civil life and tended to glorify war and the so-called "spirit of 1914."

This is precisely the aim of Jeffrey Verhey's book. Based on Verhey's doctoral dissertation (University of California, 1992), this book analyzes German public opinion at the outbreak of the Great War. Verhey reexamines the myth of the "spirit of 1914," which stated that in August 1914 all Germans felt "war enthusiasm" and that this enthusiasm constituted a critical moment in which German society was transformed. Verhey argues convincingly that the myth is historically inaccurate. Although intellectuals and much of the upper class were enthusiastic, the emotions and opinions of most of the population were far more complex. This is not a new interpretation, as a number of regional histories of World War I Germany—from Karl Schwarz's 1972 history of Nuremberg to Michael Stöcker's 1994 study of Darmstadt—have already recorded the range of different, often contradictory, emotions that existed in 1914.

By focusing specifically on German public opinion Verhey examines the geographical, occupational, and temporal variations in the way Germany greeted the outbreak of war. His study shows that the "spirit of 1914" was a political myth in a number of ways. First, it was a myth of identity created by groups that hoped to establish a historical narrative that would become a constitutive element of German political culture, legitimizing norms, values, and ideas. In other words, the August experiences were interpreted as the birth of "community" and the end of class struggle. Second, for many the "spirit of 1914" represented salvation and the promise of ultimate victory, provided that the German people remained true to the unity that "war enthusiasm" had allegedly created. Initially the outbreak of war appeared to provide a solution to the major political and economic problems that had been confronting Wilhelmine Germany for over two de-

cades. However, these hopes were soon to be disappointed; the "spirit of 1914" could not survive a long war, just as the reconciliation of class tensions was dependent on a swift military victory. In reality the superficial harmony of 1914 was a far cry from the "national community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*) invoked by the heady days of 1914. Verhey's well-researched and lucid account of public opinion at the outbreak of war constitutes a major and intriguing contribution to the literature of the Great War and provides a thoughtful and penetrating analysis of the role of political myths in modern German political culture.

DAVID WELCH

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RAFFAEL SCHECK. *Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914–1930*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1998. Pp. xxii, 261. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Raffael Scheck has written an outstanding historical account of Alfred von Tirpitz's role in German politics. Tirpitz is a significant figure in modern German history; he is primarily associated with the build-up of the German naval fleet prior to World War I and with the call for aggressive naval policies during that war. Less known is his central role in the various attempts to unify German nationalists against the Weimar Republic. Drawing on an impressive array of archival sources, Scheck locates the rather secretive Tirpitz within the sometimes byzantine and confusing world of German right-wing politics in the 1920s. In doing so, Scheck's book also illuminates larger aspects of the history of the German right in those years.

The author begins this book with a brief overview of Tirpitz's background, followed by a detailed account of his activities during World War I. Desiring an active role for the German fleet, Tirpitz had warned against war prior to its outbreak in 1914, fearing that the battle fleet was not yet prepared. Appointed to an advisory position on all naval matters in August 1914, Tirpitz had little influence over policy. In fact, as Scheck shows, Tirpitz quickly came into conflict with the policies of the government and was dismissed in March 1916. Scheck points out that Tirpitz's loyalty to the emperor and perhaps even to the imperial system was rather shaky; the consequence of his intrigues, the author writes, "delineated an authoritarian state led by the most successful military leaders and relegated the emperor to the background" (p. 38). Ultimately, nationalism was more important to Tirpitz than monarchism, and Scheck argues convincingly that Tirpitz's political activities and the role he played as the chairman of the radical nationalist Fatherland Party did much to undermine the German monarchy and contributed to the paralysis of the German right during the revolution of 1918.

Scheck's greatest contribution is his portrayal of Tirpitz's political life following the creation of the

Weimar Republic. Tirpitz opposed the republic and rejected the Treaty of Versailles. His political activities aimed at the destruction of Weimar democracy and its replacement by an authoritarian state. "Through personal contacts with leaders and through intrigues involving politicians, industrialists, and military chiefs, he wanted to coordinate existing organizations and mastermind a plot against the Republic" (p. 87). His method was "quasi-legal putschism" combining the activities of the rightist paramilitary leagues in conjunction with the political right in the parliament and "top-level" intrigues. Scheck illuminates Tirpitz's connections with nationalist circles in Bavaria and his various attempts to coordinate anti-republican efforts with rightist politicians like Prime Minister Kahr of Bavaria and Erich Ludendorff. To be sure, Tirpitz mistrusted Adolf Hitler as unpredictable and rejected his anti-Semitism; nevertheless, he hoped to use Hitler to mobilize support for an antirepublican agenda. However, the fiasco of Hitler's Beer Hall Putsch and the unwillingness of General Seeckt to cooperate with the right in overthrowing the republic caused Tirpitz to seek other ways of changing the political system. It was, Scheck writes, "disillusionment with putschist alternatives" rather than a "conversion to democracy" that led Tirpitz into parliamentary politics (p. 144).

Elected to the parliament as a deputy of the rightist German National People's Party, Tirpitz was nominated as the party's candidate for chancellor. His candidacy foundered on the opposition of Gustav Stresemann and the centrist parties. Tirpitz devoted his remaining years to attacking Stresemann's policies of reconciliation with the Western powers, attempting to influence Paul von Hindenburg (elected president in April 1925) to pursue a rightist agenda, and trying to realize the elusive goal of unifying Germany's divided nationalists. He died in 1930.

Scheck concludes his book by suggesting that Tirpitz's career in the Weimar Republic represented the swan song of an older style of politics, one based on the "politics of notables" (*Honoratiorenpolitik*). His backroom intrigues, manipulation of public opinion through the press, and emphasis on leaders ultimately proved ineffective in creating the basis for a successful antirepublican mass movement. Instead, the Nazi Party provided the "radically new political alternative" (p. 218) capable of mobilizing the antidemocratic potential within German society. Scheck's excellent book, while focusing on the figure of Tirpitz, demonstrates more generally the nearsightedness and folly of German right-wing politics following the collapse of imperial Germany.

BENJAMIN LAPP  
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RICHARD R. WETZELL. *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 348. \$39.95.

Over the past thirty years or so, historians have been especially effective in probing and illuminating the realities of German society during Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. In place of the solidaristic lock-step of Allied and Nazi propaganda and the innocent sleepwalkers hijacked by criminals of exculpatory postwar German accounts, social dynamics under National Socialism have been shown to be a complicated mixture of continuities and discontinuities with preceding and succeeding traditions and trends within German society across classes, professions, and regions. Questions of guilt and responsibility have been recast to take account of a range of culpability for Nazi crimes carried out in the name, and with the acquiescence as well as the assistance, of the German people. Almost all historians of Nazi Germany have therefore rejected the thesis of Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), finding its monocausal assertion of a long-standing German "exterminationist" attitude toward the Jews an insufficient model for understanding either the history of modern Germany before 1933 or the history of the Nazi Final Solution.

Richard F. Wetzell has added to this new historical literature on particular realms of German life under Nazism with a book that investigates the history of the discipline of criminology from the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II. Unlike most of the recent works on the history of academic disciplines, however, Wetzell has written on "intellectual history and the history of science, rather than social, legal-institutional, or political history" (p. 2). Wetzell has followed the lead of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1978) in his emphasis on the importance of science to modern structures of justice, but he focuses on the debates among criminologists rather than on the functions of social control central to Foucault's purpose. Wetzell finds that "criminology was inherently ambivalent in its political implications" (p. 11), a tension, he argues, that prevented the full Nazification of criminology between 1933 and 1945. Wetzell's conclusions are thus in line with the most recent work on the history of society in general and the professions in particular under National Socialism: "the genetic determinism and racism characteristic of much of the Nazi regime failed to supplant a more complex discourse on the etiology of crime in a significant portion of criminological research" (p. 303). And since his book is not restricted to the Nazi period, he succeeds—while also avoiding teleology—in placing criminological thought during the Nazi period into the context of longer-term developments in the modern history of Germany.

Wetzell approvingly cites Robert Proctor's *The Nazi War on Cancer* (1999), among other works, on the complexity as well as the complicity of science in Nazi Germany. But his approach does not allow for the same emphasis that Proctor and others place on the failure of the practitioners of good science to resist the use of their work for the functional support of the

general operations of the Nazi state. While Wetzell demonstrates that most criminologists did not agree with Nazi racist and anti-Semitic views on crime, his focus on academic discourse and disagreement allows him to avoid confronting fully the failure of German criminologists, as members of the country's intellectual and professional elite, to take a more critical stance on ethical grounds against a regime that systematically destroyed the lives of millions of people. As it is, he argues that the fact that "mainstream criminological research" was not in line with Nazi racism shows that "normal science" (p. 205) was widely practiced in the Third Reich. This is true, and Wetzell also rightly observes at the end of his book that the practice of "normal science" in Nazi Germany is a warning about the dangers of modern science. But Wetzell confines his criticism to those criminologists such as Arthur Gütt, Ernst Rüdin, and Robert Ritter who collaborated extensively with brutal Nazi programs to eliminate "racial undesirables." Unlike Proctor, Ulfried Geuter, and others who have written on the history of professions in Nazi Germany in institutional as well as intellectual terms, Wetzell does not also criticize the mainstream criminologists whom he holds up as a model to their opportunistic and racist colleagues, for their own indirect support of the regime, confining himself to praising "the sophistication of psychiatric and criminological research [that] gave rise to serious objections to the sterilization of criminals on the basis of criminal behavior" (p. 305). Wetzell's book is solidly researched and clearly organized and written. A broader institutional focus, however, would allow for a closer examination of the degrees to which scholarly disagreement with Nazi attitudes and policies toward criminals might—but also might not—have prompted action against the regime and on behalf of at least some of its victims.

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MICHAEL A. MEYER, editor. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, Volume 4, *Renewal and Destruction: 1918–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1998. Pp. ix, 479. \$50.00.

The fourth and final volume of *German-Jewish History in Modern Times* traces German Jewry from its highest achievements of equality and acculturation in the Weimar Republic to its destruction by the Nazis. Two respected Israeli scholars, Avraham Barkai and Paul Mendes-Flohr, synthesize more than fifty years of research by dozens of scholars working in several languages. The result is a clearly organized and lucidly written summary that is accessible to all, including those approaching the subject for the first time. Throughout, the authors compare the Jewish communities in Germany proper with those in Austria and the Czech lands, further enhancing the volume's usefulness. A succinct epilogue by Steven M. Lowenstein on the German Jewish diaspora documents the emigrants'

preservation of the German language and German cultural habits in various corners of the world for a generation after the Holocaust.

Although the authors show that the reality of Nazi rule came as a terrific shock to the German Jews, they argue that developments during the republican period to some degree prepared Jewry for the ensuing onslaught of discrimination and persecution. The chapters devoted to cultural issues, all by Mendes-Flohr, argue that in the 1920s there was a deepening of Jewish identities in reaction to anti-Semitism, Zionism, and contacts with Eastern European Jews. A process of dissimilation was evident in renewed interest in Jewish studies, scholarly and popular publications, art and music, and theology. This renaissance of Jewish culture prepared Jews to engage in spiritual resistance after 1933 and enabled them to develop a new sense of solidarity as their cultural life was ghettoized by the German state. The argument is plausible, but it is difficult to know how widely any cultural rebirth was felt before 1933. In fact, its greatest impact probably came later, when Jews sought refuge from the storm in their religious communities. It might be added that the very success of Jewish culture in shielding the victims from the worst effects of Nazi racism contributed to the ambivalence many of them felt about the wisdom of emigrating. As the authors point out, the Jews' illusory hopes for the future were just as important as restrictions on immigration in slowing departure from Germany.

Barkai, who treats most of the other topics covered in the volume, credits Weimar Jewry with elaborating a system of communal institutions that proved invaluable during the dark years that followed. This was particularly true of the Jewish schools and charitable organizations established by local Jewish communities. These at first enabled the Jews to cope with unfavorable economic trends and with anti-Semitism, which Barkai (but not Mendes-Flohr) portrays as endemic throughout the Weimar and Nazi periods. Less successful is Barkai's analysis of the political culture of the organized Jewish community that gave rise to these institutions during the Weimar Republic. Although the author clearly delineates the complex factionalism within the various secular and religious groupings, he glosses over ideological strife and privileges the position of the Zionists in his reconstruction of events. From Barkai, one would never learn that German Zionism strove militantly and consistently to alienate Germany's Jews from their liberal and patriotic traditions. This both handed ammunition to the anti-Semites and undermined self-defense programs, driving the liberal Jewish majority to distraction and tearing German Jewry apart. In reducing this ideological confrontation to a chiefly political one between a stodgy establishment and youthful progressives for control of local community budgets and institutions, Barkai drains much of the lifeblood from the internal history of German Jewry during the Weimar years. Under Adolf Hitler, political convergence among the



Jews was unavoidable once all hope for the future was dashed. Even before that happened, leading Jews, for the first time ever, came together to establish a central organization representing most of their coreligionists. In some of the finest passages in the book, Barkai shows how the Nazis turned it into an instrument of official policies aimed at isolation, deportation, and, ultimately, destruction. He wisely refrains from condemning Jewish leaders who cooperated with Nazi officials, both in Germany and in Theresienstadt. Most of them were, he concludes, honorable men placed in impossible circumstances.

Although the volume is, for the most part, factually accurate, there are a few lapses. These include the identification of the "black Reichswehr" as Weimar Germany's legal army (p. 49) and of Franz Oppenheimer as expressing Zionist views well after his break with Jewish nationalism (p. 160). It is also to be hoped that the practice of translating the German word *völkisch* (meaning "populist," "racist," and/or "nationalist") as "Volkist" (meaningless in English) will go no further.

DONALD L. NIEWYK  
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GARETH PRITCHARD. *The Making of the GDR 1945–53: From Antifascism to Stalinism*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 244. \$74.95.

Shortly before the unexpected opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989, several researchers at Mannheim's Institute for the Study of East Germany admitted in discussion that little could be added to their basic outline of the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) history. They nevertheless were impatient to get their hands on inaccessible archives, because these might shed light on the deeper dynamics of change in East German history, especially the dialectics of ruler-subject relations. Eleven years later, Gareth Pritchard presents a work that accomplishes precisely what these scholars hoped for: by using previously unexploited materials—many culled from archives in the southern working-class regions of Thuringia and Saxony—he adds new dimensions to our understanding of East German history, especially of the foundational period 1945–1953.

The deeper dynamic that Pritchard pursues is the "interaction of the German and Soviet traditions of Socialism and the transformation of the labor movement from a representative organ of the East German working class to an abject tool of the Communist dictatorship" (p. 6). Although his primary sources focus on workers, his narrative ranges broadly from denazification to land reform to the reemergence of political life, especially via antifascist committees and workplace councils. Contrary to visions of spontaneous worker activism in earlier Western treatments, Pritchard insists on the centrality of organization: the German Communist Party (KPD) more carefully controlled worker councils than previously assumed (pp.

48–49). In concluding chapters he depicts the Stalinization of the East German workers' movement, paying particular attention to the suppression of independent activity at the base. Dictatorship burgeoned in order to counter popular resistance to the regimentation of economic and political life, and gradually the antifascist idealism of the early postwar period yielded to fear of denunciation. By 1950, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) had become alienated from a population in which it had once enjoyed genuine support.

To reach these conclusions, Pritchard masterfully interweaves materials from professional journals, memoirs, interview protocols, diaries, Eastern and Western historical interpretations, as well as a wide range of state and party archives. Especially illuminating in the deployment of such sources are the book's central sections on the fusing of the KPD and Social Democratic Party (SPD) to produce the SED in April 1946. This was a time of complex and conflicting sentiments in the rank and file of both parties, in which determination to survive might lapse into opportunism, or hope born of liberation rapidly give way to resignation under the pressures of military occupation. The one broadly held and unshakable conviction concerned the need for working-class unity after twelve years of Nazi rule. Pritchard's approach thus explodes the two dimensional "compulsion-free will" scheme that characterizes even more nuanced work on the subject, but his documents leave no doubt as to the forces that ultimately assured "worker unity." Most memorable are the unembroidered descriptions of methods used to assure the Communist takeover: for example, the systematic favoring of compliant SPD politicians with better rations (p. 113), or the "use" of compromising material against a Social Democratic "enemy . . . in order to put him under pressure." The latter story is then connected to one Social Democrat's recollection of a telephone conversation in which a Soviet officer threatened to "crush him like a piece of dirt" (p. 114).

Pritchard's judgments appear solid and original within the framework of East German history, but difficulties arise when he attempts to embed them in broader contexts of space and time. With little consideration of relevant sources, the author supposes that limited purging in the upper ranks of the SED reflected greater "resistance" to Stalinism in East Germany, deriving from the fact that the "German labor movement was the oldest in the world . . . and had deeper roots and longer traditions than its Polish, Czech or Hungarian counterparts" (p. 182). Of course quite the opposite is the case: East Germany was the one place where the party failed to produce a serious challenge to Stalinism, even when that was explicitly sanctioned by Moscow. Furthermore, the bloody purging in Poland was an index of native resistance, which even took the form of civil war in the early postwar period. Contrasts of this sort suggest that students of resistance are better advised to examine the confron-

tation of Soviet-style socialism with East European societies, rather than simply with labor movements. And whether the SPD of Germany was run more democratically than counterparts in the Czech lands or Poland is at best a question that might guide future research.

For all this, Pritchard's book remains an impressive and important achievement that belongs on the shelf of anyone interested in the foundation period of East European Communist regimes.

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ANSELM DOERING-MANTEUFFEL. *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert.* (Kleine Reihe V&R.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 160.

There is a widespread misunderstanding of what "Americanization" primarily refers to. Americans will mostly relate this term to the process of "Americanization of immigrants" into American society. This is the apparent reason why the editorial office of the *AHR* asked a scholar of American immigration history to review this book. Most Germans, including the author of the book under review, however, will first think of the complex process of the Americanization of German society and culture, particularly in the course of the twentieth century. It is the shortcoming of this and other publications on either topic not even to mention the parallels and differences between these phenomena. If one looks at Anselm Doering-Manteuffel's borrowed definition of "Americanization," the parallels are even more obvious: "'Americanization' means cultural transfer in the broadest sense. Object of this transfer are 'Americanisms,' i.e. institutions, norms, values, traditions, patterns of behavior, but also symbols, icons, and images that are allegedly or in fact adapted from the United States, but that are in any case felt to be American."

This book aims, first, "to put the transformation of West German society into the wider context of German history since World War I, and, second, to link certain influences from countries in the West to correlated interior developments" (p. 16). After some introductory remarks, Doering-Manteuffel gives short accounts of the Americanism debates during the Weimar Republic and in the aftermath of the world wars. He then turns to official American occupation policy and its impacts. About half of the book is devoted to the presentation of the results of four case studies on the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Michael Hochgeschwender); the transatlantic network of labor unions (Julia Angster); the development of a conservative group in German postwar Protestantism (Thomas Sauer); and the ideological traditions of the Springer Publishing Group (Gudrun Kruij). It is not always wholly clear, however, what the compelling link is between these case studies and the topic of the booklet

as a whole. In the depiction of the Kronberg circle, in particular, the distinction between "Westernization" and support for the conservative/liberal coalition in the 1950s and 1960s remains vague. It seems as if other currents in German postwar Protestantism broke much more clearly with the traditional "non-Western" link between state and church.

The author's main thesis is well known from other studies: the decreasing importance of ideology and the readiness of political parties to form coalitions in the 1960s is seen to be the indicator of Westernization. This is a somewhat disappointing end to the book. Doering-Manteuffel confines himself almost wholly to the time after World War II; while the Nazi era is scanned on a single page, the era of "1968" and after is not even mentioned. We should expect, for example, a discussion of the extent to which different forms of protest introduced by the student movement and the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, the peace movement of the 1980s, and the *Bürgerinitiativen* constituted Westernization of West German political culture. Many acts of civil disobedience were directly inspired by similar actions in the United States and other Western countries. One could ask the same question with regard to the development of West German political parties in terms of internal democracy (with the extreme of *Basisdemokratie* and term limits discussions not only in the Green Party) and expansion of membership in the 1970s.

Methodologically, Doering-Manteuffel does not make new suggestions, such as the inclusion of concepts from social science into the discourse on Westernization or Americanization. Somewhat surprising is the use of terms like "the American state" (p. 17) or "Leitkultur" (p. 103), neither of which is defined by the author. Whom Doering-Manteuffel wishes to address remains a question. From an introductory text on the topic, one would expect more general information on research that has been done in the field. Nor can Doering-Manteuffel satisfy those interested in the case studies; they are better advised to turn directly to those studies themselves.

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JOHN R. HINDE. *Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity.* (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas, number 29.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 327. \$65.00.

Given the frequency with which scholars invoke Jacob Burckhardt's work in discussions of the Italian Renaissance, classical antiquity, art history, and modern German historiography, it is surprising that this volume is the first monograph in English devoted exclusively to explicating the thought and historical context of this important nineteenth-century figure. For this reason alone, John R. Hinde has performed a valuable task and deserves our gratitude. The fact that the

volume is well-researched, readable, and richly suggestive are added reasons not to overlook it.

As the title suggests, Hinde has written much more than a biography: he offers a thickly contextualized cultural history of arguably the nineteenth-century's leading cultural historian, situating Burckhardt's thought in the broader context of "modernity," defined largely as the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth century and their far-reaching ramifications in the nineteenth. While not neglecting Burckhardt's major historical works, Hinde commendably draws much material from minor works, like Burckhardt's little-known articles of political journalism and his many short essays on art history—works that have hitherto (albeit not without justification) stood in the shadow of Burckhardt's more famous *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) and *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (1905). Hinde also ably acquaints the reader with the copious secondary literature on Burckhardt.

Against those like Hayden White who have characterized Burckhardt as a disengaged aesthete and inadequate political thinker, Hinde contends throughout the book that Burckhardt's distinct brand of conservative antimodernism and cultural pessimism is both politically valuable and intellectually honest. Following the lead of Lionel Gossman's impressive work on Basel, Hinde argues that the origins of Burckhardt's conservative sentiment should be sought in his identity as a lifelong citizen of the small Swiss city-republic of Basel, "the leading force of Swiss conservatism and federalism" (p. 62) in an age of liberal optimism, industrialization, and aggressive state centralization. Hinde's discussion of Basel and Burckhardt in the context of nineteenth-century Switzerland's turbulent political history—typified by the Basel "Troubles" of 1830–1833 and the Swiss Civil War (*Sonderbundkrieg*) of 1847—is especially noteworthy.

Hinde argues well in defense of Burckhardt's political judgment, although he perhaps overemphasizes the novelty of his defense, for some of the greatest commentators on Burckhardt—Werner Kaegi, Friedrich Meinecke, Karl Löwith, Wolfgang Hardtwig, and Jörn Rüsen—have regarded Burckhardt not only as a formidable historian but as a keen judge of nineteenth-century political developments. This is especially true with respect to Burckhardt's comments, mainly in his letters, on the creation of a unified Germany under Otto von Bismarck as an example of the hubris and dangers of modern statecraft.

But whereas many of the above individuals have balanced their praise of Burckhardt with criticism, Hinde's approach has the faint ring of an "apologia pro vita sua." Not only does Hinde esteem Burckhardt's critique of modern statecraft, but he praises Burckhardt for possessing a quasi-Marxist strain, as someone "who attempted to expose . . . the contradictions of the liberal, bourgeoisie ethos" (p. 304). In other passages, Hinde admires Burckhardt's affinities with Friedrich Nietzsche, his colleague at the Univer-

sity of Basel, for Burckhardt, although deeply pessimistic, "still celebrated life and the human spirit as embodied in human creativity and will" (p. 303).

But it is precisely on this latter point that critics and guarded admirers have taken Burckhardt to task, as others have confronted Nietzsche's legacy: should human life be celebrated only insofar as it exhibits creativity and exertion of the will? Or, is there anything intrinsic to the lives and destinies of human beings, in their manifold misery and banality, beauty and action, that merits unqualified respect and affirmation? Christianity, which Burckhardt rejected, and modern liberalism, which he largely spurned, have answered resoundingly in the affirmative, albeit in quite different ways. Burckhardt's answer, however, is exquisitely opaque. His many denunciations of democracy and his inability to grant that emerging capitalism, despite its problems, at least had the potential to deliver the lives of millions from quiet desperation suggest a brooding fixation on modernity's darkest elements. Admittedly, though, it was precisely this fixation that bequeathed to him his signature sagacity in an age awash in cheap Whiggish historical optimism.

Indeed, that Burckhardt was among the most penetrating and prescient critics of modernity is beyond dispute. Still, one cannot help wishing that his criticism was crafted with a little more measure, for this certainly would have added weight to Hinde's insistent praise.

THOMAS ALBERT HOWARD  
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JAMES HANKINS, editor. *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*. (Ideas in Context, number 57.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 314. \$59.95.

Nearly fifty years ago, Hans Baron published his provocative *Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (1955). Emphasizing the impact of Florence's political contest with despotic Milan, Baron's study sought to explain the pronounced change in Italian humanism that occurred between the contemplative, literary ideal of Petrarchan classicism and the politically engaged, republican ideal first articulated prominently in the writings of Leonardo Bruni. Baron's interest in the revival of classical republicanism (which he subsequently extended to Niccolò Machiavelli) would be taken up especially in the 1970s by J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner to chart the evolution of republicanism up through early modern England and even the early American republic. As James Hankins indicates in his introduction, the ten essays in this collection largely represent an attempt to revisit the debate over civic humanism—and especially the issue of republicanism—in light of the political history and literature of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy.

William Connell's lead article broadly traces the



historiographical legacy of Baron's republican thesis, showing the gradual emergence of a fully republican Machiavelli (whose *Prince* must become an early anomaly in his political theory) and a fully communitarian republicanism (shorn of self-interest and Lockean liberalism). The synthesis of this view, tracing republican virtue from Aristotle, to Bruni, to Machiavelli, to James Harrington, to John Adams, came in Pocock's *Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (1975). Such an interpretation that emphasizes an uninterrupted tradition of republicanism from the ancient to the modern world and that minimizes liberal concerns for property and self-interest, Connell argues, has come to be challenged by both American historians (reflecting a recrudescence of Lockean views) and scholars of Machiavelli (increasingly interested in harmonizing the *Discourses* and the *Prince*). Aside from the historiographical split between liberal and communitarian schools, the republican tradition also yielded competing political visions, which Cary Nederman in his essay proposes to explain with another paradigm. He argues that starting with Cicero there were in fact two classical republicanism: one more rhetorical (emphasizing social dimensions of speech and the participatory assent of the populace) and one more rational (emphasizing principles of justice and natural law that can be divined by an intellectual elite and passively accepted by the populace). He traces out this dual tradition in the late medieval period in Marsilius of Padua and Nicholas of Cusa, and in the early modern period in Machiavelli and Harrington.

Several articles offer revisionist interpretations of Leonardo Bruni's originality and authenticity as a republican theorist. James Blythe—largely extending Skinner's analysis in the first volume of his *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978)—shows how Baron overstated Bruni's singularity by overlooking republican sentiments in the medieval tradition among figures such as Ptolemy of Lucca and Marsilius of Padua. Fresher approaches are to be found in articles appraising the genuineness and accuracy of Bruni's republicanism. In his own essay, Hankins reconsiders the antipodal views of Bruni as ideological "civic humanist" and nonideological "professional rhetorician" debated by Baron and Jerrold Seigel in their spirited exchange in *Past and Present* (1966–1967). He suggests that this is a false dichotomy, asserting that these roles were easily compatible. That is, Bruni's propagandistic pieces in the *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* and the *Oration for Nanni Strozzi* were exaggerations of republicanism meant to serve rhetorical purposes (to praise Florence and to defend an embattled Strozzi family) but were not necessarily indicative of his own views of historical reality (more accurately displayed in the *Florentine History*) or his own preferences (revealed in his oligarchic *On the Constitution of the Florentines*).

In a suggestive essay appraising the "accuracy" of Bruni's republicanism, John Najemy argues that,

rather than being a true reflection of personal beliefs of humanist writers or of contemporary political realities in Florence, civic humanism emerged as a "myth" or civic ideology reinforcing the political interests of the oligarchic class between 1382 (when the last of the newly enfranchised woolworkers' guilds were disbanded) and 1434 (when Medici rule became enconced). Disturbed by the possible anarchy attending lower-class political assertions (as in the Ciompi revolt), nonelite members of the major guilds acquiesced to the power of the elite in return for the latter's granting greater participation in political offices. Consensus politics thereby replaced the constituency politics of the earlier corporate guild structure (although here perhaps Najemy fails to appreciate Bruni's praise of checks and balances in the *Laudatio*), and civic humanism provided the underpinnings for this conservative ethos that championed broadened participation, concern for the greater whole, and respect for the patriarchal authority of the oligarchic elite. Mikael Hörnqvist elucidates the imperial components of Florentine civic humanism, chiding Baron and others for glossing over the seeming contradictions or hypocrisy inherent in an ideology of republicanism and liberty in the face of Florentine expansionism and imperialism in the same period. He suggests that these two political currents were in fact joined at the hip, just as they were in the ancient Roman republic—a perception transmitted to the Renaissance by historians such as Sallust—and that, for instance, Bruni's *Laudatio* can be read partly as an address to subject territories urging them to accept Florentine control.

Several other essays deal with sixteenth-century incarnations of republican (or nonrepublican) theory. Joining to political texts a consideration of visual symbols, Alison Brown shows how emblems (e.g. *libertas*) or statues (e.g. of David or Hercules) had intrinsically republican contexts that were appropriated by the Medici during their rise to power. Such symbols were eventually exposed or "de-masked" by writers such as Francesco Guicciardini who were increasingly aware of the disjuncture between republican ideals and princely realities—and who could, in his case, even adapt the concept of "liberty" to support Medici control of the government once again after 1530. Athanasios Moulakis argues that Guicciardini's *Discorso di Logrogno* proposes a "realist constitutionalism" in which a deliberative Senate (composed of vying members of the oligarchic elite) advances a legislative agenda to be approved by a popular council.

Two essays seek to detach Machiavelli from the idealistic currents in classical and fifteenth-century thought to which the moral wing of the republican school would connect him. Harvey Mansfield rejects any link between Bruni—whom he places in the tradition of Aristotle—and Machiavelli, who based his theory on necessity or the "effectual truth," as seen in his more realistic views of the rationalizing (rather than, as for Bruni, ennobling) purposes of rhetoric, the positive effects of discord, and the necessity of war.



Paul Rahe similarly opposes any attempt to tie Machiavelli to the ancient republican tradition, arguing that he represents a significant departure. More gloomy Augustinian than sanguine Aristotelian in his view of man, Machiavelli fundamentally rejected virtue in favor of competing forms of self-interest as the operative force in political life. Placing Machiavelli in this Lockean liberal tradition (that stresses "negative" liberty from encroachment rather than "positive" liberty of political involvement), Rahe argues, more readily allows for a reconciliation of the political visions in the *Prince* and the *Discourses*.

On the whole, this is a superb and thought-provoking set of essays. Adding both to the collection's liveliness and to its unity is the fact that most of the contributors read each other's pieces, providing opportunities for cross reference, comparison, and disagreement. Although perhaps sometimes overcorrecting Baron's transparent vision of Renaissance republicanism with too robust a skepticism, these essays offer an engaging revisionist response to a thesis that, despite its flaws, has continued to resonate for nearly half a century. Exploring the republican theme across time, across an ocean, and across disciplines, this collection will be of interest to scholars in several fields, and one can hope that Cambridge University Press will also issue the volume in paper.

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WILLIAM J. CONNELL and ANDREA ZORZI, editors. *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 357. \$69.95.

Just over three decades ago, in 1968 to be precise, the concept of Florentine Tuscany received definition and impetus from three major scholars working in the Anglo-American tradition of Renaissance historiography. In his seminal *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence*, Lauro Martines explored aspects of Florence's territorial government. Among the notable contributions to the collaborative volume, *Florentine Studies*, edited by Nicolai Rubinstein, were Marvin Becker's paper on the Florentine territorial state and civic humanism and Michael Mallett's on Pisa and Florence in the fifteenth century. Most importantly, Becker also brought out the second volume of his *Florence in Transition*, which bore the significant subtitle of *Studies in the Rise of the Territorial State*.

Thanks to the work of Becker, Giorgio Chittolini and many others, the concept of the "territorial state" has become a commonplace in Renaissance historiography, so much so that the Pisan-based Centro di studi sulla civiltà del Tardo Medioevo devoted an international conference at San Miniato to the topic in June 1996. Largely from papers at this conference, William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi have gathered the sixteen essays published in English. But neither the press nor

the editors clearly note the origins of the papers, provide affiliations or identities of the contributors, or explain the relation of this Cambridge University Press volume to the Italian conference and its sessions. The subtitle of the forthcoming volume in Italian, "Researches, Languages, and Comparisons," suggests greater scope and more papers than the selection offered here.

Whatever the overlap with the forthcoming Italian volume, the essays published here constitute a major, indeed pathbreaking contribution to our understanding of the Florentine territorial state in the century and a half before the Medici principate. After Connell's brief historiographical introduction, Zorzi considers the "Material Constitution" of the Florentine dominion, the hierarchies and contradictions inherent in Florence's mastery of Tuscany, as opposed to any simple linear development. Most authors follow Zorzi's lead in expressing discomfort with a thesis of the growth of the "modern state" and eschewing any idea of progress in the methods of governance, administration, or authority in Florentine Tuscany. In her examination of "The Language of Empire," Alison Brown contrasts the self-conscious use of *imperium*, sometimes employed by such humanists as Leonardo Bruni to connote Roman concepts of authority, with the more usual *dominatio* that denote Florentine territorial rule. Using her intimate knowledge of the chancery under Bartolomeo Scala, she is able to trace an evolution of the language of offices and everyday administration. Jane Black's essay concerns the legal realities behind changes in legislation, especially the famous new code of statutes from 1415. Her analysis of jurists' views on the system of oversight of the subject towns concludes that Florence continued legal confirmation of all legislation emanating from the larger centers. Thus, a time-consuming and ceaseless activity was required simply to make viable the administration of the subject towns.

Three of the most sophisticated and challenging essays examine questions of fiscality and taxation. In an explicitly revisionist paper, Giuseppe Petralia argues that, given Florence's constant need to adapt inherited systems of taxation in its dominions, there could be little progress toward a powerful modern state. In this context, the imposition of the famous *catasto* of 1427 was anything but sound fiscal policy; rather it was a desperate "unilateral, and therefore 'illegitimate' act of fiscal aggression" and "unsuccessful wartime innovation" (p. 68) that was quickly repealed. Instead, Florence under the Medici had to utilize the systems at hand and exploit older forms of indirect taxation, such as monopolies and gabelles. Stephen R. Epstein sees Florence's territorial acquisitions, especially the conquest of Pisa, as providing opportunities for the rationalization of market structures. But the Florentines were slow to dismantle the internal tariffs and reduce taxes on trade. To explain this resistance to fiscal innovation, both authors are reduced to metaphor. For Petralia, by its interference

in Pisan gabelles, "Florence killed the hen . . . that laid golden eggs" (p. 85). For Epstein, in threatening to divert trade by overtaxation, "Florence faced the constant danger of killing the goose with the golden eggs" (p. 98). In both cases, the beneficial effect of territorial integration in improving the tax base or promoting domestic trade did not fully materialize. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., makes a convincing link between altitude, liminality, and freedom by demonstrating that the peasants residing in slopes of the Apennines on the northern borders ultimately gained lower tax rates and other exemptions as compared with agriculturists nearer the capital.

Perhaps half of the essays treat more traditional questions of governance, patronage and administration of individual towns and communities. Connell returns to the career of the humanist Giannozzo Manetti as vicar and provincial governor in Pistoia, Pescia, and Scarperia and concludes that the Medici regime was no more repressive or tyrannical than the rule of the Albizzi oligarchy that preceded it. Patrizia Salvadori examines the minutes of town councils and letters and petitions sent from local centers to the Medici to plot the creation of networks of mutual interest between localities and the capital and concludes that Lorenzo's rule was a turning point in the administration of the territorial state. Several younger Tuscan scholars exhibit traditional strengths of Italian historical scholarship, combining extensive archival research and circumscribed focus with awareness of larger historiographical issues in examining local situations. Lorenzo Fabbri assesses the role of patronage in the Florentine patriciate's governance of Volterra, while Francesco Salvestrini plots the evolution of a political class in San Miniato al Tedesco. Oretta Muzza examines the role and aspirations of local social classes in aiding Florentine governance of Colle Valdelsa while elevating their town to the status of *civitas* (that is, seat of a bishopric). Robert Black mines his earlier important studies to plot the changes in Florentine patronage and rule in Arezzo, concluding that the Medici, notably Lorenzo, "counteracted the centralizing tendencies of previous republican regimes in the territorial state" (p. 311). Stephen Milner has studied thousands of letters and petitions from Pistoia contained in the Archivio mediceo avanti il principato to conclude the Medici involvement in local governance and officeholding became most significant in the time of Lorenzo, as the Florentine rulers tried to provide the appearance of impartiality while favoring pliant factions.

In the only essay dedicated to the Florentine church, David Peterson examines the effects of conciliar reform and papal politics on appointment to high ecclesiastical office and the long-standing role of such church leaders as Antonino Pierozzo in opposing Medici control. In an essay of satisfying concreteness, Laura de Angelis details the number, activities, social origins, and careers of the Florentine officeholders who administered the territorial state from the annex-

ation of Arezzo in 1384 to the acquisition of Livorno in 1421.

In his concluding comment, Chittolini underscores the innovation of the approaches taken in these essays, with an appreciation of how local conditions often promote conflicting interpretations of the nature and extent of state power. Future students of Florentine Tuscany would do well to remember Tip O'Neill's famous dictum: "All politics are local."

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GABRIELLA ZARRI. *Recinti: Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna*. (Saggi, number 516.) Bologna: Mulino. 2000. Pp. 498. L. 48,000.

In this magisterial set of essays, Gabriella Zarri illuminates the interlocking nature of marital and monastic "enclosures" (*recinti*) that shaped the lives of Italian women in the early modern period. Zarri envisions enclosures not simply as physical spaces but also as a complex set of symbols and practices that protected women, constrained and controlled them, and formed their identities and self-perceptions. The central question running throughout her deeply researched investigation is the impact of Catholic religious reforms on Italian women's experiences in the long passage from medieval to modern times. Zarri refracts this problem through different analytical lenses and bodies of evidence, resulting in multiple perspectives rather than a single, sustained argument. Magnifying this prismatic effect is the structure of the book itself. The volume is composed of seven essays, six published previously over the last fifteen years and presented anew with updated bibliographies. The methodological arc traced by the essays reveals both the author's own development and the more general shift in early modern studies from sociological to cultural categories of analysis. The broad range of evidence used—archival, administrative sources in the early chapters, visual and textual evidence in the later ones—permits consideration of an equally broad range of issues: the interplay between family imperatives and religious ideals, the accommodations between secular and ecclesiastical power, the different openings that city and court offered women. Despite some inevitable overlap between essays, the book reveals the complex process by which the two conventional destinies for women—marriage or cloister—became interwoven into a single symbolic field, with the image of woman as bride emerging as an all-encompassing metaphor for early modern nuns, wives, and spinsters alike.

Part one examines how the dual forces of expansion and enclosure reshaped Italian female monasticism between 1450 and 1700. In the first, dense essay, whose original publication established her as the reigning scholar in the field, Zarri shows how female monasticism persisted as a civic as well as religious problem across north-central Italy. She reconstructs the paradoxical spiral of institutional impoverishment, private

wealth, and internal disorder set in motion by Tridentine reforms instituted to achieve precisely the opposite effects. The second essay focuses on the changing role convents played in female education between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Throughout this period, convents functioned as central institutional ambits for cultural production; yet the growth of parallel institutions designed to provide girls' primary education eventually undercut convents' traditional role. Although women's educational opportunities expanded in number and type during the early modern era, these experiences continued to be structured by monastic models and ideals.

Part two examines familial enclosures through the double lens of Tridentine marriage regulations and the expanding trope of mystical marriage. Catholic reformers attempted the difficult task of reconciling marriage as sacrament with its myriad social functions. Unlike Protestant reformers, who resolved this conflict by denying the sacramentality of marriage, Tridentine councilors "modernized" marriage by shifting its legal and ritual core from simple consensus to a public occasion solemnized by clergy. Zarri argues that, in reforming marriage, Catholics and Protestants similarly emphasized new formalities and disciplining mechanisms, despite differences in doctrine and church-state relations. This discussion launches the next, previously unpublished essay, which acts as the book's linchpin. Here Zarri traces the changing symbolic valence of mystical marriage in Italy between 1300 and 1600, showing how the metaphor of marriage molded nuns' consecration rites, the investiture ceremonies of Tuscan bishops and Venetian doges, and the proliferating iconography of saints. By placing these seemingly disparate elements in dialogue with each other, Zarri demonstrates the overwhelming concern in early modern Italy with the stability and sanctions that even fictive marriage provided.

Part three moves beyond the traditional enclosures of marriage and cloister to examine the new, "third" status that emerged for women after 1550. In three comparatively brief essays, Zarri analyzes the Ursulines and other organized celibate women, whose simple vows of chastity and active lifestyle of social service carved out an intermediate way of life newly legitimized by church and society. Yet even this innovative status was perceived by contemporaries as a "new manner" of marrying Christ, highlighting again the supremacy of the marital model for women. Although Zarri argues that only this third status granted women an "authentic liberty," she downplays ecclesiastical oversight and coercion of these groups.

If some of Zarri's findings seem familiar, it is because they helped establish our current interpretive framework. The individual essays nonetheless gain fresh analytical force by posing developments in family, society, and convent in direct relation to each

other, rendering the volume more than the sum of its parts.

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SHEARER WEST, editor. *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 237.

In his monumental seven-volume work, *Settecento riformatore* (1969), Franco Venturi set out to analyze the dense network of international cultural relations that joined intellectuals of all sorts and all backgrounds in eighteenth-century Europe in a common endeavor to reform the old regime. The book under review, in the words of editor and contributor Shearer West, seeks to "redress the balance" skewed by a historiography focused on influences transmitted "through the printed word" (p. 3). To do so, it brings together contributions by an interdisciplinary group of art, music, and architecture historians, all bearing on the problem of the transmission of culture from Italy to northern Europe, and occasionally, back again. They show that alongside the discussion and exchange of ideas and programs in which Venturi attributed a key role to Italian intellectuals, there were cultural contacts of other sorts. Equally important, in the authors' view, were the connections made with their northern European counterparts by Italian painters, sculptors, architects, singers, composers, actors and playwrights. Thus, while Ludovico Antonio Muratori was establishing the field of medieval history that would be continued by Edward Gibbon, the castrato Farinelli brought his celestial intonations to the English stage (in the essay by Leslie Griffin Hennessey). While Cesare Beccaria campaigned against the death penalty in Paris and St. Petersburg, Giambattista Piranesi brought Egyptian revival to the walls of the English café in Rome (Nigel Llewellyn). And while Gaetano Filangieri grounded legal science on more rational principles, Louis-Jean Desprez conceived of a pleasure palace for the king of Sweden based on the model of Palladio, updated by Luigi Vanvitelli (Neil Kent).

Nor were the construction of taste and the transmission of aesthetic ideas due exclusively to the efforts of a few outstanding practitioners, as Francis Haskell and his school seemed to imply a generation ago. While the more influential figures appeared to direct stylistic change from the top down, a host of lesser lights, minor technicians, and individuals operating scarcely above the level of the handicrafts built cultural relations from the ground up. They, too, like their better-known counterparts, were engaged in making and representing themselves as well as in making art. And for understanding the social construction of cultural personalities, our considerable knowledge about the painter Canaletto is now accompanied by a more sensitive appreciation of, say, Francesco Bartolozzi



(Shearer West). What we know of the opera librettist Pietro Metastasio is joined to new information about Pietro Bernardoni (Don Neville); we are now able to view the playwright Carlo Goldoni as part of the same artistic terrain as Luigi Riccoboni (Robert Kenny). To show how these practitioners quite literally created the artistic environment of their time inevitably demands a biographical approach. Just as inevitably, in a relatively brief collection like this one, the examples seem like so many tiny molecules in a vast sea of cultural activity, too few to be truly representative. We are presented with a limited number of artists (two contributions, by John Eglin and by Llewellyn, are primarily devoted to Canaletto) but very little in the way of migratory patterns; we are given much concerning single works, less concerning shop practices. Only John Rosselli, taking on the entire category of "singers," opts for a genuinely sociological approach. This may be because in the field of musical performance, by the eighteenth century, the rise in salaries helped generate a tertiary sector of career management, legal refinements brought about regular contracts, and improvements in travel favored a truly international season.

Indeed, what all these figures had in common, in seeking advancement by the fruits of their endeavors, was their situation within the new emerging marketplace made familiar to us by Simon Schama, John Brewer, and others. Not that the standard system of lifetime subjection to a single patron was immediately or entirely replaced by subjection to the more impersonal imperatives of supply and demand. As information about the available repertory of styles and talents began to circulate more widely and rapidly, practitioners might opt to offer their services over a certain period of time to the highest bidder until a higher one came along, or their single productions to an anonymous public of connoisseurs. Rosalba Carriera, who carried on her business mainly by correspondence from her studio in Venice, steadfastly refusing offers of a court position in Düsseldorf, was no less typical in this regard than Metastasio, who worked at Vienna under Charles VI and Maria Theresa for the best years of his life.

Explanations for intercultural stylistic change now take into account the changing international demand for aesthetic experiences. If a broad public of bourgeois purchasers, many from German-speaking lands, expressed a powerful affinity for female subjects portrayed in seductive tones and textures (West), Carriera could no more ignore their requests than could Johan Tobias Sergel ignore those of the Swedish monarchs for an architecture refracting austere Protestant values through an Italicizing lens (Kent). Jacopo Amigoni's careful cultivation of a French rococo style picked up in Venice can scarcely be separated from his success at the Bourbon court in Naples (Hennessey); and the same goes for Metastasio's exuberant neoclassicism, which fed the fantasies of a politically unstable Imperial court (Neville). Pierre Marivaux's theatrical language, derived from Italian commedia dell'arte, re-

sponded to a Parisian audience with cosmopolitan tastes (Kenny); just as Canaletto's pictorial language, translating elements of the London cityscape into the concepts of the *vedutisti*, responded to a city-based clientele (Eglin).

In this complex fabric of culture, there need not have been any direct connection between the many strands of aesthetic production analyzed here and the strands of social reality that have preoccupied political historians. It was quite possible for the physiocrats to draw on the Tuscan agronomists' ideas about improving grain production, utterly without reference to the antics of the commedia dell'arte performer Carlo Bertinazzi, known as Carlin, on the French stage. And although the latter was admired by Jean LeRond d'Alembert, and some elements of the Enlightenment apparently shone through even in the later commedia dell'arte (although we are not told what these might have been), still, the connection between these micro-histories and any larger narrative is often difficult to make out. Instead, the characters seem to lilt across the stage or stand isolated in ambiguous landscapes, like so many figures in the paintings of Jean-Antoine Watteau, far removed from what we have come to regard as the major cultural trends of the day.

BRENDAN DOOLEY

*Medici Archive Project*

MANEULA MARTINI. *Fedeli alla terra: Scelte economiche e attività pubbliche di una famiglia nobile Bolognese nell'Ottocento*. (Collana di storia dell'economia e del credito, number 8.) Bologna: Mulino. 2000. Pp. 434. L. 55,000.

Banks in Italy routinely dedicate a small portion of their surplus revenues to providing subventions for scholarly works that might otherwise not survive the market-driven tests imposed by publishers, and in this instance we are indebted to the Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna for subsidizing this book, the eighth in a series of studies broadly related to the relationship between credit instruments and economic growth. Since none of the other seven volumes has been reviewed in the *AHR* (nor in any other journals accessible in ProQuest), and given that each of the books is a formidable work of scholarship, absolutely untainted by its subvention, and worthy of attention from a wide audience of historians concerned with European economic history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, I shall list them: Paola Antonello, *Dalla pietà al credito: Il Monte di Pietà di Bologna fra Otto e Novecento* (1997); Mauro Carboni, *Il debito della città: Mercato del credito, fisco e società a Bologna fra Cinque e Seicento* (1995); Mauro Carboni, *Le doti della "povertà": Famiglia, risparmio, previdenza; Il Monte del Matrimonio di Bologna (1583-1796)* (1999); Isabelle Chabot and Massimo Fornasari, *L'economia della carità: Le doti del Monte di Pietà di Bologna (secoli XVI-XX)* (1997); Massimo Fornasari, *Il "Tesoro" della città: Il Monte di Pietà e l'economia*



*bolognese nei secoli XV e XVI* (1993); Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, ed., *Banchi ebraici a Bologna nel XV secolo* (1994); and Angelo Varni, ed., *Per diritto di conquista: Napoleone e la spoliazione dei Monti di Pietà di Bologna e Ravenna* (1996).

The title of Manuela Martini's book amply captures its theme: "faithful to the land" is exactly how the noble Bolognini family maintained its illustrious position and considerable wealth through all the vicissitudes of nineteenth-century Italy. Steadfast adherence to time-tested agrarian values and norms, combined with selective innovation and compromise, preserved an aristocratic patrimony that, upon the death in 1885 of its last great son, Marquis Agostino Amorini Bolognini, amounted to over two million lire, of which more than 1.3 million lire was in land and livestock. The deceased owed his creditors only L. 973, hardly even loose change since he had over L. 80,000 in cash on hand and held another L. 539,938 in public debt. At a cost of L. 17,320, his funeral was sumptuous in keeping with his high station in life, but in all other matters he appears to have been parsimonious. His estate shows no interaction with industrialists or other rising bourgeoisie and only L. 135,500 in urban property of any kind (Table 3.7, p. 218).

In tracing the complex ways by which the marquis's eloquently sparse balance sheet closed as it did, Martini variously validates, amplifies, modifies, and questions the assertions best known for Europe generally through the classic work of Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (1981). While Martini accepts Mayer's demolition of the old notion that the aristocracy simply married and invested itself into the emerging urban, industrial, capitalist economy—thereby dooming its former patrician hold on power—she does not see landed elites, either the family she has examined so closely or, by implication, the rural wealthy throughout the Po Valley, as having simply said "no" to modernity, as having refused at all cost the insistent clamor of the newly rich to exchange money for status. Landed aristocrats were too smart, too subtle, too altruistic, and too opportunistic to close themselves off totally from a rapidly changing world, one they could not know would go twice to war against itself, destroying forever the delicate balance by which Europe's agrarian elite survived largely intact until 1914.

While Martini's book does not alter fundamentally the conclusions about how northern Italy's aristocracy faced modernity already familiar to scholars through the work of Anthony Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy: The Piedmontese Nobility, 1861–1930* (1997), her methodological approach is different than his, allowing for a reassuring confirmation of what we know. Whereas Cardoza looked broadly across documentary residues concerning the finances of over 800 nobles, Martini microscopically examines the dealings of just one family, including of course its main branches and marriage alliances but nevertheless remaining tightly focused. Even more than Cardoza, she is thus able to

reveal exactly how the magnates preserved and enhanced their wealth, shifting from grain to more commercially oriented hemp cultivation, shrewdly altering the mix of dry and wet terrains, attending to local administration and charitable organizations, squeezing more out of sharecropper contracts by keeping an eye on manure and forage, and cross-checking the accounts down to the last lire. The devil indeed is in the details, and Martini has done all the hard work of gathering the details.

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EMILIO GENTILE. *Fascismo e antifascismo: I pariti italiani fra le due guerre*. (Quaderni di Storia: Fondati da Giovanni Spadolini.) Firenze: Felice Le Monnier. 2000. Pp. 545. L. 32,000.

This volume is the most recent of a series of works devoted to Italian fascism produced by the disciples of the late Renzo De Felice. De Felice and those who became members of his "school" published an entire catalog of books that attempted to deliver reasonably objective accounts of Benito Mussolini and the history of the fascist period in an academic environment significantly influenced by those committed to "Marxist" scholarship—and in international circumstances characterized by fixed antifascist opinion. With remarkably few exceptions, De Felice's students have performed surprisingly well. Emilio Gentile has shown himself to be among the best of them.

Gentile's book is an attempt to deliver, in brief compass, not only a history of fascism from the immediate post-World War I period through the advent of World War II but also something of the story of the Italian antifascist parties as well. Devoid of the elaborate footnoting machinery academics have come to expect, Gentile's rendering is supported by a serviceable bibliographic appendix. The text itself is dotted with selections from the primary materials of the period. Many of the resources thus made available would be otherwise difficult to obtain. Finally, as a check on Gentile's exposition, there is the evidentiary depository of the entire epoch that De Felice has left to contemporary scholarship in his political biography of Mussolini.

What is missing in Gentile's rendering is the ideological rationale that fascists gave as vindication of their behaviors. Missing is the thought of fascist luminaries such as Giovanni Gentile, Ugo Spirito, Sergio Panunzio, and A. O. Olivetti. For that dimension of the fascist experience, one must make recourse to other books, including Gentile's own *Le Origini dell'ideologia fascista: 1918–1925* (1975).

What emerges out of Gentile's compact history of fascism, and Italy's antifascist parties from 1918 through 1940, is a creditable narrative of an enormously complex period in modern Italian history. It becomes evident, almost immediately, how untenable are many of the popular social science "interpreta-

tions" of Italian fascism. That fascism was the "product of advanced capitalism," or the "tool of finance capital," reveals itself as a howling implausibility. The thesis that it was the simple byproduct of "mass society" or "sexual frustration" becomes equally unlikely.

In effect, and ideally, responsible historiography interacts with the social sciences as a control. This is particularly true with respect to contested historical sequences. To this day, one need only refer to contemporary social science representations of fascism to appreciate how little purchase we have attained on the phenomenon. In the half century since the disappearance of Italian fascism, we seem to understand very little of what actually transpired. Suggestive evidence of that is the frequent recourse we still make to characterizations of fascism's intrinsic "bestiality," "evil," and "irrationality." One finds little of that in Gentile's work. It represents the measured objectivity one expects of professional historiography.

Initially, Gentile intended to publish a very brief exposition of his subject—clearly an impossible task. Nonetheless, while not brief, the text of the present volume runs only 400 pages. This is an impressive achievement.

One can only lament that it seems evident that no English-language publisher will underwrite the translation and publication of any of the major volumes of De Felice's massive biography of Mussolini. Given that reality, Gentile's summary account of the first, and most instructive, period of fascism's history, together with a narrative devoted to the major antifascist parties, recommends itself to Anglo-American publishing houses. It is the collateral product of almost forty years of carefully crafted collective scholarship by De Felice and his students. The work is recommended to all those seriously interested in "classical" fascism. It is a corrective to all those curious notions, which have recently become increasingly popular, of a generic "fascism" that is discovered in the behaviors of tax protestors, fundamentalist Christians, soccer thugs, skinheads, and graveyard vandals.

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STANISLAO PUGLIESE. *Carlo Rosselli: Socialist Heretic and Anti-Fascist Exile*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 309. \$35.00.

Rarely these days are political theorists in any way heroic, at least not in public. The near total absorption of political theory into the academy and its close relationship with questions of public policy and law have distanced the production of political ideas from more pressing questions of life and death. This is why a thinker such as Carlo Rosselli, the Italian antifascist and proponent of "liberal socialism" between the two world wars, retains a fascination that professional theorists such as Jürgen Habermas or John Rawls

barely approximate. Rosselli, of course, lacked the philosophical grounding and system of contemporary theorists. His work is journalistic, publicly engaged, more deliberately provocative and open-ended than we have come to expect from political theorists. Yet it is precisely this unfinishedness that lends his thought its force. Stanislaio Pugliese's admirably clear and enjoyable biography helps us understand this force as part of a life lived under the unenviable conditions of political crisis and state repression. Rosselli committed himself wholeheartedly to antifascism, seemingly aware that, like other antifascists before him, he was destined for an early grave: he wrote clandestinely for a number of radical, outlawed newspapers; pulled off an escape from Italy of the aged socialist Filippo Turati; landed himself in jail and in forced "internal" exile; and, in 1930, successfully escaped to France, where he continued to conduct his campaign against the Mussolini regime. Rosselli earned the status of a serious thorn-in-the-side of Benito Mussolini's ever-ambitious plans, acting as a focal point for a variety of exiled antifascists. For this he paid the ultimate price: in 1937, he and his brother Nello were both brutally murdered by fascists.

But what of Rosselli's ideas? Is there anything of enduring significance that might be extracted from this brief, adventurous life? Pugliese does an excellent job in expounding and assessing the theoretical merit of his subject's intellectual output without falsely distancing it from its context or disguising its limitations. Rosselli was a distinctively Italian thinker: his socialism and liberalism were founded on notions of popular democratic renewal traceable to a Mazzinian current in political thought. Rosselli followed other Italian intellectuals dissatisfied with the prefascist "liberal" regime in calling for a spiritual rebirth of Italians. Yet, having witnessed the collapse of the liberal state and the utter inadequacy of the Italian left in promoting a feasible alternative, Rosselli formulated his own synthesis of liberalism and socialism as the basis to a renewed socialist politics. *Socialismo liberale* was written in the late 1920s during his confinement on the island of Lipari. The text was smuggled out prior to his own escape and published first in France. For Rosselli, socialism was not an alternative to liberalism but its next stage, a socialization of liberty to a wider constituency. The Italian socialist tradition, however, had attached itself to a vulgarized, determinist Marxism that projected a classless future but provided no sense of its specific organizing principles, thus effectively condemning itself to political indecision. Only by rearticulating liberalism—conceived as a "religion of liberty" (as the philosopher Benedetto Croce put it) rather than an economic doctrine—with socialism could democracy be adequately secured in countries like Italy without a strong indigenous liberal tradition or the advanced economic conditions to support it.

Rosselli's views appealed to a variety of left-leaning intellectuals, but they did not grip the masses in the way he would have hoped. In part, this was because his

work was never expressed as a mass doctrine; it sought to reimagine "the people," but it was not a strategy that actually engaged with their experiences, a notion with which Rosselli's fellow Italian Antonio Gramsci grappled with more success. His seemingly "overly intellectual" position was roundly criticized by the Italian Communist Party, which, quite unfairly, dismissed him as a "worthless dilettante."

Nevertheless, Rosselli's effort to synthesize liberalism and socialism, to expound a political theory that combines social justice and individual liberty, chimes closely with recent debates in Europe concerning a "Third Way" for Social Democracy. These debates are typically conducted at the level of public policy, but there are important normative principles at stake, too. Contemporary political ideologies are increasingly challenged by processes (such as globalization) and political forces (such as the radical right) that require a creative response, a recasting of old principles into new forms. Rosselli might yet serve not as a model answer to these concrete problems but perhaps as a "paradigm case" of how political theory can confront crisis and change with the passion and valor it requires.

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FILIPPO SABETTI. *The Search for Good Government: Understanding the Paradox of Italian Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 313. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$34.95.

The concluding pages of this interesting but somewhat puzzling book help to clarify why it is that scholars who write about the Italian political system focus so single-mindedly on what is wrong with it. Italians themselves, particularly the intellectuals among them, wallow in self-flagellation. Generations of foreign writers have uncritically recited a litany of Italy's political vices, thereby creating enduring negative stereotypes of that country and its people. Comparisons of Italy with other democracies, which invariably find Italy wanting, are oftentimes superficial, wrong-headed, or just simply wrong.

Filippo Sabetti's praiseworthy effort to bring things into better focus and balance runs afoul of the book itself. Depictions of how badly Italy seems to manage the delivery of public services, economic planning, and the war on crime tend to feed the very stereotypes Sabetti would like to dispel. This is a pity, because Sabetti knows that, in many respects, Italy's performance is equal to or superior to that of many other democracies. He insists, correctly, that one has to look deeply and more carefully than do many social scientists. He illustrates this quite pointedly in his expert dissection of Edward Banfield's *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (1958). That this superficial and patronizing treatment of Italy is still cited at all speaks reams about the protracted half-life of flawed social science. Sabetti notes with equal cogency the unfortu-

nate historical determinism (dolloped up as "path dependency") that mars Robert Putnam's otherwise impressive *Making Democracy Work* (1995).

Sabetti's claim is that Italy has found the search for "good government" something of a will-o-the-wisp. This enduring but unrealized quest, he believes, is made impossible by two structural defects in the system that are rooted in the Risorgimento and the birth of the Italian nation-state itself. The first is in the highly centralized unitary state, by definition far removed from the people. Sabetti seems to believe (but also denies, see p. 243) that things might be quite different had the early institution builders opted for a more federal formula. He is particularly enchanted with the commune-centered political ideas of Carlo Cattaneo. The third chapter will bring some of these to the attention of the broader readership they definitely deserve.

The second structural handicap Sabetti identifies is a monocentric system of law and callous bureaucratic administration that he mistakenly attributes to what he calls the *stato di diritto*. But in Italian jurisprudence this concept is the equivalent of the French *état de droit* or the German *Rechtsstaat*. Where the philosophical underpinnings of "limited government" are continental, as opposed to Anglo-American, this concept, I believe, is considered a necessary condition for the existence of the democratic nation-state itself. The problem in Italy is, rather, that the governments at Rome have produced an avalanche of laws, gargantuan tomes that seek to codify them, and generations of bureaucrats whose interpretations of the same permit arrogant, arbitrary, capricious, rapacious, and other undemocratic forms of behavior. This is, indeed, a terrible burden, but I am far from convinced that the introduction of federalism will lighten it.

An extremely pernicious form of this kind of bureaucratic behavior is that engaged in by Italy's magistrates during the last decade. These highly politicized, ideologically motivated public servants not only created a political power vacuum with their so-called "clean hands" exposés of corruption; they themselves have tried to fill that power vacuum as well, sometimes with frightening success. Sabetti devotes only a few pages (pp. 150–152) to the magistrates, passing much too lightly over the horrific accounts of their behavior that appear in Stanton Burnett and Luca Mantovani's *The Italian Guillotine: Operation Clean Hands and the Overthrow of Italy's First Republic* (1998). This important book should embarrass social scientists who still depict these magistrates as national heroes and, in the process, reinforce an unqualifiedly simplistic image of Italy as one of the most corrupt democracies in the world, if not in history.

Members of the so-called new "historical institutionalism" school will no doubt welcome Sabetti's finding that what ails Italian democracy is to be sought ab initio, in the institutional oversights or outright blunders that occurred at the Italian state's creation fourteen decades ago. As for reforms and overcoming the



odds against them, the author is understandably circumspect. This is less depressing than might otherwise be the case, were the Italian democratic system really as unresponsive, inefficient, incorrectly structured, and corruptly managed as so many continue to claim.

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JERZY KLOCZOWSKI. *A History of Polish Christianity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxxviii, 385. \$69.95.

Toward the end of this excellent survey of Polish Christianity, Jerzy Kloczowski cites some statistics about Polish religiosity in the 1990s: nearly eighty percent of Poland's population believes in the Incarnation, compared to thirty-three percent in Britain and twenty-two percent in France, and Poland is home to half of the Catholic clergy of all of postcommunist Europe. Although the intensity of religious commitment varies regionally, the country is nonetheless one of the least de-Christianized in Europe. This is something evident also to any visitor to Poland.

Why Poland remains so committed to Catholicism is one of the large themes that Kloczowski explores in this volume. His conclusions are tentative and his generalizations qualified, but the answer he arrives at goes something like this. The origins lie in the era of the Reformation. Although many noblemen embraced Calvinism, ultimately most Polish Protestants returned to the Catholic Church. This victory of Catholicism was a largely natural and spontaneous process. Even had he wanted to, the monarch in Poland was too weak to impose uniformity of religion. Moreover, with its large Eastern Orthodox and Jewish populations, Poland had reconciled itself to religious heterogeneity. Kloczowski sees the gradual and voluntary nature of the return to Catholicism as implanting that faith more deeply in Polish society. The contrasting case he points to is the brutal introduction of the Counter Reformation in Bohemia. In the nineteenth century, of course, the Czech national awakening exhibited an aggressively anti-Catholic spirit.

The Poles also remained predominantly agrarian into the twentieth century. The folk religion of the peasantry was not as eroded by modernizing influences as elsewhere in Europe. At the end of the nineteenth century, the peasants' faith was in fact strengthened by the introduction of the new popular devotions emanating from Italy. Among the educated classes, too, in the nineteenth century there were vibrant Catholic currents. Many Polish patriots (and for that matter, Otto von Bismarck and the tsars) identified Catholicism with Polishness.

In the restored Polish state between the wars, there were two large blocs: one that was liberal and secularizing, and another that was right-wing and equated Polishness with Catholicism, an equation with an anti-Jewish edge to it. The latter perspective gained large currency among the young Polish intelligentsia,

especially in the 1930s. In 1936, 20,000 Polish students, about half the country's student population, participated in a pilgrimage to the monastery at Jasna Góra that houses the icon of Our Lady of Częstochowa.

Kloczowski argues that the experience of World War II purified and transformed the Catholic Church in Poland. It suffered profoundly and shared the vicissitudes of its flock. With the institution of a Communist regime, the church seemed even more to be the embodiment of Polishness, especially since there were so many Jews prominent in state and party in the early years of "People's Poland." The Communist authorities' persecution of the church was not without effect, but the imprisonment of the primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (1953–1956) only raised the churchman's prestige in the society at large. After 1956, the situation of the church improved. It had a few institutions at its disposal that were of exceptionally high quality: some lay periodicals and a Catholic university in Lublin (founded 1918). The election of one of the latter's professors as pope in 1978 and his visit to Poland in 1979 further increased the popularity of the Catholic Church. This was evident in the period of Solidarity, 1980–1981, replete with Catholic symbolism. Under martial law, police murdered Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, who quickly came to be regarded as a martyr for faith and nation.

The book deals with other themes as well. Kloczowski is very interested in interconfessional and internationality relations: Polish Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and Uniates, German Protestants, Jews. He also has a strong interest in social history: his social history of the Polish church in the Middle Ages is particularly deft. He is careful to sketch contexts. Interspersed in the text are fine, brief surveys of general European Christianity in a particular epoch or of the relevant Polish political history.

Kloczowski's survey is not footnoted, but it concludes with a bibliographical essay for each chapter. The choices of titles, mainly in English and French, are impeccable. The translation of this work from Polish is generally readable. There are, however, numerous little errors, particularly in terminology, that should have been caught before the work went to press. A few more readers with a knowledge of East European history and Catholic practice would have made a difference.

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NIKOLAS K. GVOSDEV. *Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760–1819*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford. 2000. Pp. xxi, 197. \$65.00.

This study analyzes the policies of the Russian government toward Georgia from just before the accession of Catherine II (in 1762) through the reigns of Paul (1796–1801) and Alexander I (1801–1825). In this period, Georgians actively sought protection from the



Russians, as their fellow Orthodox Christians, against Muslim Turks and Persians who threatened them from the south. In the 1760s, this led the Georgians to seek, and temporarily gain, Russian military assistance against the Ottoman Empire. In 1783, the Treaty of Georgievsk put Georgia under Russian protection, and in 1801, during the first year of Alexander I's reign, Georgia was formally annexed by Russia. By 1819, when this study ends, Russian power had been consolidated in the area (although Georgia remained a strategic, military, and cultural issue within the empire for the rest of the nineteenth century).

Russian policy toward Georgia in this period is certainly worthy of study, particularly as Russian interests in the Caucasus have often been treated in diplomatic histories as an insignificant sideshow to relations with the Ottoman Empire and other European powers. Nikolas K. Gvosdev's thesis is that there was nothing inexorable about the expansion of the Russian Empire into the southern Caucasus, which occurred in a piecemeal and haphazard fashion and was largely dependent on the interests of a few prominent individuals at court. On the whole, his case is convincing. He demonstrates the arbitrariness of Russian policy over the whole period that not only depended on the views of prominent ministers but also could be dramatically affected by a change of regime (most notably at the death of Catherine II in 1796 and then of her son, Paul, in 1801). He shows that the Russian government had little interest in Georgia in the eighteenth century and only responded to Georgian initiatives in a half-hearted manner except for the period when Grigorii Potemkin, Catherine's favorite, dominated policy making in the early 1780s. He gives an excellent description of the heated debates within the circle of Alexander I's chief advisers and friends concerning the merits of the annexation of Georgia in 1801, which reveals the often arbitrary nature of decision making in imperial Russia.

Gvosdev's work is a valuable contribution to the subject. His case is presented clearly, and his judgments are balanced. He demonstrates a good grasp of the complexities of Georgian politics, of the military campaigns in the Caucasus (although more maps would have been helpful), and of the broader diplomatic background to the events unfolding in Georgia. His argument is based on extensive published primary sources, and he engages with the secondary literature well (although his chapter notes would have benefited from more careful proofreading); there is a particularly cogent discussion of the legal significance of the Treaty of Georgievsk in 1783.

Nevertheless, the reader is left still asking some important questions about Russo-Georgian relations, particularly after 1801. Russian policy toward the Georgian Orthodox Church, noble landholding, the legal status of Georgian peasants, Georgian laws and customs are all mentioned fleetingly but never developed. It is perhaps significant that some of Gvosdev's most intriguing references—for example, to the fears

expressed by the Russian army about Georgian rebels and to restrictions imposed on the travel of Georgian Orthodox clergy into Russia—are among the very few sources drawn from archives rather than from published collections of documents or secondary works. Gvosdev has set out to examine Russian policy toward Georgia, and so his primary and secondary sources are in Russian and not in Georgian. This is not an unworthy aim but the problem, as it seems to me, is that Georgia was indeed a sideshow in diplomatic terms in this period and was always subordinated to Russian interests in the Balkans and Central Europe, as Gvosdev himself clearly demonstrates. The most interesting aspects of Russo-Georgian relations, therefore, lie not so much in the fluctuations in Russian diplomacy but in Russian policy in Georgia once the army and administration established their presence (a presence made more difficult by the lack of Russian control over the Muslim territories of the northern Caucasus). The mechanics of the relationship in this period between the center and the periphery in an expanding empire—the degree of social, legal, and economic integration, the relationship between the Russian army and the Russian administration, and between the Russian administration and the Georgian elites, the degree of cultural assimilation, and the relationship between two Orthodox churches—still remain to be explored.

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IAN D. THATCHER. *Leon Trotsky and World War One: August 1914-February 1917*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. vii, 262. \$65.00.

Ian D. Thatcher's study undertakes to offer the first full account of Leon Trotsky's activities as a journalist during World War I. Although Thatcher shares the historical opinion that without Russia's involvement in the Great War there would not have been the Revolution of 1917, he does not pretend that Trotsky's literary work in this period had a major impact on either the course of the war or the political situation in Russia. Yet Trotsky was a successful journalist who addressed an incredibly large range of war-related topics, employing an incisive analytical style typically permeated with biting humor and criticism. Writing for various newspapers in several countries constituted a main source of his income, and no biography of the world-famous Marxist revolutionary can be complete without a detailed look at his journalistic endeavors. This is especially true because "Trotsky developed his theory very much in the fire of events, most importantly in journalistic essays." Thatcher argues that his newspaper articles written before 1917 "are an important source both for tracing the evolution of Trotsky's views and for evaluating his effectiveness as a revolutionary." In fact, according to Thatcher, "only by reading Trotsky's writings of the time can his main concerns as a thinker and a publicist be illustrated" (p.

vi). Yet whereas Trotsky's articles published during the Balkan Wars have received considerable attention and were translated into English, his journalism of the post-1914 period remains largely neglected.

Although there are occasional references to archival materials, Trotsky's newspaper articles published between 1914 and 1917 are Thatcher's main sources. Based on these writings, Thatcher is able to supplement Trotsky's political portrait with new and significant details, as he does, for instance, by analyzing the nature and impact of his essays published in the Ukrainian newspaper *Kievskaya mysl'*. Thatcher's book also adds to our knowledge of the situation in the Russian Social Democratic camp by discussing L. Martov's intricate relationship with Trotsky in the context of general discord among the Mensheviks. Equally important, Thatcher finds himself at odds with other historians—Trotsky's biographers and specialists in the history of the socialist democratic movement—on a number of controversial issues. It is generally taken for granted that, during the war, Trotsky adjusted his theoretical and tactical views to make them more harmonious with V. I. Lenin's position—something that made their alliance in November 1917 logical and almost inevitable. Although this claim emanates from Trotsky's own post factum account of his intellectual transformation after 1914, Thatcher demonstrates that Trotsky's essays and articles serve as counter-evidence. They show that Trotsky, while debating the socialists who supported their government's war efforts, appreciated the significance of the peace slogan for the process of mobilizing revolutionary masses; Lenin, however, refused to compromise an inch of his position that all socialists should strive to turn the imperialist conflict into a civil war between the capitalists and the proletarians. Thatcher then analyzes Trotsky's rationale for subsequently presenting a falsified account of his intellectual development during World War I, attributing his efforts to obscure the differences between himself and Lenin to "the exigencies of the power struggle in the 1920s" (p. 213).

In reality, Thatcher argues, Trotsky's alliance with Lenin was sudden: an unexpected result of the revolutionary "excitement of 1917," a product of very special circumstances. Given Trotsky's "otherness" and the contingent nature of his conversion to Bolshevism, Thatcher considers Trotsky's departure from Bolshevik ranks a decade later not so peculiar. The point is well taken: "rather than ponder why Trotsky was exiled, we may prefer to ask: what kept him so long?" (p. 213).

By contrast, Thatcher's conclusion Trotsky's journalistic work retains long-term insights and relevance is a bit forced. Trotsky was not the only one who predicted a revolution as a result of the Great War, and although it is indeed impressive that he envisaged the United States of Europe—a near reality today—his analysis of the nation-state and capitalism as anachronisms and his revolutionary optimism out-

weigh any and all of his predictions that history has proven viable.

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LYNN MALLY. *Revolutionary Acts: Amateur Theater and the Soviet State, 1917–1938*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 250. \$45.00.

In the early 1930s, one could attend an amateur performance near Leningrad of the play, *Coal*, "which showed how older workers learned the value of modern machinery" (p. 174). In Moscow, an agitprop theater brigade put on *The Loan Campaign in the Second Five-Year Plan*. Episodes like this have often led to exclusively mocking judgments about Soviet amateur theater and to a tendency to conflate all kinds of genres and troupes into a single, worthless category. Eschewing both, Lynn Mally clearly relates a nuanced history of Soviet amateur players, their repertoires, reception, and interface with the Communist regime. Scorn for amateur efforts is also part of Mally's story, and it had roots in nineteenth-century prereform Russia, when the target was the "dilettante" productions of serf owners. Like Bertolt Brecht, whom she cites, Mally sees true amateurism as original art and dilettantism as mere copying of professionals. The overarching theme of her book is how Soviet amateur theater flourished luxuriantly (if contentiously) in a dozen varieties and was then "de-amateurized" or semiprofessionalized under Joseph Stalin.

The amateur theater landscape was extraordinarily rich in the early Soviet years. Workers' clubs, in the manner of folk culture, combined dramas, rituals, and games. Agitation trains carried performers to the front and rear of the Civil War in 1917–1921. Conversion plays and mock trials proliferated. Theater units could be found in unions, Communist Party cells, Komsomol organizations, Proletarian Culture studios, schools, local soviets, and the Red Army, which claimed one thousand club theaters in 1920. The Living Newspaper theater movement, an amateur version of the professional Blue Blouse, took material from the press and acted it out. The Leningrad Theater of Working Youth (TRAM) became the most original amateur troupe, sprouting branches in Moscow and other cities. Even when it went professional in 1928, TRAM retained the spontaneous charms and flaws of its original style. Like a Greek chorus, it offered sharp commentary on the complexities and sins of Soviet youth in the confusing atmosphere of the New Economic Policy (1921–1928). Unlike the simplistic and declamatory agitational skits of the Civil War and first Five-Year Plan periods, TRAM addressed the social pathologies of the era and tried to show the way out of them.

During the first Five-Year Plan and its accompanying cultural revolution, the dominant form of amateur theater was the brigade composed of zealous agitators, hardly more than kinetic posters posing as actors, who verbally assaulted captive audiences at construction

sites, factories, and even villages with deadening messages about production. The "acting" was a blend of sermon, pep talk, and statistical reportage. Audiences who expected theater were often turned off, though evidence suggests that some were delighted when shirkers were publicly named. This adds yet another piece to the growing picture of denunciation from below that has attracted recent scholarship of the Stalin era.

Most forms of amateur theater were closed down by the cultural reversals of the early and mid-1930s. Amateurism was still permitted but was now surrounded by familiar control mechanisms and partial return to tradition: less intimate theater buildings, mentorship (*shefstvo*) of amateur troupes by academic theaters, professional instructors, and classical repertoires. Audience surveys, a feature of theatrical life a few years earlier, were discontinued. All in all, the reversal meant the rejection of what had been a long and stormy war against professionalism in theatrical life. Mally shows that much of what was accomplished by Stalin's reversal had been called for all through the 1920s by suspicious or ambivalent critics who variously hated those features of commercial popular culture, avant-garde devices, and other practices that some groups had adopted. But until the 1930s, no one had the energy or the power to efface what was, with all its flaws, a genuine popular cultural movement. In this as in many other aspect of life, Stalin and his cronies had that power and used it. Ironically, as with other aspects of Stalin's social and cultural programs, major parts of the population seemed happy to see the works of nineteenth-century dramatists Alexander Ostrovsky and Nikolai Gogol on stage a bit more often than had been the case earlier.

In this informative and readable book, Mally has worked her way through an immense thicket of primary sources, archival and printed texts, and critical comment to give us the first full treatment of a major battle over self-expression, representation, and performance style that enlivened the cultural scene in the first years of Soviet power.

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ANTHONY HEYWOOD. *Modernising Lenin's Russia: Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and the Railways*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Studies, number 105.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 328. \$69.95.

Fundamentally, the Soviet experiment rises or falls with its economic performance. The Bolsheviks understood that "building communism" entailed not only establishing economic justice but also developing the material basis for a life of abundance for the Soviet population. Unfortunately for them, V. I. Lenin and his comrades inherited from the imperial regime an economy only partially modernized and then devastated by seven years of world war, revolution, civil war,

and foreign intervention. They socialized poverty, not affluence.

Anthony Heywood's book makes an important contribution to our understanding of how the Bolsheviks attempted to transform their battered economy into a socialist utopia. The author provides a highly detailed account of the policy debates and trade negotiations for procuring foreign-made railroad equipment, particularly locomotives, from 1919 to the mid-1920s. But this story is as much about the Bolsheviks' psychology as it is about their economics. Roger Pethybridge and other researchers have explored how the thought patterns and language of the Russian communists became highly militarized during the Civil War. Thus, they came to believe that, with enough will power and discipline, any objective could be stormed, whether it be a White machine gun nest or the transportation "front."

In 1920, the Soviet leadership had to face the unpleasant truth that the national economy had all but collapsed and the surprising reality that their regime would survive, at least temporarily, as a socialist island in an imperialist sea. In this situation, Leonid Krasin and his colleagues in the Commissariat of Ways of Communication advanced the theory that the regime could achieve an economic breakthrough by giving strong priority to revitalizing the national railway system, which would, in turn, galvanize the rest of the economy into recovery. Just as the Red Army had shuttled its military assets from one front to another in the Civil War, so the Soviets would concentrate their very limited financial resources on the railroad front to achieve a breakthrough. This strategy could not wait for the slow recovery of domestic locomotive production. Instead, Krasin envisioned the transformative infusion of massive amounts of foreign railroad equipment. He and Lenin (though not Leon Trotsky or Nikolai Bukharin) believed as early as 1919 that it would be possible to establish useful trade relationships with the imperialist powers after the close of hostilities. Hence, in March of 1920, Lenin signed a secret Sovnarkom resolution committing 300 million scarce gold rubles to purchase foreign railroad equipment. In contrast, others were arguing at about the same time that giving priority to the construction of a national electrical grid would achieve an economic breakthrough, but they were not able to secure the capital that the railroad advocates did.

Much of this book describes how Krasin and the eccentric Professor Yu. V. Lomonosov, head of the Russian Railway Mission abroad, negotiated to break the Entente's economic blockade of Soviet Russia and secure the desired equipment. These sections of the book also tell the reader a great deal about personal and institutional rivalries within the party-state's growing bureaucracy. Ultimately, the strategy of emphasizing railroad development to enable a broad economic recovery failed. It failed in part, Heywood argues, because it was a deeply flawed strategy and in part because the regime's cash reserves could not support



the massive infusion of foreign equipment originally envisioned. During the New Economic Program, the economy recovered anyway, but not because of the supposedly transformative influence of either railroads or electrification.

Heywood's work is meticulously researched. He has used several Russian archives as well as repositories in Britain, America, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. He is also thoroughly familiar with the relevant secondary literature. His judgments are sound, and his writing is clear. This book is highly recommended for specialists and for students of the Soviet experiment.

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EVAN MAWDSLEY and STEPHEN WHITE. *The Soviet Elite From Lenin to Gorbachev: The Central Committee and Its Members, 1917–1991*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 323. \$39.95.

This is a brief "collective biography" of the second tier of the Soviet leadership, what the authors call "the rank and file of the Soviet elite," the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, taking their story from the revolution to the fall of Soviet power in 1991. The authors are old hands as scholars of the Soviet experience. Evan Mawdsley has written the most reliable history of the Russian Civil War, and Stephen White is the author of, along with other works, a study of the Genoa Conference of 1922 and the first Western experience with V. I. Lenin's notion of peaceful coexistence. Together they have gathered material from a number of sources for a quantitative profile that focuses on people who were not the best-known Soviet leaders, but whom they nevertheless see collectively as "the brain and motor" (p. vii) of the system. They have gleaned some information from Soviet archives; some from published Western works on the Soviet leadership; some from Soviet encyclopedias, yearbooks, and glasnost-era journals such as *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*; and some from their own database of 30,000 records. In liaison with a Russian team, they have conducted interviews of Central Committee (CC) members, several of which provide interesting impressions of the workings of that body. They have consulted with other teams doing similar work, such as those of J. Arch Getty and R. W. Davies. The result is a valuable addition to the existing body of Western works of this kind: a statistical study of the sociology of privilege. No one who wants to study the Soviet elite, or at any rate the subelite, can afford to ignore it.

The emphasis is on quantification by ethnicity, gender, administrative category, and especially generation. The old saw of the early 1920s that Communism was a creation of the Jews is put into perspective. Russians predominated in the early party elite, but Jews were the second largest ethnic group, with a high proportion, fully thirty-five percent, in "the core revo-

lutionary elite" (p. 16). Along with everyone else, they suffered heavy losses with the rise of Joseph Stalin, the worst between 1939 and 1952, after which only three Jewish CC members remained. Stalin's elite was a man's world, with token positions for women never more than around four percent of the total. Police, military, and diplomatic representation was nonexistent in the early years of the regime, the latter two categories finally improving somewhat under Nikita Khrushchev. The authors wrestle nobly with the incomplete information on these categories. They place most stress on generation where the figures permit them a scheme of four party generations: the "Old Bolsheviks" of the Lenin years, the *vydvizhentsy* (promoted ones) who rose to prominence in Stalin's 1930s purges and passed into old age under Leonid Brezhnev, the Gorbachev-era appointees, and even a transitional generation of post-Soviet pioneers.

Mawdsley and White warn that this is not a political history; nevertheless they comment freely on previous interpretations, especially those that deal explicitly with party generations. Sometimes this is helpful, but their own numbers do not always serve as a basis for clinching judgements. Some are dubious. Did the "Lenin enrollment" of 1924 pack the Central Committee for Stalin? They say no: only thirty-nine of the 328 members of the CC in 1939 entered in 1924. But in 1925, the CC only had 106 members. Thirty-nine out of 106 clearly makes the opposite case. They are also a bit unsteady on the politics of the factional struggles. G. Y. Sokolnikov is called a rightist leader, but he was with Grigory Zinoviev and the left. Leon Trotsky is said to have been, at the Fourteenth Congress, somewhere between the Leningraders and the Stalin-Bukharin group, but he was by his own account with the latter against the Leningraders. Boris Yeltsin is wrongly said to have attacked Soviet rule in 1987.

Nevertheless, the authors' scheme of party generations makes good sense and even bolsters the notion that the three succession struggles that brought to power Stalin, Khrushchev, and Mikhail Gorbachev were the pivotal processes of Soviet political history. Their graph of the intensity of CC strife (p. 285), measured in meeting days, shows peaks for the three successions. Indeed, they compare Stalin's assault on the elite with Gorbachev's "third elite revolution" (p. 283).

The best comes last. Two concluding chapters, drawing on published material and White's own studies, provide an insightful survey of the privileges of the elite and the process by which the material perks of a "Communist nobility" led to the privatization of the state patrimony. Thus did the "brain and motor" of the Communist system become the heart of Russian big business.

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## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

RUDOLPH P. MATTHEE. *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600–1730*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 290. \$64.95.

Within the emerging field of Safavid history, economic aspects have until recently been among the least explored. After total silence, three books have come out in the past academic year: my own book on the Armenians in the Safavid silk trade, Willem M. Floor's study of fiscal and financial matters based on Safavid sources, and the book under review. Previously, save for some work done in Germany and Russia, there were only Bert Fragner's general chapter in *The Cambridge History of Iran* and a few articles. Rudolph P. Matthee seeks to explore the "interaction between political power and commercial activity" (p. 4). His aim is to offer a diachronic view of political structures and economic processes in early modern Iran.

The author acknowledges that the book may pay disproportionate attention to the unsuccessful English and Dutch attempts to corner the Iranian silk trade. He defends this position by saying that most documents on Iran's trade were written by the Dutch and the English, and "Persian language sources yield virtually no data on trade" (p. 6). Matthee makes extensive use of European archives, mainly Dutch. Despite this conscious and avowed eurocentric focus, the author rightly acknowledges that the lion's share of the silk trade was in the hands of the Julfan Armenians and not the Europeans. For the Armenians, Matthee obtained permission to use Edmund Herzig's Ph.D. dissertation (1991), a work not publicly available. Herzig's study is thoroughly mined for Armenian and Russian sources. In 1943, Vladimir Minorsky had argued that the Armenians were a service bourgeoisie, a line of thought continued by many scholars and initially accepted by Herzig and therefore Matthee. This view is now emended by my own work on Safavid sources on Armenian trade, which show the elite as an integral part of the Safavid royal household. The royal household played the key role in the silk trade and in the import of silver. To be fair, these new findings were not available to Matthee when his book was in press; he might now agree.

There is, an important existing debate within Safavid studies on the political make-up of the "state." Matthee describes the state as centered on the Safavid shah, with the shah's political power overshadowed by grand viziers later in the century. Some scholars now challenge this shah-centered view of the state for the first half of the century. There are arguments for the important political role of a powerful royal household, which included the queen mother, household and military royal slaves from the Caucasus, and wives and concubines—a model reminiscent of the Ottoman household. A related debate, since the royal household slaves are important administrators in the silk trade, is about whether or not there were elements of a planned

economy in early modern Iran. I have argued for elements of a planned political economy during the first half of the seventeenth century. Matthee argues that there was no planned political economy in Iran. Despite my own different conclusions, I am grateful for the difficult and good research work done here in European archives. Debate is important in emerging fields.

One of the many great strengths of this book is its description of the routes of transportation and silk sales in Iran. Matthee effectively brings to life many aspects of the silk trade in Iran. All the scattered and rare production and export figures are cited. Matthee is careful not to be positivist about the few extant numbers. He concludes that Iran was a command polity, with the state playing a role that fluctuated.

This is a narrative work, but the author's theoretical approach pays strong homage to Max Weber. Michael Mann's emended Weberian model is used to conclude that strong states can be beneficial to commerce and production if they do not abuse taxation. Unlike Weber, who gave much space to religion in his analytical work, there is none given here to the religious aspects of the Safavid state and society. Matthee takes a purely material approach along the lines of Soviet economic scholarship. His book is an important contribution to Safavid economic history, and it is a welcome addition to the scant literature that exists on Iran's early modern economy. It should be read by all scholars interested in the silk trade, as it gives an excellent account of the international importance of Iranian silk.

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NAOMI SHEPHERD. *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine 1917–1948*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 290. \$28.00.

Naomi Shepherd was born and educated in Britain but has lived most of her adult life in Israel. Journalism was her career before she undertook historical research in the 1980s and published numerous books. Shepherd's latest book is clearly conceived, thoroughly researched, and very well written.

Unlike most of the scholarly literature on the British Mandate in Palestine, which has concentrated on high policy in London from World War I through World War II, Shepherd focuses on the British administration in Palestine. These officials, under the direction of seven high commissioners, six of whom were former soldiers, had to carry out London's policies as frugally as possible. Mandate Palestine was supposed to be financially independent, with Britain bearing only the costs of defense provisionally and guaranteeing loans for development at its own discretion. With limited resources for development, the treasury encouraged Zionist investment as an alternative to calling upon the British taxpayer. Little was spent on non-Zionists in Palestine, which had limited economic use to Britain

except for the port of Haifa, which became the terminus of the oil pipeline from Iraq and the location of some oil refineries. What the British constructed in Palestine was mostly tied to defense. Britain never built a proper government center in Jerusalem, relying for the first decade on the former German army headquarters in a converted hospice before constructing a residence for the high commissioner that had to double as Government House, with additional office space required in a wing of the King David Hotel.

The articles of the Mandate in 1922 charged the British in Palestine with responsibility to accommodate the Zionist minority and govern the Arab majority. The former were given an advisory role through the Jewish Agency, which represented Jews outside as well as inside Palestine, while Palestine Arabs were not viewed as a distinct community and had no such representation. Article 21 even gave more attention to the preservation of antiquities than to the Arab population of Palestine. The chief problem for British officials in Palestine was coping with the differences between the Jewish emigrants from Europe and the post-Ottoman Arabs of Palestine. Zionist leaders were well organized, thanks to Jewish political parties that had originated in Eastern Europe, and well financed by Zionists outside Palestine. Arab leadership, still based on family and religious lines, only managed to deepen resentments against increased Zionist ownership of some of Palestine's best agricultural land during the 1920s and to fan hatred toward the enormous growth and concentration of Zionist immigrants in Palestine's cities during the 1930s. The British reinforced the garrison of Palestine following Arab riots and waged war against the Arab Revolt, from 1936 to 1939, when the British started training Jewish military units, a practice expanded in World War II until Jewish terrorists targeted the British once the Allies started to defeat the Axis.

Shepherd's book is mostly devoted to examining the topics of immigration, land, health, education, and security, all very complex but similarly affected by limited British resources and growing tensions between Jews and Arabs. The British were unsuccessful in enforcing the limits imposed on Zionist immigration and in keeping Arabs from crossing Palestine's borders. Unable to comprehend the customs of Ottoman land tenure, the British failed to control the Zionist purchase of land, which enriched anonymous Arab landowners at the expense of peasants. While the Zionists had their own thriving labor, health, and educational facilities, the Arabs depended on the British, who made some improvements in public health but did very little for education or employment. By the end of the Mandate, two-thirds of the Arab population remained illiterate, the largest number of whom were peasant women. The failure of security was costly for the British as well as the Zionists and Arabs. Ending the Arab Revolt before World War II, coping with Zionist terrorism in that war and afterward, and catching the crossfire between Arabs and Zionists, the

British found Palestine to be a strategic as well an economic liability. By 1948, when the British left Palestine, one of their leading officials complained that Britain's efforts during the Mandate struck him as being similar to "ploughing sand."

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IOANNIS D. STEFANIDIS. *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism, and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 315. \$45.00.

In 1948, the late C. M. Woodhouse published *Apple of Discord: A Survey of Recent Greek Politics in Their International Setting*, which offered an examination of events in Greece between 1941 and 1946. Ioannis D. Stefanidis offers a refreshingly new examination of Cyprus and the *enosis* (union) struggle from 1931 to 1959. This is the first in-depth reconstruction of the struggle based fully on original documentation. It is, indeed a welcome and important book.

The island of Cyprus is situated in the easternmost part of the Mediterranean, about equally distant from Asia Minor to the north and Israel to the east, some 240 miles north of Egypt, and 500 miles east of Greece. Its area is about 3,572 square miles. Cyprus has a population of approximately 754,800. The composition of the population in 2000 was estimated to be 642,700 Greek Cypriots; 88,200 Turkish Cypriots; and about 24,100 other minorities (Maronite, Armenian, Latin.) Throughout its history, Cyprus has been invaded and colonized by a succession of peoples. These have included the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines, followed by the Venetians, the Ottoman Turks, and, late in the nineteenth century, the British. To visit Cyprus is to journey in a rich and dense intersection of culture and history.

Certain dates and episodes are particularly important for their impact on the island's history: the fourteenth century B.C., when the Mycenaean Greeks began to settle the island; 1571, when it was captured by the Ottoman Turks from the Venetians; and 1878, when, under the terms of the Cyprus Convention, control of the island was transferred to Great Britain. Cyprus emerged from British colonial rule to become an independent state, the Republic of Cyprus, on August 16, 1960. In December 1963, the constitutional order of the republic was shaken by intercommunal conflict. In 1974, Cyprus was invaded by Turkey, following an Athens-engineered coup against Archbishop Makarios, president of the republic. Turkish forces landed on Cyprus and occupied the northern part of the island, with dramatic consequences. The situation created by these events, which still afflicts the people of Cyprus, has come to be known as the "Cyprus Problem."

The struggle of the Greeks of Cyprus for union with Greece can be traced back to the birth of the modern state of Greece in 1829. Greek freedom came after a

long war for independence from the Ottoman Empire. The Greeks of Cyprus participated in the Greek struggle for independence, but they were denied the fruits of victory. On July 12, 1878, the British flag was hoisted in Nicosia. Greek Cypriots welcomed Britain's entry upon the Cyprus scene, interpreting the change as a prelude to union with Greece. In 1914, Cyprus was annexed to the "dominions of His Britannic Majesty" as part of the British Empire. The several appeals for union made by the Greek Cypriots to the British government since 1878 are discussed in detail by Sir George Hill in his indispensable and monumental four-volume *History of Cyprus* (1972); while the excellent work by Nancy Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece* (1978), is a splendid analysis of these episodes.

In November 1915, Sir John Stavridi, a close friend and confidant of David Lloyd George and of Eleuthérios Venizélos, was sent by the British government on a secret mission to Greece. Great Britain offered Cyprus to Greece in an effort to persuade the Greek government to give up its "neutrality" and assist the Allies by guaranteeing support to Serbia should it be attacked by Germany. The British offer brought union closer than ever to realization. But, the Greek administration of Alexandros Zaïmis, influenced by pro-German sympathies of King Constantine, rejected the offer. During the period following the events of 1931, the Greek Cypriot campaign for union with Greece was largely dormant. It revived in 1936 under the leadership of Bishop Leontios Leontiou of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. How near Great Britain came to ceding Cyprus to Greece at the end of World War II is revealed by the British Foreign Office documents released to the Public Record Office in London between 1972 and 1976.

The "Cyprus problem" continues to plague the international community and, in particular, relations between Greece and Turkey. This book traces the *enosis* struggle from 1931 to the birth of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. The history of the struggle is a melancholy record of "lost opportunities." Stefanidis is to be commended for his well-researched account, which represents a significant contribution to historians, students, and anyone interested in the recent history of Cyprus.

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JOE LUNN. *Memoirs of the Maelstrom: A Senegalese Oral History of the First World War*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. 1999. Pp. xiv, 264. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$25.95.

World War I was truly the first global conflict in history, involving numerous combatants from various parts of the Western European empires and having

profound effects far beyond Europe for many years. One of the most neglected aspects of the conflict has been the participation of non-Western troops in the trenches, as well as the impact of the war on the colonial empires. In this fine and path-breaking book, Joe Lunn treats the involvement of men from Senegal, West Africa, known as *tirailleurs senegalais*, in World War I. Drawing primarily on eighty-five veterans' oral testimonies, Lunn presents a complex and compelling study of West African participation in the "Great War" and the unprecedented consequences of the conflict both during the war and afterward.

Between 1914 and 1918, over 180,000 Africans, including approximately 29,000 Senegalese, fought in Europe. Lunn indicates the similarities between pre-colonial slave raiding and colonial war recruitment in Senegal. He also compares the wartime figures to the numbers involved from the region in the transatlantic slave trade, concluding that in scale the number of Senegalese exported overseas during the war was substantially higher than at the height of the slave trade for a comparable period. Total African casualties in the war were approximately 31,000, with between 6,000 and 7,000 Senegalese killed in Europe. Lunn also finds that during the final two and a half years of fighting, African casualty figures were significantly higher than those for French soldiers, owing to a calculated decision by the French to use African troops as "cannon fodder" in order to spare French lives. Lunn's statistics and arguments are convincing and well-documented.

In addition to his valuable quantitative work, the author also examines the impacts of mobilization, recruitment, training, and combat experience on Senegalese politics and society. The first three chapters, set in Senegal, explore the varied reactions to and impacts of recruitment and training. Lunn begins with a description of prewar colonial Senegal, with particular emphasis on Senegalese and French reciprocal images. He carefully distinguishes between the relatively more privileged and educated residents of the urban, coastal Four Communes, known as *originaires*, and people in the rural regions. With the outbreak of the war, residents of the communes equated military service with the movement to secure more political rights whereas rural people generally feared the French and were reluctant to enlist, necessitating forced recruitment and quotas. Lunn's discussion of Blaise Diagne, a towering figure in colonial Senegalese politics, is especially interesting. Diagne, the first African deputy elected to the French National Assembly, encouraged West Africans to sign up for the war and launched a massive, and highly successful, recruitment drive in West Africa in 1918. Diagne lobbied the colonial administration to improve social services in Senegal and insisted on veterans benefits and other privileges to be won by fighting for France. After the war, Diagne was frequently criticized for his wartime activities.

Lunn then turns to the soldiers' experiences in



Europe during the war, examining the nature of military life in three chapters set in Europe. He next discusses the deployment of Senegalese forces in the trenches, concluding that after 1916 Senegalese combat losses were nearly three times greater than those of French soldiers. The final chapter in the European section probes the soldiers' perceptions of the French and metropolitan views of the Senegalese. Lunn insists that while the French image of Africans was altered by the war, the Senegalese perceptions of the French were even more dramatically and fundamentally changed.

The final chapters deal with the postwar experience of the veterans in particular and of Senegalese in general. Unlike postwar politics, especially in the Four Communes, where the war's impact was immediate and dramatic, the social transformations that took place after the war in Senegal were more gradual and measured, especially in peripheral regions. Lunn adds a revealing postscript by analyzing how veterans perceived the legacy of World War I. Some felt that the war had little impact, while others stressed that their participation in the conflict inaugurated a whole series of major changes in Senegal. A final group remained ambivalent about their experience and was reluctant to make any final judgment.

Lunn's well-written, clearly organized, and extensively documented book, and the important interviews he collected, make a major contribution to our understanding of World War I and also to modern West African history. His work will engage scholars interested in African, European, global, and oral history.

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OWEN WHITE. *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895–1960*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. 200. \$70.00.

Miscegenation as a theoretical concept caught the attention of French scholars early in the nineteenth century. The success of Augustin Thierry's *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1825) and his brother Amédée's *History of the Gauls* (1828) introduced the connection between race and history into the French intellectual arena, stimulating interest across the disciplinary board in the social role of miscegenation. Shortly thereafter, William F. Edwards, physician and founder of the Ethnological Society of Paris, endorsed the Thierrys' ideas in *Des caractères physiologiques des races humaines considérés dans leurs rapports avec l'histoire* (1829) and elaborated his own theory of racial mixing. Mixed race communities in French West Africa, by contrast, were established as early as the fifteenth century and pre-existed these theoretical developments. To begin with, therefore, the relationship between theory and practice was tenuous. By the early twentieth century, however,

French concern with the métis(se) of West Africa was out of all proportion to their number (4,000 out of a total population of 14.5 million). It is this preoccupation that forms the central theme of Owen White's monograph, whose overall aim is to recreate the lives of the mixed-race children born in French West Africa during the period 1895–1960 and draw attention to the complexities of writing on the subject. White suggests that sexual relations in the colonies cannot be seen solely in the light of French strength and African powerlessness.

The book starts with an overview of the way mixed-race communities were established. White sees two factors as influencing the shift away from the mutually beneficial arrangements that characterized the early period and led, by 1800, to the creation of an economically powerful métis society: the French repossession of Senegal in 1817 and the abolition of slavery in 1848. These events caused an increase in direct trade with Bordeaux, leading to the loss by local traders of economic power and with it the ability to sustain their common-law families in style. An economic and social transition occurred, causing the decline of *mariage à la mode du pays* between French men and African women. This development was not a seamless progression, however, and White does a fine job explaining the ambiguities that characterized French and African attitudes toward this type of conjugal arrangement, highlighting in the process the differing opinions on the presence of French women in the colony. As might be expected, sexual relations between Europeans and Africans did not cease with the arrival of European women but became confined to the remoter rural areas.

The ensuing chapters deal with paternal abandonment, administrative intervention, education, and employment. It was the abandonment of métis children by their fathers that led to the French administration's interest in their welfare. White's analysis is cogent and enlightening. He contrasts the French and British approach to colonial concubinage and suggests that French attitudes were conditioned by the fact that colonial expansion involved more than the export of economic and political frameworks. The type of moral strictures characteristic of the British colonial administration were tempered, in theory at least, by republican ideals. Paternity suits introduced in the métropole did not extend to the colonies, and this prompted the administration to adopt a more humanitarian stance or at least give the appearance of doing so. Its humanitarianism was, of course, underwritten by fears of the development of a potentially dangerous class of malcontents. White also points to the importance of missionary activity in administrative intervention. That missionaries achieved their best successes among the socially dispossessed is well known, but White suggests that their involvement in the education of métis and in establishing and running special orphanages had to do with the missionaries' need to prove their loyalty to the



colonial cause (and hence to the republic) in the face of growing anticlericalism.

By the turn of the century, clarifying the legal status of métis became the focus of administrative attention. Here again White does a good job of clarifying the complications and ambiguities of paternity as played out through naturalization and citizenship. The question of citizenship, he concludes, illustrates the extent to which perceived racial differences shaped French colonialism in Africa. The importance of French citizenship to métis was of course closely tied in to the need to establish some sort of social identity, and the final chapter of the book deals with this quest. Establishing a coherent identity was slow, as people of mixed race were hampered by both African and French reluctance to embrace them unconditionally. Africans associated them with colonialism, whereas French inconsistencies, relative to the republican and humanitarian ideals advocated by the administration, were confusing and, in the final analysis, exclusionary.

An apparent uncertainty of the chronological development of racial ideas in White's chapter on race and heredity constitutes one of the few weaknesses in this otherwise well-constructed work. White underlines the importance of Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853) to colonial ideas on miscegenation. Gobineau's centrality, however, does not lie in the originality of his thesis that race is the fundamental determinant of the course of human history, as White suggests (p. 93), but in its synthesis of extant ideas on race and its emphasis on the degenerative impact of miscegenation. Gobineau's precursors, who linked race to historical development, included the Thierry brothers, Edwards, and Victor Courtet de l'Isle (1813–1867), whose work, as Jean Boissel demonstrated in *Victor Courtet: Premier théoricien de la hiérarchie de race* (1968), served as a virtual blueprint for Gobineau. The difference between these men and Gobineau was that the former, especially Courtet, saw miscegenation as essentially positive, holding out the possibility of progress, whereas Gobineau saw it as negative, offering the specter of decline. It is this shift from positive to negative attitudes that defines Gobineau's role in shaping fin-de-siècle racial thought. A new set of questions then arises. Was interest in Gobineau's ideas, which was slower to develop in France than elsewhere, stimulated by mixed-race pre-occupations in the colonies? Was the shift in France from positive to negative attitudes on miscegenation a reflection of developments in the colonies? Or was it the other way around? Analysis of this attitudinal shift would reinforce White's general conclusion that colonial acts did not always flow from the metropole.

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LAMIN SANNEH. *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 291. \$29.95.

The abolitionists of this book's title are African Americans, influenced by ideas of the American Revolution. "Abroad" is the British-sponsored colony of Sierra Leone after 1787 or the American Colonization Society's settlement (eventually Liberia) after 1821, to which American blacks emigrated with goals of self-fulfillment and African uplift. In Sierra Leone, according to Lamin Sanneh, this amounted to related efforts to end slavery and foster "antistructure," a movement away from authoritarian control and toward a free and open society, with virtue placed in such American and Protestant-inspired qualities as hard work, sobriety, honesty, and public service. Recaptured Africans, those taken from illegal Atlantic slavers after 1807 and dropped off in Sierra Leone for "rehabilitation," picked up the settlers' revivalist Christianity and antistructuralist ideas to add to their natural antislavery philosophy. These they spread to other areas after 1839, particularly southwestern Nigeria. (The United States never supported Liberia as Britain did Sierra Leone, so similar African-American ideas and values did not spread from there.) Colonial rule, which reinforced the authoritarian structures that had supported slavery, was a setback, but the antislavery and antistructuralist work begun by American blacks in Sierra Leone "opened the way for people at the bottom of the social heap" (p. 245), Sanneh argues, and thus affected Africans' lives in a positive way thereafter.

This is an interesting and potentially useful argument, especially given recent attention to the transatlantic spread of ideas and influences from West to East, and Sanneh shows marvelous command of a range of secondary literature and published primary sources that covers two centuries and touches three continents. But the book has problems. In relating events for which much published study exists, Sanneh relies heavily on what other authors, in different times and places, considered relevant from their sources. Over eighty quotations of primary material are as "cited in" others' books. And Sanneh sometimes relies on odd authority: he cites (in note 3, pp. 267–68) Francis Butler Simkins's biography of *Pitchfork Ben Tillman* (1944), for instance, for a statement placing the United States among the chief Western markets for African slaves in the mid-nineteenth century.

Sanneh tells the well-known stories of the foundation and early years of Sierra Leone and Liberia with selective focus. He writes of "the settlers" as if all agreed with the individuals he highlights, although of course they did not. Indeed, while some early African Americans were advocating against slave trading in Sierra Leone, others were joining the slave traders. And Sanneh tends to ignore the elitist outlook of many of the African-American settlers and their descendants toward African cultures generally and especially toward their neighbors in Sierra Leone. If the "antistructuralist" notions were based on everyone being equal in God's eyes, then the settlers' God did not have Sierra Leone's Temne, Mende, and Sherbro in sight.

Ironically, in places Sanneh's prose takes on the settlers' morally arrogant tone, and this makes the reader uncomfortable. His African Americans, their agents, and descendants are enlightened, in contrast to the "natives" (pp. 203, 206, 219) or "tribesmen" (p. 208) or "subject races" (p. 214) with whom they deal. We read of U.S. Naval Lieutenant Robert Field Stockton in 1821 skillfully extricating himself from being "surrounded by armed and suspicious natives" and then plunging "into the jungle" and climbing over "jungle stumps" in pursuit of a "tribal monarch" whose treachery consisted of not wishing to sell his land to the settlers (pp. 203–204). Sanneh's generalizations concerning African society often sound more Victorian than modern: chiefs, who are "reared on the philosophy that you should beat your own kind so others may respect you" (p. 6), demand "groveling fealty" (p. 240); traditional rulers are bent on "reverting to the old predatory morality of feuding and

looting" (p. 137). One has to search hard in this book to find a non-Westernized, non-Christian African whom the author portrays as good and moral.

Finally, there is no clear explanation of how the new society created in Sierra Leone and exported to Nigeria actually "shaped much of Africa's modern history" (p. 245). Sanneh laments that colonial rule propped up chiefs and traditional authority. Perhaps his reference is to the great postindependence growth of Christianity in certain populated areas. But from the perspective of today, where in parts of West Africa (including Sierra Leone and Liberia) authoritarian rule, political and social chaos, and even tales of slavery make the lives of good people extremely difficult, it is hard to see how, if African Americans sowed seeds for a free and open society, they remain anything but dormant.

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## Film Reviews

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HOUSE DIVIDED: ABRAHAM AND MARY LINCOLN. Produced and directed by David Grubin; written by Geoffrey C. Ward and David Grubin. 2000; color; 360 minutes. Distributed by PBS.

*House Divided: Abraham and Mary Lincoln* highlights one of the most celebrated marriages in American history and certainly the most controversial marriage in our presidential history. Headstrong, flighty, demanding, extravagant, and eventually even insane: the popular stereotype represents this president's wife driving her husband out of his house and into politics to enjoy unprecedented public success while enduring a private hell at home. This crisply written and beautifully photographed documentary is a welcome and long overdue dissection of the marriage that attempts, and often delivers, a more balanced portrait of the famous couple within the unique historical context that went so far to shape their private lives together.

The lead writer, Geoffrey C. Ward, is a past collaborator with Ken Burns, and this documentary borrows much of its style from the celebrated Burns production, *The Civil War*, an earlier PBS offering. The familiar voice of David McCullough guides us through this private "house divided" just as it led us so hypnotically through the national one a decade ago. Talking heads (to use Burns's own designation for his on-screen analysts) abound, fourteen in all enlivening the narrative to counter the all-too-few surviving still images of the Lincolns and their family. The analysts range from Mary Lincoln specialists (Jean Baker and Linda Levitt Turner) to Abraham Lincoln biographers (David Donald, Charles Strozier, Douglas Wilson, and Mark Neely) to Civil War historians (James McPherson, William Miller, and David Long). All are effective, but Baker, Strozier, Wilson, Neely, and Margaret Washington excel. Like *The Civil War*, this production boasts a musical coda all its own, stemming from a vague reference to Nancy Hanks Lincoln singing old folk songs to the young Abraham. But the English ballad, "Barbara Allen," however fetching, lacks an authentic connection to the Lincolns and suffers from seemingly endless repetition throughout the six-hour journey.

Compensating for the dearth of visual images from the private lives of this presidential couple are the

absolutely haunting close-ups and pans of quite a few genuine artifacts that help to bring the Lincolns' domestic world to life. The overall tone favors Mary Lincoln by documenting her palpable contributions to her husband's political career while highlighting the unprecedented stresses that buffeted her marriage. The resulting psychological interpretation puts a premium on the couple's idiosyncratic characters at the expense of broader social and cultural factors that necessarily circumscribed any courtship and marriage in Victorian America. As a result, viewers will learn a lot about the Lincoln marriage but virtually nothing at all about marriage itself during the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the six hours, the focus remains tightly on the Lincolns' marriage without drawing a single comparison or contrast with even one other contemporaneous couple. Foregoing an unfortunate missed opportunity, the producers have clung to the political and military history of the Civil War and the personal history of the Lincoln family rather than drawing on the wealth of social and cultural interpretations that graces this formative period of American family life.

The first two hours recount the Lincolns' starkly divergent origins in Kentucky; their unlikely courtship in Springfield, Illinois; and their portentous first two decades of married life. The attention to these prepresidential years is welcome, but the account suffers from several glaring omissions. There is no mention of Abraham's tentative and eventually abortive relationship with Mary Owens (which surely helped to shape his relationship with Mary Todd), his service in the Black Hawk War (in which he made his first connection with the Todd family), or the couple's first two homes (the Globe Tavern, where they boarded, and the cottage that they rented before buying their famous house at Eighth and Jackson Streets).

Throughout the production, first-born son Robert is virtually invisible in favor of the more tender and tragic tales of the other three, Eddie, Willie, and Tad. The final four hours trace the last four years of the marriage and dote on the Civil War. The documentary argues, justifiably, that the presidency confined the Lincoln family physically to the White House while driving the couple apart psychologically. Their once

intertwined existence now diverged into two parallel lives.

Simply put, the Lincoln family lost its father figure so that the nation could gain one. Mary Lincoln made some real contributions to the nation, and the presidency in particular, turning the White House into a symbol of domestic grace and national unity and, in the process, becoming the first "First Lady" to bear that label. The end of the war promised a romantic reconciliation that was never to be: the couple were holding hands at that fateful moment in Ford's Theater. Mary's declining years were indeed tragic, but, in another missed opportunity, the producers fail to analyze the broader fate of Civil War widows who so dominated the nation's domestic landscape once the war ended.

Often compelling and even heart-rending, *House Divided: Abraham and Mary Lincoln* is gracefully written, filmed, and edited, and it is fully realized in dramatic style. Actual quotations from the couple, delivered by Hollywood actors Holly Hunter and David Morse, add an air of both intimacy and authenticity to the story. The production goes far to resurrect this compelling relationship from both myth and obscurity and especially to rehabilitate Mary Lincoln. This is the best documentary to date on the Lincolns' marriage, but important dimensions of this story remain unexplored.

KENNETH J. WINKLE  
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Lincoln

THIRTEEN DAYS. Produced by Kevin Costner, Aram Bernstein, and Peter O. Almond; directed by Roger Donaldson; screenplay by David Self. 2000; color; 145 minutes. USA. Distributed by New Line Cinema.

There is an old saying in the British newspaper industry that runs: "Tickle the public and make them grin; the more they laugh, the more you win; teach the public, you never grow rich; you live like a beggar and die in a ditch." Similar wisdom permeates Hollywood, but this has never deterred Kevin Costner. Costner has carved a unique niche for himself as "home-room teacher" to the world. As an actor, producer, and director, he has repeatedly selected "improving" subjects; teaching audiences with an infectious awe about Plains Indian culture, global warming, Wyatt Earp, or some other corner of Americana. He has taken occasional knocks at the box office for his trouble, but he remains a long way from either beggary or ditches. The lesson is never far from the surface in his latest work, *Thirteen Days*, an account of decision making during the Cuban missile crisis. "Take-home" messages include the inherent danger of nuclear weapons and the statesmanship of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

It is impossible to view *Thirteen Days* without recalling Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1991), in which Costner's character (as crusading New Orleans Attorney Jim Garrison) investigated the Kennedy assassination. Stone's film failed to clarify exactly what the United

States had lost in Dallas that November day, beyond dubious reports of Kennedy's intent to withdraw from Vietnam. In *Thirteen Days* Costner seeks to make up for both that omission and the various historical liberties and outrageous speculations presented in *JFK*.

The screenwriter, David Self, based *Thirteen Days* on an unimpeachable source: Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow's splendid compilation of documents and tape transcripts, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1997). Self took his title from Robert Kennedy's memoir of the crisis (1969). Interviewees for the film included former reconnaissance pilot Bill Ecker, whose low-level flight over Cuba forms one of the most exhilarating episodes in the film, and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, whose sympathetic portrayal here will doubtless further advance the rehabilitation of the once-vilified Vietnam War-hawk. The audience watches the drama through the eyes of Kennedy's Special Assistant Kenny O'Donnell (played by Costner). Opinion is divided over O'Donnell's significance in the White House. This film follows Pierre Salinger in placing him as a key advisor rather than accept alternative sources that stress his role as the president's appointments secretary.

Thanks to the taut direction of Australian filmmaker Roger Donaldson, *Thirteen Days* unfolds with the pace of a thriller. Bruce Greenwood delivers a compelling and movingly human performance as President Kennedy. Donaldson and his team work with a stunning attention to period detail and likenesses around the cabinet table. Unlike the hit-and-miss casting of Stone's *Nixon* (1995), the faces of *Thirteen Days* match the photographs of the time with a ghostly accuracy. The action periodically switches into monochrome as the characters drift through poses familiar from Cecil Stoughton's photographs of the time. Such stylistic emphasis on authenticity lends weight to the film's historical position. Unfortunately, although in a different league from most historical films, the film's historical position is on occasion compromised. A charitable explanation would blame necessary "tickling" of the audience, but others maybe tempted to detect old-fashioned bias.

The selection of O'Donnell as the point of entry into the film maybe historically forgivable, but the choice of villain is not. A good film needs a bad guy to generate tension and, not content to rely on the possibility of nuclear war, *Thirteen Days* finds its villains in the ranks of the U.S. military. Air Force General Curtis LeMay was guilty of many things, including a callous disregard for the lives of Japanese and Vietnamese civilians, but there is no evidence that he attempted to trick Kennedy into war during the Cuban missile crisis. LeMay and the other hawks certainly recommended air strikes, but the picture of their maneuvering at climactic moments of *Thirteen Days* owes more to the world of contemporaneous fictions like Fletcher Knebel and Charles Bailey's *Seven Days in May* (1962)



than it does to documented facts. *Thirteen Days* uses the Cuban missile crisis to argue that military men, like nuclear weapons, are inherently dangerous commodities that require vigilant handling.

Other elements of the "take-home" message, however, can be readily documented in the sources. One of the most telling details, taken from Robert Kennedy's memoir, is the president's discussion of *The Guns of August* (1962), Barbara Tuchman's account of the outbreak of World War I, which he had recently read. President Kennedy cites Tuchman's narrative as evidence that miscalculations and pride can allow great states to slip into war. He resolves to avoid the same pitfalls in 1962. That a work of history should be cited at so crucial a juncture is a rare validation of popular historical writing. With his well-publicized screenings of *Thirteen Days* to Fidel Castro and senior political figures in Russia, Costner clearly hopes that this film may serve a similar purpose in an audiovisual age. It is a worthy ambition.

NICHOLAS J. CULL  
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**BEFORE NIGHT FALLS.** Produced by Jon Kilik; directed by Julian Schnabel; screenplay by Cunningham O'Keefe, Lázaro Gómez Carriles, and Julian Schnabel. 2000; color; 133 minutes. Distributed by Fine Line Features.

Reinaldo Arenas (1943–1990) grew up poor in the eastern Cuban province of Holguín, and he supported Fidel Castro and the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra mountains against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista (1952–1959). After the triumph of the revolution, Arenas moved to Havana, where he eventually dedicated himself to writing. Initially, Arenas and other writers and intellectuals shared an optimism about the revolution. The banning in 1961 of Sabá Cabrera Infante's film *P.M.*, about Cuban nightlife, signaled a souring of the relationship between intellectuals and the regime.

In the 1960s, the Cuban government centralized cultural production with the creation of the Cuban National Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC), which urged writers to produce works that would support the revolution. In 1965, the Unidades Militares de Ayuda a la Producción (UMAP) were established to rehabilitate anyone whom the regime considered antisocial, and homosexuals became one of the primary targets. By the time of the First National Congress on Education and Culture in 1971, the regime extolled the primacy of political commitment over freedom of expression and also adopted a number of homophobic measures.

In the midst of these changes, Arenas was beginning to bloom as a writer. He had published his first novel, *Celestino antes del alba* (*Singing from the Well* [1967]) and had come into contact with many of the great writers of modern Cuba, including José Lezama Lima and Virgilio Piñera. But soon afterwards, he would

begin to have serious problems with Cuban censorship and the military revolutionary ideals. Arenas responded by smuggling his work abroad to be published. The homophobia of the revolution stifled him, but he responded with unbridled sexual activity with men, using, as he later affirmed, "sex as a weapon." Cuban authorities eventually jailed Arenas for molestation of minors and for publishing outside of Cuba; he was released when he signaled that he had reformed his ways. Arenas eventually left the island for the United States in the Mariel boatlifts of 1980. He moved briefly to Miami before settling in New York, where he continued to write until his death due to AIDS (although it was ruled a suicide) in 1990.

Inspired by Arenas's tragic yet exuberant life, director Julian Schnabel has created an ambitious homage to this singular Cuban writer. Employing a historical narrative style, *Before Night Falls* makes use of Arenas's poetry, stunning visual imagery, historical footage, and superbly placed music to shape a cinematographic collage that, although at times unclear, is nevertheless powerful. The film relies on many of Arenas's writings, including his memoir (1993) from which the film takes its title. It depicts many human rights violations in Cuba, but Schnabel is not merely interested in the facts. He has modified some of the historical material and made economic use of Arenas's stories to portray a greater truth: the redeeming nature of art, a theme also developed in his previous film *Basquiat* (1996). This rich production has two shortcomings, however: it does not provide a critical analysis of Arenas's inner world, nor does it give us a broad understanding of the inner struggles of the Cuban revolution.

The creative process and motivation of any artist is difficult to expose, and many films have attempted this with varying success. Recent attempts include the tortured portrayal of Francis Bacon in *Love is the Devil* (1998); Ed Harris's *Pollack* (2000), and Philip Kaufman's *Quills* (2000); the last is dedicated to the Marquis de Sade, with whom many may draw parallels with Arenas. Understanding Rainer Maria Rilke's advice to the young poet, Schnabel intelligently gives us a sense of Arenas's childhood, yet we see little of how his early experience informed his worldview or affected his inner life. The film ends with a Spanish and English version of the poem "Yo soy" that emphasizes Arenas's belief that he would always be "that child 'of always,'" but the significance of these words is not particularly developed throughout the film.

Arenas wrote about history, repression, and dehumanization in the baroque style of the Cuban literary tradition, but he also wrote about sex and how sexuality in Cuba shaped his life. Indeed, he viewed both sex and art as vehicles of redemption. Schnabel deals candidly with Arenas's homosexuality and includes an important scene in which Arenas declares that sex became a way of fighting repression, "a weapon to use against the regime." Yet in the film Arenas's voracious sexual appetite and prolific sexual activity from the

time he was a child in the countryside until his death becomes secondary to his artistic nature.

The second criticism relates to historical representation. Viewers receive very little information about the struggles of the revolution and its attempts, however ill-informed and paranoid, to create a socialist anti-imperialist society. The 1960s and 1970s were decades of consolidation under the mantra "Within the Revolution EVERYTHING. Outside the revolution NOTHING." Cuba had survived the Bay of Pigs attack in 1961, threatened the balance of power during the missile crisis of 1962, and became a leader in Third World anticolonial struggles. Castro's regime attempted to rid itself of capitalist bourgeois values but suffered from the brain drain and disillusion so aptly portrayed in Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's film *Memories of Underdevelopment* (1968). Cuba promoted universal health care and education while often responding to internal challenges with Stalinist tactics and purges. But the government's view of homosexuality was not as uniform as its view of dissidence. Overt homosexuality was often misunderstood as capitalist decadence, a type of antisocial behavior or "improper conduct," views superbly exposed in Nelson Almendros and Orlando Jiménez Leal's film *Improper Conduct* (1984). Even so, this policy was selective, and many homosexuals served the revolution, as Gutiérrez Alea's film *Fresa y Chocolate* (1994) attests.

Schnabel does succeed in showing the contradiction that is/was Cuba, or, in Arenas's words, "the voices of poetry versus the drums of militarism." He emphasizes the power of art with words from Cuban literary personalities, such as Lézama Lima and Piñera, who appear briefly in the film. The importance of these two literary giants is not sufficiently underscored, however, nor do we witness how the regime marginalized them. Moreover, many important characters enter and leave the story with little explanation (including Jorge and Margarita Camacho, who helped Arenas smuggle his work out of the country). Yet the revolution included many talented intellectuals and writers, including Miguel Barnet, Eliseo Diego, Roberto Fernández Retamar, and Nicolás Guillén, and it received support from many others abroad. Cuba became a pioneer in Latin American film, with directors such as Gutiérrez Alea and Julio García Espinosa, and eventually created one of the major Latin American film festivals in 1979. Musical pioneers such as Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés, who did not necessarily toe the party line, played important roles in Cuban cultural life.

Arenas's sense of urgency and fear was not unfounded, however, and apologists must recognize the problematic legacy of the revolution. The Mariel crisis which led to the boatlifts took the regime by surprise, and in the end many former supporters desperately wanted to leave Cuba. 125,000 left in 1980 alone. The sense of freedom that Arenas felt in the United States is aptly portrayed by the scene of him and his devoted friend Lázaro staring up to the skies as snow falls upon them. But Arenas's experience in the United States

was not purely idyllic. He resented the consumerism of Miami and had many criticisms of U.S. views on sex and sexuality, for example.

Schnabel's treatment of Arenas's life in New York is not as visually or emotionally compelling as the early parts in Cuba. In the film, Arenas lives a subdued life until his eventual death in 1990. In fact, Arenas experienced the wonders and dangers of New York for almost a decade, and he wrote about many of them.

Some viewers may be annoyed by the use of accented English with Spanish in the background to bring forth a foreign flavor, although somehow this technique recreates the atmosphere of Cuba for an English-speaking audience. Representations of Afro-Cubans are also at times problematic, particularly the superficial presentation of the Afro-Cuban religious ceremony (Santería) more than half way through the film. Schnabel symbolizes Cuban repression with a police raid of a Santería "performance," musically dramatized by Gustav Mahler's somber *Adagietto* (Symphony No. 5) drowning out the rhythm of the drums. At this moment, Arenas's and Schnabel's worlds unite in a theme that resonates throughout the film: repression is the enemy of art. The film nonetheless affirms that even in the direst of situation, Arenas the artist was able to hold on to something that allowed him to celebrate life, at least until he decided that life was no longer worth living.

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IN THE MOOD FOR LOVE. Produced, written, and directed by Kar-wai Wong. 2000; color; 98 minutes. Distributed by USA Films.

According to recent entertainment industry news, the successes of *Gladiator* and *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* have spurred further interest in historical drama. Not only has Touchstone Pictures been heavily promoting *Pearl Harbor* for months, but a number of film projects treating historical events and personages are scheduled to begin production. These include, for example, plans for epic films about Hannibal's crossing of the Alps during the Second Punic War and the destruction of the Japanese samurai class in the nineteenth century, as well as the continued mining of the World War II vein opened up by *Saving Private Ryan*.

Although the actual and anticipated popularity of such films, at first glance, would seem to evince a general and widespread interest in history, the specifics of subject matter, narrative architecture, and visual articulation reveal how narrowly Hollywood, if not the general public, conceptualize that term. Not only does history seem to take place in a handful of locations—sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, is clearly positioned off the map—but Hollywood's version of it remains, for the most part, a linear narrative focused on the actions of singular individuals. Kar-wai Wong's *In the Mood for Love* does not at all fit into this framework of expectations that has come to typify historical drama.

Yet, in addition to providing a veritably incandescent work of contemporary filmmaking, Wong's most recent feature poses questions about the nature of historical periodicity and change and its connections to individual lives—for instance, the imprints left as memory—with a depth and complexity that is rare in contemporary film.

Despite the international cult status of his work and his award for Best Director at the 1997 Cannes Film Festival (for *Happy Together*), Wong has remained virtually unknown to the American cinema-going public. Many aspects of *In the Mood for Love*—for instance, its languid and protracted rhythm, use of slow motion, and a concomitant fixation on the passage of time—reflect the aesthetics and obsessions that mark much of Wong's earlier work and illustrate his own striking approach to the territory of historical memory. At the same time, the singularity of its narrative and the absence of his signature frenetic and kaleidoscopic camerawork seem to signal a new direction.

At base, *In the Mood for Love* explores, in exquisite and aching detail, the interactions between next-door neighbors Mrs. Chan and Mr. Chow (played by Maggie Cheung Man-yuk and Tony Leung Chiu-wai, respectively) against the background of Hong Kong's ambivalent historical situation in the early 1960s (a compound of colonial heritage and Cold War politics). The film's two protagonists move into their crowded Hong Kong apartments on the same day in 1962. Although they encounter each other only briefly and intermittently, the nature of their contact shifts once they realize that their spouses are having an affair. Vowing not to mimic the deceitful actions of their partners, Chan and Chow engage in waltzing restraint that curiously echoes the fraught dance of great powers around Hong Kong itself. They stroll and dine, but their conversations consist of projected fantasies. She plays his wife and he acts as her husband. As they run through a variety of scenarios, such as a dinner date or an evening walk, they attempt to piece together the trajectory of their spouses' affair, a sort of private history. Who made the first move? What are they doing now?

While Chan and Chow aim to construct a plausible chronology, the film itself thwarts their endeavors by withdrawing from narrative convention and movement. The adulterous spouses are glimpsed from behind, and only rarely at that. The two leads never exchange so much as a single kiss but instead dance around one another: crossing paths as they walk to and from a noodle stand, meeting to pen a martial-arts novel, and rehearsing, at one point, their own parting from one another. Very little, thus, actually happens. Instead, Wong returns repeatedly to lingering shots of ceiling fans, curling cigarette smoke, a hand grazing a door jamb in retreat, and Maggie Cheung, modeling a seemingly endless collection of cheongsams in vintage 1960s fabric. And herein lies the crux of Wong's luminous mediation on the historical ground that underpins personal experiences of longing and loss.

Scattered amid the slow and wistful narrative lie history's traces: the first rice cooker imported from

Japan, Nat King Cole crooning in Spanish, an old-fashioned manual typewriter. Such tidbits, although mundane, defamiliarize the film's exoticism while grounding its characters squarely in an era. And then there are the cheongsams, high heels, and bags adorning Maggie Cheung. Rendered in a myriad of period fabrics—from silk shantung to nearly psychedelic floral prints—by Wong's longtime art director and costume designer, William Chang, Cheung's form-fitting and high-necked cheongsams, like the starched collars and greased hair donned by Tony Leung's Mr. Chow, seem to mesh time and mood. But do the physically restraining fashions worn by these two characters function as an outward expression of their inner restraint, or did people really dress this way in Hong Kong during the early 1960s? The question underlies *In the Mood* inasmuch as the film is constantly negotiating cinematic aesthetics with narrative trajectory, private memory with public record.

Many critics have already noted *In the Mood's* debt to Wong's childhood memories and the history of his parents' generation, Chinese transplanted from Shanghai to Hong Kong in the wake of the triumph of Mao Zedong in China in 1949. Yet only the slightest mention of such movements and forces is made. A family is said to have left Hong Kong for the United States. Film stock of Charles de Gaulle's visit to Cambodia flashes in 1963 across the screen. For the most part, however, Wong fixates on private moments and material memories that evoke a time, a place, and a mood.

While such things are, to a degree, set against history per se, *In the Mood* insists upon the persistent relationship between the incidental and the monumental. One of the film's three title sequences announces, "That era has passed. Nothing that belongs to it exists anymore." Here is an era whose gender politics allows Mrs. Chan unquestioning complicity in her boss's adulterous affair—for instance, procuring identical gifts for his wife and mistress—yet does not permit her even to playact making advances to another man. This is an era before the advent of cell phones and answering machines, when privacy was limited by the fact that messages had to be left and anyone could answer the phone. The cramping architecture of their apartment building ultimately presses Chow and Chan together, even as the closeness of their community and the fabrics that clothe them enforce moral and sartorial restraints. As the film's progress moves from Hong Kong to Singapore to the ruins of Angkor Wat, and Mr. Chow, in particular, is left burdened with memories he can see but cannot touch, *In the Mood* suggests that the monumental traces that often pass for history cannot compare to the substance and the sentiment that are forgotten. While Wong may indeed feel that very little remains from the era of his childhood, he can be assured that the memories he has called forth will linger well into the future.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### METHODS/THEORY

JOHANNES BURKHARDT, editor. *Krieg und Frieden in der historischen Gedächtniskultur: Studien zur friedenspolitischen Bedeutung historischer Argumente und Jubiläen von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart*. (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg, Historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Reihe, number 62.) Munich: Ernst Vögel. 2000. Pp. 139. DM 28.00.

GUNTHER GOTTLIEB, Geschichte als Argument für Krieg und Frieden im alten Griechenland. PAMELA KALNING, Funktionalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung im Kriegslehren des späten Mittelalters. CHRISTOPH KAMPMANN, "Arbiter of Christendom" und europäisches Gleichgewicht: Zu Geschichtsdanken und Politik im England des 17. Jahrhunderts. REIMER HANSEN, Das Privileg von 1460 im deutsch-dänischen Nationalkonflikt des 19. Jahrhunderts. JOHANNES BURKHARDT, Die kriegsteibende Rolle historischer Jubiläen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg und im Ersten Weltkrieg. ETIENNE FRANÇOIS and CLAIRE GANTET, Vergangenheitsbewältigung im Dienst des Friedens und der konfessionellen Identität: Die Friedensfeste in Süddeutschland nach 1648. WOLFRAM SIEMANN, Auf der Suche nach einer Friedensordnung: Das Jubiläum der Revolution von 1848 im Nachkriegsdeutschland.

MICHAEL COX, editor. *E. H. Carr: A Critical Appraisal*. Foreword by JOHN CARR. New York: Palgrave. 2000. Pp. xxii, 352. \$69.95.

MICHAEL COX, E. H. Carr—A Critical Appraisal. JONATHAN HASLAM, E. H. Carr's Search for Meaning, 1892–1982. BRIAN PORTER, E. H. Carr—the Aberystwyth Years, 1936–47. CHARLES JONES, "An Active Danger": E. H. Carr at *The Times*, 1940–46. R. W. DAVIES, Carr's Changing Views of the Soviet Union. STEPHEN WHITE, The Soviet Carr. MICHAEL COX, E. H. Carr and Isaac Deutscher: A Very "Special Relationship." HILLEL TICKTIN, E. H. Carr, the Cold War and the Soviet Union. PETER WILSON, Carr and His Early Critics: Responses to *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, 1939–46. PAUL RICH, E. H. Carr and the Quest for Moral Revolution in International Relations. TIM DUNNE, Theories as Weapons: E. H. Carr and International Relations. ANDREW LINKLATER, E. H. Carr, Nationalism and the Future of the Sovereign State.

FRED HALLIDAY, Reason and Romance: The Place of Revolution in the Works of E. H. Carr. ANDERS STEPHANSON, The Lessons of *What is History?* KEITH JENKINS, An English Myth? Rethinking the Contemporary Value of E. H. Carr's *What is History?* RANDALL GERMAIN, E. H. Carr and the Historical Mode of Thought.

ARIF DIRLIK, VINAY BAHL, and PETER GRAN, editors. *History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2000. Pp. viii, 278. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$24.95.

ARIF DIRLIK, Is There History after Eurocentrism? Globalism, Postcolonialism, and the Disavowal of History. THOMAS C. PATTERSON, Archeologists and Historians Confront Civilization, Relativism, and Poststructuralism in the Late Twentieth Century. R. A. ABOU-EL-HAJ, Historiography in West Asian and North African Studies since Sa'id's *Orientalism*. VINAY BAHL, Situating and Rethinking Subaltern Studies for Writing Working-Class History. ARIF DIRLIK, Reversals, Ironies, Hegemonies: Notes on the Contemporary Historiography of Modern China. FREDERICK COOPER, Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History. FLORENCIA E. MALLON, The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History. ROXANN PRAZNAK, Is World History Possible? An Inquiry. ARIF DIRLIK, Whither History? Encounters with Historicism, Postmodernism, Postcolonialism.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

HOWARD TEMPERLY, editor. *After Slavery: Emancipation and Its Discontents*. (Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Culture.) Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 2000. Pp. 310. \$57.50.

CAROLYN FICK, Emancipation in Haiti: From Plantation Labour to Peasant Proprietorship. SEYMOUR DRESCHER, Abolitionist Expectations: Britain. HOWARD TEMPERLEY, African-American Aspirations and the Settlement of Liberia. MICHAEL NARAGON, From Chattel to Citizen: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Richmond, Virginia. DAVID BLIGHT, Fifty Years of Freedom: The Memory of Emancipation at the Civil War Semicentennial, 1911–15. GAD HEUMAN, Riots and Resistance in the Caribbean at the Moment of Freedom. PIETER EMMER, "A Spirit of Independence" or Lack of Education for the Market? Freedmen and Asian Indentured Labourers in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean, 1834–1917. HOWARD TEMPERLEY, The Delegalization of Slavery in



British India. CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA, *The End of Slavery and the End of Empire: Slave Emancipation in Cuba and Puerto Rico*. DAVID SEDDON, *Unfinished Business: Slavery in Saharan Africa*. SUZANNE MIERS, *Slavery to Freedom in Sub-Saharan Africa: Expectations and Reality*. CHARLES SWAISLAND, *The Aborigines Protection Society, 1837–1909*. STANLEY ENGERMAN, *Comparative Approaches to the Ending of Slavery*.

ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE and RAYMOND GREW, editors. *The Construction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison Across Time and Around the World*. (The Comparative Studies in Society and History Book Series.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 345. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$22.95.

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# Communications

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## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

I am a student at St. Cloud State University in Minnesota, majoring in education with an emphasis on history. I am currently enrolled in a human relations class, and an essay in the December 2000 issue of *American Historical Review* caught my attention. The article, "The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas" by Michael Tadman, to me depicts a very sterile view of the slave experience.

While reading it, I failed to see a human connection in the essay. According to *Oppression and Social Justice*, the text that we are using in class, an article, "Guidelines for Choosing Books on African American Themes" by Beryle Banfield, illustrates that there should be a portrayal of African-American slaves when writing about this and any topic having to do with slavery.

The people in this essay were seen as statistics, much the way they were seen then. When the human aspect was discussed, it was in a matter of fact way. Seeing these people as just statistics really did bother me, especially when the author discussed how North American slaves were taller than Caribbean slaves because they were better fed. Banfield also asks the question, "Does the text glorify the plantation system as beneficial to African Americans?" To me, it almost felt like the author was talking about livestock, that they grew taller and stronger because of their diet and better treatment.

Although the essay was historically accurate in its

facts, and written in a very scientific way, I feel that the human side and their suffering should have been portrayed.

TOM HERMAN

St. Cloud, Minnesota

### MICHAEL TADMAN REPLIES:

I am sorry that Tom Herman found my article on slavery in the Americas to be a sterile kind of history that lacked a human dimension and tended to turn people into statistics. My purpose was actually to use quantitative history as a way of opening up the true scale of suffering of enslaved black people in the Americas. My intention was not to use slaves as a convenient basis for a technical exercise in quantitative history. Instead, it seemed to me that, in order to explore the extent of suffering and to form a basis for reflecting on some fundamental aspects of slave experiences, quantitative history could in this instance have a key, demystifying and liberating role.

My aim was to try to resolve a central problem in the history of slavery in the Americas: why did slave populations expand naturally in North America but elsewhere suffer natural decrease? Behind the demographic numbers lie so many arguments, among contemporary slaveowners and among academics—arguments about the treatment of slaves by owners, about "slave breeding," and about the morale, family lives, and cultures of enslaved people. If the central demographic problem could be unraveled, it seemed to me that we could start to discover much about the life experiences of slaves in the Americas. In my article, I also responded to a particular academic literature whose evidence and conclusions seemed to me alarmingly to understate the scale of suffering experienced by North American slaves in particular.

In my article, I used illustrative quotations sparingly. My purpose was to try to avoid too much reliance on what might be called a "quote and comment" technique, where the historian selects certain convenient quotations and uses them as central supports for assertions and argument. Also, I did not focus on the experiences of individual slaves. Use of slave testimony and a focus on individual slaves would have added to

my article, but my overall aim was to unlock a problem of numbers. I was trying to establish interconnections between (and numerical weightings for) certain factors, and so I tried to work in this instance with quantifiable evidence. I would not, however, wish to make any claim that quantitative history is generally of greater importance than non-quantitative. Indeed, in *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (1989, expanded 1996), I tried to combine quantitative and non-quantitative history, and a slavery book on which I am now working makes very little use of quantitative methods.

Quantification, it seems to me, can be effective in opening up some historical issues, but probably, in most areas of history, qualitative approaches have greater potential. Quantitative slavery history (and probably quantitative social history in general) is not usually valuable for directly exploring human motivations, mentalities, or ideologies, but it can help in establishing both the contexts in which people acted and some of the outcomes of their actions—and the more we know about these things, the more we are able to use a range of historical approaches to explore motivations, mentalities, values, and human experiences.

The argument in my article was that we should dismiss the notion that North American slaves were well treated by owners, despite the fact that their population grew by births greatly outnumbering deaths. Natural increase in North America came about, I argued, because the truly extreme conditions of sugar plantations were largely absent from the experience of North American slaves. But slave mortality was still enormously high, and U.S. slaveowners, because of their better diet and living conditions, physically towered above their ill-fed slaves.

My article tried to explain something about human suffering in the Americas. It seemed to me that my analysis might have wide implications for the exploration of slaveholder mentalities and actions, and for discovering more about the cultures, resistance patterns, mentalities, and the family and daily lives of slaves. My hope was that if I could clear away a major demographic puzzle, I could help to open up a fuller understanding of the experiences of enslaved peoples in the Americas.

MICHAEL TADMAN  
University of Liverpool

#### TO THE EDITOR:

I appreciated a number of articles in the April 2001 issue. As someone with both a professional and political interest in the history of American radicalism, I found the article by James A. Miller, Susan D. Pennybacker, and Eve Rosenhaft on the European angle of the "Scottsboro Boys" case to be very enlightening. The documentation it presents from newly opened archives in the Soviet Union confirms the portrait

drawn by many historians in the 1980s of the Communist Party as an internationalist social movement, not merely a conspiracy directed by Moscow, as some recent historians have endeavored to show.

As one who teaches survey courses in world history, the survey by Gale Stokes of recent conceptual overviews of world history was both timely and useful.

But I would like to comment more specifically on A. Roger Ekirch's survey of changes in sleep patterns from early modern to industrial Europe, a thesis one is tempted to term "eye-opening." While I am not at all a specialist in European history or in medical history, Ekirch's article reminded me of two primary-source documents I use in my world history classes that refer, broadly speaking, to sleep issues, and that may help demonstrate further Ekirch's point.

In discussing the persecution of witches in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I use excerpts from the *Compendium Maleficarum* by Francesco Maria Guazzo, originally published in Italy in 1608. This work is permeated by references to the sabbats, nocturnal gatherings where accused witches allegedly cavorted with devils. I had assumed that tales of these sabbats emerged mainly from dreams. But if indeed many people were up at various points during the night, and even left their homes, as Ekirch says, such accusations become easier to make. The fact of people moving about, combined with the obscurity of the night, would have made it easier for people to imagine that they saw such nefarious gatherings. On the other hand, many of the tales in the *Compendium*, especially those dealing with sexual temptation, do appear to be recollections of dreams, and such recollections at times had fateful consequences in real trials for witchcraft. So perhaps remembering fewer of our dreams, and those less vividly, as Ekirch suggests we do today, may have some benefits for individuals and society, as well as drawbacks.

The second instance is a fleeting reference in the testimony of one Elizabeth Bentley before the Sadler Committee of the British Parliament, which in 1831 was investigating the conditions of factory workers. (My citation is from *The Human Record*, vol. 2, edited by Alfred Andrea and James Overfield, 4th edition [2001], but many documentary collections include this testimony.) Bentley, as a young adult, described her childhood, when her mother was responsible for getting her to work at 5 a.m., with no clock in the house, and with grave penalties for being late. "My mother," Bentley recalled, "has been up at 4 o'clock in the morning, and at 2 o'clock in the morning; . . . and I have sometimes been at Hunslet Car at 2 o'clock in the morning, when it was streaming down with rain, and we have had to stay till the mill was opened."

I have discussed with my students the importance of this passage in signifying that the social meaning of time changed with the coming of industrialization, and students can readily see the hardships caused by the adoption of standardized clock time in a situation where many workers did not have ready access to



clocks. But Ekirch's research suggests as well that Bentley's mother may have been experiencing the difficult transition from one type of sleep pattern to another. If she awoke in the middle of the night, as she may formerly have been accustomed to doing, she might not then be able to awaken on time later; the fear of financial repercussions was undoubtedly a cause of great anxiety for her and for others in her position.

I am sure that other readers of Roger Ekirch's article will also look at familiar documents in a new way after considering his evidence. I hope that he continues to investigate some of the consequences for social and economic life of the sleep pattern that he has identified, and especially the consequences of the transition from this pattern to the one with which we are more familiar today.

ROBERT SHAFFER  
Shippensburg University

#### A. ROGER EKIRCH REPLIES:

I much appreciate Robert Shaffer's insights along with other suggestions that I have received in recent months from both historians and sleep specialists. Hopefully, an awareness of this pre-industrial pattern of slumber will help to further our understanding of any number of historical problems, including possibly the nettlesome topic of witches' sabbaths to which he alludes.

Shaffer is right to single out evidence in the *Compendium Maleficarum*, to which I would add Nicolas Remy's late sixteenth-century handbook on witchcraft, *Demonolatri*, from which the former draws. Both contain intriguing accounts of late-night sabbaths that do not always appear to have been the products of dreams. Several instances, in fact, relate how wives left the sides of their slumbering husbands, sometimes after first administering a potion to prevent their awakening prematurely. (Remy, incidentally, at one point cites Apuleius's tale of Telephion of Miletus, who was attacked by a witch in the form of a weasel after the time of "first sleep.") Still, the case for organized assemblies or sabbaths, in my view, remains unproven, apart from the likelihood that individuals or small groups of kindred spirits practiced sorcery in the dead of night (that is, immediately following "first sleep"), which was widely thought the most inviting time for demons of all sorts.

I further agree that the change from segmented to seamless slumber was anything but smooth, for both individuals and entire societies. Evidence strongly indicates that the transition occurred gradually over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with numerous permutations along the way. And, as I tried to suggest, we may still be feeling the aftershocks today in the form of so-called sleep disorders. As Shaffer recognizes, much work yet needs to be done

both on this matter and so many more issues relating to the history of sleep.

A. ROGER EKIRCH  
Virginia Tech

#### REVIEWS OF BOOKS

##### TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, Denis Sinor does an injustice to the readers of the *AHR* by assessing the book in terms entirely irrelevant to its stated purpose [*AHR* 105 (October 2000): 1272]. Contrary to what Sinor appears to have wished, *Religions of the Silk Road* makes no claim to be a definitive or exhaustive statement on premodern Asian political or economic history. On the contrary, the book is, as I write in my preface, "an attempt to weave some two thousand years of Asian history around a particular thread—that of the movement and transformation of religious ideas—into a readable and informative account . . . written first and foremost with the student and general reader in mind."

By focusing narrowly on a few points of detail that in no way affect, or, in most cases, even relate to, the general theme of the book (specifically, the spread of world religions along trade routes), Sinor misleads *AHR* readers about its content, purpose, and intended audience. As a result, the segment of readers to whom the book is addressed will find little or nothing in Sinor's review that recognizes the needs of one who teaches introductory world history or Asian history surveys. I would like to suggest that a review serves readers best when it assesses a work in terms of its target audience and how well it meets its stated objectives, as opposed to merely in terms of the particular personal interests of the reviewer.

For the record, *Religions of the Silk Road* is in fact a book about the history of religions, although *which* religions it discusses and what arguments it makes about them are topics not mentioned by Sinor in his review. It is *not* a book about economic history, except tangentially in that merchants played an ongoing role in the transmission of Buddhism, Manichaeism, Christianity, Islam, and earlier, Hebraic and Iranic, ideas, from west to east along the overland trade routes of Asia. It is *not* a book about political history, especially medieval Inner Asian political history (which happens to be Sinor's field). This subject is briefly mentioned only by way of backdrop to the issue of cultural transmission, yet Sinor has chosen to make it the very basis of his critique, to the exclusion of most everything else in the book.

Sinor's initial complaint is that the book, at 186 pages, is not *long* enough. He ignores the possibility that a concise treatment was intended, which gives us

a further indication that what he is reviewing is not the book at hand but rather some imaginary work that he wished to see written. He is able to contend that my book fails to live up to its claims only by misrepresenting what those claims are. The "errors of fact" Sinor claims to identify are not as clear-cut as he would have readers believe, even if they did bear on the book's thesis, which they do not. And if he did feel so strongly about his interpretations, he ought to have been willing to share them with me when he was offered the opportunity to review the unpublished typescript, rather than reserving his remarks for the public forum.

In writing a deliberately condensed book, one can hardly feel too much remorse for not including absolutely everything. If Sinor had been willing to seek out or even acknowledge the book's strong points, he might have judged it in terms of whether *enough* evidence (as opposed to all possible evidence) was provided to illustrate my central thesis: that the transmission across Asia of ideas from virtually all the so-called "world religions" followed a distinct pattern over a remarkably long period of time.

Certainly it is easier to write a dismissive review than a thoughtful one, particularly if one feels unconstrained to actually discuss what the book is about. As for Sinor's suggestion that, in writing this book, I "bit off more than I could chew," let me assure him that I bit off exactly as much as I wished to, no more and no less, and that I remain satisfied with the result.

RICHARD FOLTZ  
University of Florida

#### DENIS SINOR REPLIES:

Soon after the publication of my review of Foltz's book, the author thought it proper and useful to send me an irate e-mail, from which, out of kindness, I will not quote. I then thought that he needed the outburst to let out steam, but the idea that he might wish to go public with his grievance never occurred to me. I was wrong. But he who lives in a glass house should throw no stones. Foltz does his best to instruct me how to write a book review. So far, I have written no more than about 150 to 200, but I am always willing to learn. Why is he unwilling to listen and learn? Could I really be so much off the mark?

On Foltz's recently published translation of a Persian text, Bruce Wannell had this to say: "Translation is not an easy art: it requires, at the very least, linguistic competence and cultural sensitivity. The present work falls short on both counts. It is a pity that it was done in such a rushed and careless manner" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3d series, 10 [November 2000]: 401). Foltz received a similarly dismissive critique in the *Journal of Asian History* (34 [2000]: 80). In comparison, I was quite gentle when I concluded my own review of Foltz's third book to appear within two years with the words: "In summation, in this book Foltz bit off more than he could

chew. Yet I believe that he is capable of more thorough work than this hastily prepared book" (p. 1273). I now wonder whether I was too optimistic; perhaps haste and carelessness are, indeed, the hallmarks of Foltz's scholarship, if this is the right word to use in referring to his writings.

I sympathize with Foltz insofar as all of us prefer to receive praise instead of blame for our efforts. Clearly, he wished for more praise and milder criticism. But my criticism was mild! I was quite aware that his book had been written "first and foremost with the student and general reader in mind" and cited this sentence in my review. But these two categories of readers deserve something better than what Foltz offers them here. For example, few undergraduates would be so familiar with the name of Narshaki, a tenth-century historian of Bukhara cited several times, that they could go without being told who he was, and they would have deserved to be informed on who fought against whom in the Battle of Talas (p. 8). The brighter among them would probably like to know the original language(s) in which the lengthy citations on pages 76–77 and 79 were written. Of course, in my review I could have enumerated more factual errors than I did. For instance, I kept mum about his placing (p. 80) the Uighur Empire of the eighth century on the South Siberian steppe instead of in Mongolia where it flourished, and I did not rebuke him for stating that the Ming expelled the Mongols in the fifteenth century (p. 139), when the correct date is 1368. A thousand miles here or there, or a misdating by a century, are of little import when one is hell-bent on producing yet another book. A self-styled historian of religions, Foltz is apparently ready to state the enormity that the "Nestorians shunned the symbol of the cross" (p. 120), oblivious of the two fine illustrations (nos. 7 and 8) that in this very book depict Nestorian crosses!

For the use of sophomores, Foltz wrote a sophomore book. If he wishes to assure me and his readers that in writing he bit off exactly as much as he wished to and that he remains satisfied with the result, I am bound to believe him. But I feel justified in my belief—not expressed in my original review—that what he gives his readers is shabby scholarship.

DENIS SINOR  
Indiana University

#### TO THE EDITOR:

Stewart Weaver's comment in his review of Jonathan Haslam's book *The Vices of Integrity: E. H. Carr, 1892–1982* (*AHR* 105 [October 2000]: 1396–97) that *What Is History* is "the one book of Carr's that is still read" seems curiously parochial. Scholars in International Relations consider *The Twenty Years' Crisis* both seminal and of enduring value. Unlike Weaver, they do not dismiss it as a mistimed defense of appeasement. Indeed, a leading journal (*Review of International Studies*) as recently as December 1998 consciously

modeled its first special issue on Carr's book in dealing with "The Eighty Years Crisis 1919–1999." It went as far as to use Carr's chapter titles and section headings, so as to acknowledge the continuing relevance of his questions and even of some of his answers. Surely it is not too much to ask that a historian might look over his academic fence and recognize what is being done in an allied discipline?

PETER J. YEARWOOD

University of Papua New Guinea

Stewart Weaver does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Having had generally favorable and objective reviews for *From Yalta to Berlin*, I have been totally amazed by the claim that Heike Bungert made in your review to the effect that the book "assigns to the French the role of the anti-German devils" [*AHR* 106 (February 2001): 282–83].

I cannot imagine how Bungert drew this conclusion. I wrote in the book that Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet in 1950–1951 opened the door to Franco-German reconciliation and to a new Europe, that Charles de Gaulle was the real winner of the 1958–1961 Berlin Wall crisis, and that François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl in 1990 sealed the great bargain that gave Kohl his German unity and gave Mitterrand his European currency. I cannot see how any of this "perpetuates the negative American view of the French" that Bungert claims to have discerned.

I wrote, accurately, that de Gaulle began his policy toward Germany in 1945 with a demand for control over the Rhineland and that Mitterrand was reluctant to have Germany united in 1990, but those statements happen to be historically correct. France changed its policy, as I wrote. That is positive, not negative.

I might add that some French scholars saw major parts of the manuscript before publication and raised no such objection.

W. R. SMYSER

Washington, D.C.

HEIKE BUNBERT REPLIES:

Being just as "amazed" as William Smyser that he did not regard my review of his book as "generally favorable and objective," when I called his book "a good overview of Germany's place in international power politics," I only wish to respond to Smyser's direct point of criticism, that he did not "perpetuate the negative American view of the French." Here, I was referring more specifically to the period from 1944 to 1950. Modern revisionist histories of France's policy toward Germany in the postwar era, unfortunately most of them in German or French, all state that the basis for France's policy of cooperation with Germany,

which officially started with the Schuman plan of 1950, was laid in 1944 to 1945. (See Henri Ménudier, *L'Allemagne Occupée 1945–1949*, 2d edn. [Brussels, 1990]; Stefan Zauner, *Erziehung und Kulturmission* [Munich, 1994]; and Armin Heinen, *Saarjahre* [Stuttgart, 1996]. See also the works by Alain Lattard, Rainer Möhler, Sylvie Lefèvre, Monique Mombert, and the earlier books by Wilfried Loth, *Sozialismus und Internationalismus* [Stuttgart, 1977]; and Reinhard Schreiner, *Bidault, der MRP und die französische Deutschlandpolitik* [Frankfurt am Main, 1985]. Dietmar Hüser already complained in 1996 that German and French findings were not taken into account by Anglo-Saxon historians; compare Hüser, *Frankreich's "doppelte Deutschlandpolitik"* [Berlin, 1996], 28–29.)

Most French government officials recognized already by then that a policy of security via integration of Germany was far better and more viable than a policy of French dominance over Germany. In July 1945, a secret French directive spoke out against dismemberment of Germany and instead promoted a politically decentralized German state. By the fall of 1945 at the latest, the French government had informally given up their demands for the Rhineland. (See Rainer Hudemann, "Reparationsgut oder Partner? Zum Wandel in der Forschung über Frankreichs Deutschlandpolitik nach 1945," in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B 6 [1997]: 31–40, esp. 32, 34, 38.)

This policy might not always have been visible to the public because the French government was hemmed in by a French public that demanded compensation from Germany for their sufferings during the war; French politicians and diplomats also used recalcitrant French opinion and the threat of a Communist French government as a bargaining chip with the American government. (See Dietmar Hüser, "Druckmittel Deutschland?" in Stephen A. Schuker, ed., *Deutschland und Frankreich* [Munich, 2000], 185.) Nevertheless, "this image of an at first merciless French policy of security and reparations towards Germany that for decades went nearly uncontested . . . is only so partially true that it no longer suffices for a general characterization of the relationship between both countries since the war. More specifically, this view is simply not true for the policy of the government, nor that of General de Gaulle" (Hudemann, p. 32, my translation).

HEIKE BUNBERT

University of Cologne

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book, *The University Gets Religion* (*AHR* 106 [April 2001]: 572–73), Conrad Cherry asserts that my accusations against the discipline of religious studies "are diatribes" that rest more on my own "dogmatic and supernaturalist convictions than on the history of the field." Although nowhere in the book are my religious convictions (or lack of them) revealed, Cherry's own critique of my study of religion

is understandable if only because his interpretation of university divinity schools, a significant partner in religious studies, is completely the reverse of mine. In Cherry's book, *Hurrying toward Zion: Universities, Divinity Schools, and American Protestantism* (1995), he writes, "For all of its misguided triumphalism and imperialism, the Pan-Protestant vision of divinity education led to unbiased scholarship, the integrity of the life of the mind, and the scholarly exploration of the unusual" (p. 298). Since he quotes me as writing that religious studies "has failed to produce first-rate scholarship," Cherry's reaction to me and my book is not surprising.

Cherry goes further, however, and claims that my charges are unsubstantiated. That he marshals no evidence in his book for a positive assessment of religious studies is probably beside the point, since my book is the one being evaluated. Yet, in his review, Cherry conveniently ignores that my assertions against academic religion are shared by such leading religion scholars as Jonathan Z. Smith, Jacob Neusner, John F. Wilson, Clyde A. Holbrook, Claude Welch, Mark C. Taylor, Gerald James Larson, Sam Gill—this list could go on. What is more, I quote these primary sources frequently.

Since reasonable people differ on the merits of any scholarly achievement, choosing between Cherry's or my interpretation of religious studies will not be free from some bias. What is easier to see, however, is that my conclusions are not simply the product of religious bigotry, since I was describing what other experts in the field have said about their academic discipline and I tried to account for the historical roots of religious studies' malaise. Interestingly enough, Cherry ignores such negative estimates of religious studies in his book, and when he encounters them in mine he cheerfully opines that such criticisms, even by insiders, "may be a sign of intellectual vitality rather than of utter confusion."

This reading of religious studies' critics raises two points that suggest Cherry may be the one tainted by dogmatism and supernaturalism. First, why is my book a diatribe and not part of the same intellectual vitality that characterizes other critical assessments of the field? Second, why does Cherry fail to acknowledge that the accusations I make are based on a trail of evidence from the pens and printers of certain religion scholars written over the last thirty years? Could it be that, because of his faith in the field, Cherry chooses to ignore the reason of religious studies' detractors?

Whatever the answer to these questions, if Cherry's review is representative of the Pan-Protestant divinity he praises, then it is not clear that its scholarship is as free from bias or as filled with intellectual integrity as he so merrily concludes.

D. G. HART  
Westminster Theological Seminary  
Escondido, California

CONRAD CHERRY REPIES:

D. G. Hart believes that my considerable reservations about his book must be due to a clash between his ideology and mine, mine allegedly deriving from a commitment to the "dogmatism and supernaturalism" of Pan-Protestant liberalism (quite an oxymoron!) and my uncritical "faith in the field" of religious studies. Although my *Hurrying toward Zion*, unlike Hart's book, does not *dismiss* the value of the field of religious studies or its parent Protestant liberalism, it does include *criticisms* of both movements in several of their historical phases. Even the quote from my book that Hart tries to use against me (respecting Protestantism's "misguided triumphalism and imperialism") indicates that my position is hardly uncritical. Truthfully, Hart and I are divided not by some ideological conflict but, instead, by different standards for the discovery and fair-minded measurement of historical evidence.

As I indicated in my review, Hart marshals no evidence for such verbal assaults as religious studies "has failed to produce first-rate scholarship." As I asked there, "[W]hat would count in favor of the charge apart from a careful evaluation of the thousands of scholarly works in religious studies that have appeared since 1965?" Hart insists in his letter that he has discovered in the "primary sources" of such critics of the field as Jacob Neusner, John F. Wilson, Clyde A. Holbrook, and others a "trail of evidence" justifying his assaults. What Hart fails to point out is that most of the persons he cites have been leaders in, in some cases even creators of, the field of religious studies in its contemporary forms. Yes, those scholars have been critics of their field, especially its hesitation to cut the umbilical cord with American Protestantism, but their criticisms have been offered as a way of moving the field ahead rather than as a way of debunking it. To take one example: Hart's invocation of John F. Wilson as a primary source of his attacks on religious studies would be humorous if it were not so imperceptive. This is the same Wilson who holds a named chair of religion at Princeton University, who has taught numerous graduate students in religious studies who have gone on to distinguished university careers, and whose criticisms of his field in the 1960s and early 1970s helped move religious studies away from the Protestant seminary curricular model. I am puzzled that Hart cannot see the difference between (his) reckless diatribes and (his sources') constructive criticisms, and that he cannot view the latter as a sign of the refusal of a field of study to stagnate.

Even if the scholars Hart cites were to support his altogether negative perceptions—and they do not—they would constitute no "trail of evidence" for his claims. Hart proposed to write a history of the rationales for the creation of religious studies in the university, and his book lived up to that stated purpose. His is a history of rhetoric that is not based on an examination of curricular developments,



institutional contexts, cultural changes, or key scholarly works in religious studies. Thus he asks us to believe that the field has produced no first-rate scholarship because others have supposedly said so, rather than because of his own analysis of that allegedly inferior scholarship. Without the provision of quantitative evidence, he invites us to think that religious studies has not found a welcome home in the research university. Presenting no analysis of contemporary curricula, he asks us to accept his assertion that religious studies has not been shaped significantly by the history of religions or the social sciences. These are trails of evidence?

Finally, I am surprised that Hart believes that "nowhere in the book are [his own] religious convictions (or lack of them) revealed" and that his assessment of religious studies is in no way tainted by his convictions. I leave it to the reader of this journal to decide whether the following sentences from Hart's book keep secret his religious posture, and whether that posture may not result in his discomfort with the university discipline of religious studies: "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" (Mark 8:36). If believers really hope they will receive enduring rewards in the world to come, then they should have faith that eternal bliss will more than make up for whatever suffering and ignominy the university exhibits toward them here and now. In effect, Christ's question was a variation on the theme that you can't have it both ways. It may be time for faithful academics to stop trying to secure a religion-friendly university while paying deference to the academic standards of the modern university" (p. 251).

CONRAD CHERRY

*Indiana University-Purdue University  
Indianapolis*

TO THE EDITOR:

After more than twenty years as a working historian, I remain fascinated with the evolving scholarly categories of the *AHR*'s book review section.

In 1989, an *AHR* review of my case study of the transnational labor activism of migrants from one small Sicilian town was reviewed as a "general" work—presumably because it touched on two national histories. Yet in 2001, my book *Italy's Many Diasporas* appears instead as a work on "Early Modern and Modern Europe."

Might not a book written by an Americanist, that analyzes immigrant life on five continents, that appears in a series called "Global Diasporas," and that was assigned for review to a historian of Latin America, more logically belong under the newer rubric of "Comparative/World History"?

Perhaps this is a small point. Authors are generally grateful for favorable reviews. But my point may not seem completely trivial to younger colleagues—whose future employment is often determined by the pigeonholes deemed appropriate for their dissertations and first books. Nor is it a trivial point for authors hoping their books will find use in the classrooms for which they were actually written.

DONNA R. GABACCIA

*University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

#### ERRATUM

In the June 2001 issue, p. 910, Hue-Tam Ho Tai meant to say that Marie Louise, not Marie Thérèse, was Napoleon's second wife. Her thanks to the reader who pointed this out.

THE EDITORS

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# Index to *American Historical Review*, October 2001

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The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

- Abercrombie, Thomas A., "Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among an Andean People," 1428
- "Abolitionists Abroad," by Sanneh, 1508
- "Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory," by Schwartz, 1361
- Adams, Michael C. C. (R), 1403, 1404
- Adelson, Roger (R), 1504
- "The African American Encounter with Japan and China," by Gallicchio, 1402
- "After Slavery," edited by Temperly (E), 1515
- "The Aftermath of Revolution," by Farry, 1460
- Alexander, Ruth M. (R), 1421
- "Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914-1930," by Scheck, 1485
- "'All the World is Here!' The Black Presence at White City," by Reed, 1365
- "All We Knew Was to Farm," by Walker, 1395
- "Allies and Adversaries," by Stoler, 1403
- Allyn, David, "Make Love Not War: The Sexual Revolution; An Unfettered History," 1421
- Alston, Lee J., and Joseph P. Ferrie, "Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State: Economics, Politics, and Institutions in the South, 1865-1965," 1394
- Altschuler, Glenn C., and Stuart M. Blumin, "Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century," 1355
- Alves, Abel (R), 1427
- "Ambiguous Commitments and Uncertain Policies," by Jeffery, 1329
- "American Alchemy," by Roberts, 1354
- "American Indians in the Marketplace," by Hosmer, 1367
- "Americans and the Japanese Miracle," by Forsberg, 1328
- Amussen, Susan D. (R), 1454
- Anbinder, Tyler (R), 1355
- Anchor, Robert (R), 1318
- Anderson, Benedict, *To What Can Late Eighteenth-Century French, British, and American Anxieties Be Compared? Comment on Three Papers*, 1281-89
- Anderson, Eric (R), 1394
- Andress, David, "Massacre at the Champ de Mars: Popular Dissent and Political Culture in the French Revolution," 1468
- "Anti-Fascism in Britain," by Copsey, 1459
- Ash, Stephen V. (R), 1319
- "Au tombeau des secrets," by Métayer, 1463
- Augustinos, Gerasimos (R), 1329
- Ayers, Edward L., and Anne S. Rubin, "Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War," 1319
- Bachrach, Bernard S. (R), 1436
- Bade, Klaus J., "Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart," 1448
- Bahl, Vinay, Arif Dirlik, and Peter Gran, editors, "History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies" (E), 1515
- Ballard, Michael B. (R), 1362
- Balogh, Brian (R), 1382
- "The Barbarian Plain," by Fowden, 1431
- "The Barbarians Speak," by Wells, 1430
- Barnouw, Dagmar (R), 1320
- Barrett, James R., "William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism," 1384
- Basch, Norma (R), 1344
- Basch, Norma, "Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians," 1345
- "Battling for American Labor," by Kimeldorf, 1377
- Baxandall, Rosalyn, and Elizabeth Ewen, "Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened," 1411
- Baxter, Maurice G., "Henry Clay the Lawyer," 1351
- "Becoming Chinese," by Yeh, 1333
- Before Night Falls*, directed by Schnabel, reviewed by Davis, 1512
- Beito, David T., "From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967," 1387
- Bell, David A., *The Unbearable Lightness of Being French: Law, Republicanism and National Identity at the End of the Old Regime*, 1215-35
- Bell, Rudolph M. (R), 1495
- "Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy," by Kantrowitz, 1363
- Benedict, Philip (R), 1476
- Benedict, Philip, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard, editors, "Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585," 1443
- Bensch, Stephen (R), 1433
- Benton, Gregor (R), 1335
- Bermeo, Nancy, and Philip Nord, editors, "Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe" (E), 1519

- Bertrand, Michael T., "Race, Rock, and Elvis," 1417  
 "Between the State and Islam," edited by Butterworth and Zartman (E), 1520  
 "Between the Swastika and the Cross of Lorraine," by Goodfellow, 1474  
 Bezner, Lili Corbus (R), 1372  
 Bhola, H. S. (R), 1421  
 "The Big Tomorrow," by May, 1406  
 Billings, Dwight B., and Kathleen M. Blee, "The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia," 1347  
 Billingsley, William J., "Communists on Campus: Race, Politics, and the Public University in Sixties North Carolina," 1418  
 Billstein, Reinhold, *et al.*, editors, "Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors, and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War" (E), 1520  
 Bird, Stephen, and Christine Collette, editors, "Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918-48" (E), 1519  
 "A Bishop's Tale," by Harline and Put, 1476  
 Bix, Amy Sue (R), 1369  
 Bix, Amy Sue, "Inventing Ourselves Out of Jobs? America's Debate Over Technological Unemployment 1929-1981," 1388  
 "Black Judas," by Smith, 1364  
 Blaszczyk, Regina Lee, "Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning," 1370  
 Blee, Kathleen M., and Dwight B. Billings, "The Road to Poverty: The Making of Wealth and Hardship in Appalachia," 1347  
 Blewett, Mary H., "Constant Turmoil: The Politics of Industrial Life in Nineteenth-Century New England," 1368  
 "Bloodless Victories," by Harris, 1377  
 Blumin, Stuart M., and Glenn C. Altschuler, "Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century," 1355  
 "Body and Soul," by Crunden, 1390  
 Bold, Christine, "The WPA Guides: Mapping America," 1393  
 Bolin, James Duane (R), 1396  
 Bothwell, James, P. J. P. Goldberg, and W. Mark Ormrod, editors, "The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England" (E), 1518  
 "Bound Away," by Fischer and Kelly, 1347  
 Bouwsma, William J., "The Waning of the Renaissance 1550-1640," 1442  
 Brand, Paul (R), 1433  
 "The British Isles and the War of American Independence," by Conway, 1455  
 Buckley, Roger (R), 1328  
 "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," by Kasson, 1366  
 Bungert, Heike (C), 1538  
 Burguière, André, and Raymond Grew, editors, "The Constuction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison Across Time and Around the World" (E), 1516  
 Burke, Peter (R), 1442  
 Burkhardt, Johannes, editor, "Krieg und Frieden in der historischen Gedächtniskultur: Studien zur friedenspolitischen Bedeutung historischer Argumente und Jubiläen von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart" (E), 1515  
 Burns, Kathryn (R), 1428  
 Bussel, Robert (R), 1385  
 Butterworth, Charles E., and I. William Zartman, editors, "Between the State and Islam" (E), 1520  
 "Cadres and Corruption," by Lü, 1335  
 Cage, R. A. (R), 1452  
 Callinicos, Alex (R), 1323  
 "The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," edited by Salomon and Schwartz, 1424  
 Caplan, Jane, editor, "Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History," 1324  
 Capper, Charles, and Conrad Edick Wright, editors, "Transient and Permanent: The Transcendentalist Movement and Its Context," 1351  
 "Carlo Rosselli," by Pugliese, 1497  
 Carlton, Charles (R), 1451  
 Carlton, David, "Churchill and the Soviet Union," 1457  
 Carpenter, Joel A. (R), 1415  
 Cashdollar, Charles D., "A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830-1915," 1325  
 Cass, Victoria, "Dangerous Women: Warriors, Grannies, and Geishas of the Ming," 1332  
 "The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965," by Phayer, 1449  
 Censer, Jack R. (R), 1468  
 Chakrabarty, Dipesh, "Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference," 1322  
 "The Challenge of Change," edited by Winton and Mets, 1326  
 Champakalakshmi, R., "Trade Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300," 1338  
 "Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society," edited by Heidecker (E), 1517  
 Chazan, Robert, "God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives," 1434  
 Chen, Yong, "Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community," 1375  
 Cherry, Conrad (C), 1539  
 "Children of the French Empire," by White, 1507, 1539  
 "China and the Vietnam Wars 1950-1975," by Zhai, 1336  
 "Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943," by Chen, 1375  
 Chiu-Duke, Josephine, "To Rebuild the Empire: Lu Chih's Confucian Pragmatist Approach to the Mid-T'ang Predicament," 1332  
 "Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe," by Kaeuper, 1436  
 "Christian Critics," by McCarraher, 1413  
 "Churchill and the Soviet Union," by Carlton, 1457  
 "Civil Society before Democracy," edited by Bermeo and Nord (E), 1519  
 "Civilizing Capitalism," by Storrs, 1394  
 Clark, Andrew F. (R), 1506  
 Clark, Nancy L., *Gendering Production in Wartime South Africa*, 1181-1213  
 Clemens, Elisabeth S., "The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925," 1382  
 Clulee, Nicholas H. (R), 1317  
 Cocks, Geoffrey (R), 1486  
 Coleman, John J. (R), 1343  
 Collette, Christine, and Stephen Bird, editors, "Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918-48" (E), 1519  
 "The Colonial Unconscious," by Ezra, 1473  
 "Commercial Cultures," edited by Jackson, *et al.* (E), 1517  
 "The Common Law Mind," by Tubbs, 1433  
 "Communists on Campus," by Billingsley, 1418

- "Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages," edited by Curry and Matthew (E), 1518
- "Confronting Sukarno," by Subritzky, 1330
- Conklin, Alice L. (R), 1473
- Connell, William J., and Andrea Zorzi, editors, "Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power," 1492
- Connelly, John (R), 1488
- "Constant Turmoil," by Blewett, 1368
- "The Constuction of Minorities," edited by Burguière and Grew (E), 1516
- Conway, Stephen, "The British Isles and the War of American Independence," 1455
- Coon, Lynda L. (R), 1431
- Copsey, Nigel, "Anti-Fascism in Britain," 1459
- Cott, Nancy F., "Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation," 1344
- "A Covenant with Color," by Wilder, 1358
- Cox, Jeffrey (R), 1339
- Cox, Michael, editor, "E. H. Carr: A Critical Appraisal" (E), 1515
- "The Creative Destruction of Manhattan 1900–1940," by Page, 1410
- Critchlow, Donald T., "Studebaker: The Life and Death of an American Corporation," 1371
- Crocker, Matthew H., "The Magic of the Many: Josiah Quincy and the Rise of Mass Politics in Boston 1800–1830," 1350
- Cronin, Mike (R), 1459
- Crowley, John (R), 1415
- Crunden, Robert M., "Body and Soul: The Making of American Modernism," 1390
- Cull, Nicholas J. (R), 1511
- Cullen, L. M., "The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France," 1465
- "Cultivating California," by Vaught, 1374
- "Cultures of Opposition," by Kosak, 1378
- Curry, Anne, and Elizabeth Matthew, editors, "Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages" (E), 1518
- Curry, Lynne (R), 1412
- Curtis, Sarah A., "Educating the Faithful: Religion, Schooling, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France," 1471
- D'Agostino, Anthony (R), 1503
- "Dangerous Women," by Cass, 1332
- Daniel, Pete, "Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s," 1416
- Davis, Darién J. (R), 1512
- Davis, Jack E. (R), 1362
- De Krey, Gary S. (R), 1453
- De Rosa, Luigi, and Luis A. Ribot García, editors, "Pensamiento y política económica en la Época Moderna" (E), 1519
- Deák, István, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, editors, "The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath," 1450
- "The Decolonial Imaginary," by Pérez, 1319
- "Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts," by Stuart, 1477
- "Designing a New America," by Reagan, 1386
- Deuchler, Martina (R), 1337
- Deutsch, Sarah, "Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940," 1368
- "The Development of Agrarian Capitalism," by Whittle, 1438
- Dickinson, Edward Ross (R), 1482
- Dinnerstein, Leonard (R), 1423
- Dirlik, Arif, Vinay Bahl, and Peter Gran, editors, "History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies" (E), 1515
- "Disabled Veterans in History," edited by Gerber (E), 1516
- Dittmer, John (R), 1416
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- Doll, Peter M., "Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745–1795," 1349
- Dollinger, Marc, "Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America," 1378
- "The Dominion of Voice," by Smith, 1356
- Donaldson, Roger, 1511
- Dooley, Brendan (R), 1494
- Draper, Alan (R), 1408
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- Ekirch, A. Roger (C), 1536
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- Elsmore, Bronwyn (R), 1341
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 Feldman, Glenn (R), 1399  
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 Fink, Deborah (R), 1395  
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 Fischer, David Hackett, and James C. Kelly, "Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement," 1347  
 Fitzgerald, Frances, "Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War," 1422  
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 Foltz, Richard (C), 1536  
 "For Her Good Estate," by Underhill, 1437  
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 Forster, Marc R. (R), 1476  
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 Fowden, Elizabeth Key, "The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius Between Rome and Iran," 1431  
 Fraden, Rena (R), 1393  
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 Freeman, Joshua B., "Working-Class New York: Life and Labor since World War II," 1411  
 "From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State," by Beito, 1387  
 Furlong, Patrick J. (R), 1371
- Gabaccia, Donna R. (C), 1539  
 Gabin, Nancy (R), 1380  
 Gallay, Alan (R), 1347  
 Gallicchio, Marc, "The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945," 1402  
 García Martínez, Bernardo, and Alba González Jácome, editors, "Estudios sobre historia y ambiente en América," 1427  
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 Geifman, Anna (R), 1500  
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 "A Genealogy of Dissent," by Stricklin, 1415  
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- Gentile, Emilio, "Fascismo e antifascismo: I pariti italiani fra le due guerre," 1496  
 Gerber, David A., editor, "Disabled Veterans in History" (E), 1516  
 Gerhard, Anselm, "The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century," 1472  
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 Gilman, Sander L. (R), 1324  
 "God, Humanity, and History," by Chazan, 1434  
 Goldberg, Ann, "Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and German Society 1815-1849," 1479  
 Goldberg, P. J. P., James Bothwell, and W. Mark Ormrod, editors, "The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England" (E), 1518  
 Goldstein, Warren (R), 1420  
 González Jácome, Alba, and Bernardo García Martínez, editors, "Estudios sobre historia y ambiente en América," 1427  
 Goodfellow, Samuel Huston, "Between the Swastika and the Cross of Lorraine: Fascisms in Interwar Alsace," 1474  
 Gordon, Ann D. (R), 1342  
 Grafton, Anthony, and Nancy Siraisi, "Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe," 1441  
 Graham, Lisa Jane, "If the King Only Knew: Seditious Speech in the Reign of Louis XV," 1466  
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 "Grand Master Workman," by Phelan, 1376  
 Greene, Julie (R), 1376  
 Greene, Victor (R), 1352  
 Gregor, A. James (R), 1496  
 Grew, Raymond, and André Burguière, editors, "The Construction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison Across Time and Around the World" (E), 1516  
 Griffin, Roger (R), 1474  
 Griswold del Castillo, Richard (R), 1319  
 Gross, David (R), 1483  
 Gross, Jan T., István Deák, and Tony Judt, editors, "The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath," 1450  
 Grosse, Pascal, "Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918," 1481  
 Grubin, David, 1510  
 Gully, Anthony Lacy (R), 1469  
 Guy, Kolleen M. (R), 1465  
 Gvosdev, Nikolas K., "Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760-1819," 1499
- Halpern, Martin (R), 1409  
 Hamlin, Christopher (R), 1325  
 "Handcuffed to History," edited by Udayakumar (E), 1517  
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- Harper, Susan Billington, "In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India," 1339
- Harris, Howell John, "Bloodless Victories: The Rise and Fall of the Open Shop in the Philadelphia Metal Trades, 1890–1940," 1377
- Hart, D. G. (C), 1538
- Hartley, Janet (R), 1499
- Heidecker, Karl, editor, "Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society" (E), 1517
- Heineman, Kenneth J. (R), 1418
- Hennen, John (R), 1397
- Henning, Joseph M., "Outposts of Civilization: Race, Religion, and the Formative Years of American-Japanese Relations," 1327
- "Henry Clay the Lawyer," by Baxter, 1351
- Herman, Tom (C), 1534
- Herrmann, Dietrich (R), 1489
- Hettle, Wallace (R), 1357
- Heywood, Anthony, "Modernising Lenin's Russia: Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and the Railways," 1502
- "High-Minded and Low-Down," by Tawa, 1352
- Himka, John-Paul (R), 1499
- Hinde, John R., "Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity," 1489
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- Hochstadt, Steve, "Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989," 1480
- Hoffman, Abraham (R), 1375
- Hosmer, Brian C., "American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatlangs, 1870–1920," 1367
- House Divided: Abraham and Mary Lincoln*, directed by Grubin, reviewed by Winkle, 1510
- Howard, Thomas Albert (R), 1489
- Huffman, James L. (R), 1327
- Hulsether, Mark (R), 1414
- Hurd, Madeleine, "Public Spheres, Public Mores, and Democracy: Hamburg and Stockholm, 1870–1914," 1447
- Hutson, Lorna, and Victoria Kahn, editors, "Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe" (E), 1518
- Hutton, Frankie (R), 1360
- Hyde, Anne (R), 1354
- "If the King Only Knew," by Graham, 1466
- "Imagining Consumers," by Blaszczyk, 1370
- "Imperial Policies and Perspectives towards Georgia, 1760–1819," by Gvosdev, 1499
- In the Mood for Love*, directed by Wong, reviewed by Sadashige, 1513
- "In the Shadow of the Mahatma," by Harper, 1339
- "Inventing Ourselves Out of Jobs?" by Bix, 1388
- "Inventing the Criminal," by Wetzell, 1486
- "The Irish Brandy Houses of Eighteenth-Century France," by Cullen, 1465
- Irons, Janet (R), 1377
- Irons, Janet, "Testing the New Deal: The General Textile Strike of 1934 in the American South," 1396
- "The Island Broken in Two Halves," by Rosenfeld, 1341
- "Isle of Discord," by Stefanidis, 1505
- "It Didn't Happen Here," by Lipset and Marks, 1383
- "Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century," edited by West, 1494
- Jackson, Peter, *et al.*, editors, "Commercial Cultures: Economies, Practices, Spaces" (E), 1517
- "Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity," by Hinde, 1489
- Jeffery, Judith S., "Ambiguous Commitments and Uncertain Policies: The Truman Doctrine in Greece, 1947–1952," 1329
- Jenkins, Keith, "Why History?" 1323
- Jennings, Lawrence C. (R), 1445
- "Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918–48," edited by Collette and Bird (E), 1519
- Johnson, Susan Lee, "Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush," 1354
- Johnson, Walter, "Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market," 1359
- Jonas, Raymond, "France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times," 1470
- Jones, Jacqueline (R), 1383
- Judt, Tony, István Deák, and Jan T. Gross, editors, "The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath," 1450
- Kaeuper, Richard W., "Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe," 1436
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- Kanigel, Robert, "The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency," 1369
- Kantrowitz, Stephen, "Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy," 1363
- Kasson, Joy S., "Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History," 1366
- Kaufmann, Doris (R), 1479
- Kay, Sean, S. Victor Papacosma, and Mark R. Rubin, editors, "NATO after Fifty Years" (E), 1520
- Kelly, James C., and David Hackett Fischer, "Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement," 1347
- Kennedy, Emmet (R), 1466, 1467
- Kennedy, Greg, editor, "The Merchant Marine in International Affairs 1850–1950" (E), 1516
- Kennedy, Paul M. (R), 1458
- Kerr, Ian J. (R), 1341
- Kersten, Andrew Edmund, "Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941–46," 1399
- Keyssar, Alexander, "The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States," 1342
- Kibata, Yoichi, and Ian Nish, editors, "The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000" (E), 1516
- Kielstra, Paul Michael, "The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814–48," 1445
- Kimeldorf, Howard, "Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement," 1377
- King, Desmond (R), 1348

- "King James and the History of Homosexuality," by Young, 1451
- Kirkley, Evelyn A., "Rational Mothers and Infidel Gentlemen: Gender and American Atheism, 1865-1915," 1379
- Kleinman, Mark L., "A World of Hope, A World of Fear: Henry A. Wallace, Reinhold Niebuhr, and American Liberalism," 1414
- Kloczowski, Jerzy, "A History of Polish Christianity," 1499
- Knobloch, Frieda (R), 1373
- "Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia," by West, 1372
- Kohl, Benjamin G. (R), 1492
- "Kolonialismus, Eugenik und Bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850-1918," by Grosse, 1481
- Kornbluh, Mark Lawrence, "Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics," 1343
- Körner, Axel, editor, "1848—A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848," 1446
- Kosak, Hadassa, "Cultures of Opposition: Jewish Immigrant Workers, New York City, 1881-1905," 1378
- Koslofsky, Craig M., "The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700," 1476
- Koumoulides, John A. (R), 1505
- Krenn, Michael L. (R), 1402
- "Krieg und Frieden in der historischen Gedächtniskultur," edited by Burkhardt (E), 1515
- Kroen, Sheryl, "Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815-1830," 1470
- Krugler, David F., "The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953," 1405
- Kryder, Daniel, "Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State during World War II," 1400
- Kryder, Daniel (R), 1401
- Kutulas, Judy (R), 1405
- "Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure," by Enstad, 1380
- Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa, "Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror," 1469
- Lambert, Frank (R), 1349
- Lane, Roger (R), 1356
- Langdon, John (R), 1438
- LaPalombara, Joseph (R), 1498
- Lapp, Benjamin (R), 1485
- Laqueur, Thomas (R), 1456
- Lasar, Matthew (R), 1405
- Latham, Angela J., "Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s," 1389
- Laurie, Bruce (R), 1368
- Lee, Steven Hugh (R), 1336
- Legault, Roch, and B. J. C. McKercher, editors, "Military Planning and the Origins of the Second World War in Europe" (E), 1519
- "Leon Trotsky and World War One," by Thatcher, 1500
- Lieberman, Robbie, "The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945-1963," 1409
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Gary Marks, "It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States," 1383
- Lipsitz, George (R), 1388
- Liss, Andrea, "Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography, and the Holocaust," 1320
- "Look on This Picture . . . And on This!" *Nationalism, Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the United States, 1787-1820*, by Robertson, 1263-80
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- Lorence, James J., "The Suppression of *Salt of the Earth*," 1407
- "Lost Revolutions," by Daniel, 1416
- Loudon, Irvine, "The Tragedy of Childbed Fever," 1325
- Lü, Xiaobo, "Cadres and Corruption: The Organizational Involution of the Chinese Communist Party," 1335
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- Maddern, Philippa C. (R), 1437
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- Mainardi, Patricia (R), 1470
- Maiolo, Joe, "The Royal Navy and Nazi Germany, 1933-39: A Study in Appeasement and the Origins of the Second World War," 1458
- "Make Love Not War," by Allyn, 1421
- "Making Citizen Soldiers," by Neiberg, 1404
- "The Making of the GDR 1945-53," by Pritchard, 1488
- "Making Salmon," by Taylor, 1373
- "Making Security Social," by Eghigian, 1482
- Malcomson, Scott L., "One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race," 1348
- Mally, Lynn, "Revolutionary Acts: Amateur Theater and the Soviet State, 1917-1938," 1501
- Mann, Ralph (R), 1347
- Margadant, Ted (R), 1465
- Margerison, Kenneth, "Pamphlets and Public Opinion: The Campaign for a Union of Orders in the Early French Revolution," 1467
- Marks, Gary, and Seymour Martin Lipset, "It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States," 1383
- Marling, Karal Ann (R), 1417
- Marnef, Guido, Philip Benedict, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard, editors, "Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585," 1443
- "The Marrying of Anne of Cleves," by Warnicke, 1451
- Martin, James (R), 1497
- Martini, Maneula, "Fedeli alla terra: Scelte economiche e attività pubbliche di una famiglia nobile Bolognese nell'Ottocento," 1495
- "Mary Ann Shadd Cary," by Rhodes, 1360
- Mason, Laura (R), 1463
- "Massacre at the Champ de Mars," by Andress, 1468
- Matis, Herbert, Alice Teichova, and Jaroslav Pátek, editors, "Economic Change and the National Question in Twentieth-Century Europe" (E), 1519
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- McCabe, Ina Baghdiantz (R), 1504
- McCarraher, Eugene, "Christian Critics: Religion and the Impasse in Modern American Social Thought," 1413
- McClure, George (R), 1490
- McKercher, B. J. C., and Roch Legault, editors, "Military Planning and the Origins of the Second World War in Europe" (E), 1519
- McMillan, James F. (R), 1470
- McNeill, J. R., "Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World," 1331
- Meek, Christine, editor, "Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe," 1440
- Mehlman, Jeffrey, "Émigré New York: French Intellectuals in Wartime Manhattan, 1940–1944," 1475
- Melosi, Martin V. (R), 1331
- "Memoirs of the Maelstrom," by Lunn, 1506
- Menjot, Denis, and Manuel Sánchez Martínez, editors, "La fiscalité des villes au Moyen Âge," 1433
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- Métayer, Christine, "Au tombeau des secrets: Les écrivains publics du Paris populaire; Cimetière des Saints-Innocents XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," 1463
- Mets, David R., and Harold R. Winton, editors, "The Challenge of Change: Military Institutions and New Realities, 1918–1941," 1326
- Metzgar, Jack (R), 1377
- Metzgar, Jack, "Striking Steel: Solidarity Remembered," 1408
- Meyer, Judith Pugh (R), 1443
- Meyer, Michael A., editor, "German-Jewish History in Modern Times," 1487
- Meyer, Ulrich, "Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des 'Hauses': Zur Ökonomik in der Spätantike und im früheren Mittelalter," 1432
- Midelfort, H. C. Erik (R), 1477
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- Mintz, Steven (R), 1345
- "The Miracle Years," edited by Schissler (E), 1520
- Mitchell, Reid (R), 1361
- Mitchison, Rosalind, "The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574–1845," 1452
- Mitman, Gregg, "Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film," 1392
- Mizejewski, Linda (R), 1389
- "Mobility and Modernity," by Hochstadt, 1480
- "Modernising Lenin's Russia," by Heywood, 1502
- Moore, Jacqueline M. (R), 1365
- Moore, Shirley Ann Wilson, "To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963," 1401
- Mörner, Magnus (R), 1424
- Moss, David A., "Socializing Security: Progressive-Era Economists and the Origins of American Social Policy," 1385
- "Motherhood in Black and White," by Feldstein, 1412
- Moy, James S. (R), 1375
- Muhlberger, Steven (R), 1430
- Mulholland, Catherine, "William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles," 1375
- Munholland, Kim (R), 1475
- Naimark, Norman M. (R), 1450
- "Namasté America," by Rangaswamy, 1421
- "NATO after Fifty Years," edited by Papacosma, Kay, and Rubin (E), 1520
- "Natural Particulars," by Grafton and Siraisi, 1441
- "Necklines," by Lajer-Burchard, 1469
- Neely, Mark E., Jr., "Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism," 1362
- "Negotiating Space," by Rosenwein, 1435
- Neiberg, Michael S., "Making Citizen Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service," 1404
- Nelson, Bruce (R), 1384
- Nelson, Bruce, "Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality," 1398
- "The Nervous Liberals," by Gary, 1405
- Nicassio, Susan Vandiver (R), 1472
- Nierop, Henk van, Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, and Marc Venard, editors, "Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585," 1443
- Niewyk, Donald L. (R), 1487
- Nish, Ian, and Yoichi Kibata, editors, "The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000" (E), 1516
- "Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary," by Rady, 1439
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- "Not All Wives," by Wulf, 1346
- O'Brien, Gail Williams (R), 1363
- "The Old Poor Law in Scotland," by Mitchison, 1452
- O'Malley, John W., "Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era," 1316
- On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, by Sabato, 1290–1315
- "The One Best Way," by Kanigel, 1369
- "One Drop of Blood," by Malcomson, 1348
- Ormrod, W. Mark, James Bothwell, and P. J. P. Goldberg, editors, "The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England" (E), 1518
- "Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire/Orthodoxy, Christianity, History," edited by Elm, Rebillard, and Romano (E), 1517
- Osler, Margaret J., editor, "Rethinking the Scientific Revolution," 1317
- "Out of Nowhere," by Purchase, 1353
- "Outposts of Civilization," by Henning, 1327
- "Outside the Lines," by Ross, 1419
- Ozment, Steven, "Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early Modern Germany," 1478



- Page, Max, "The Creative Destruction of Manhattan 1900-1940," 1410
- Palmowski, Jan (R), 1447
- "Pamphlets and Public Opinion," by Margerison, 1467
- Papacosma, S. Victor, Sean Kay, and Mark R. Rubin, editors, "NATO after Fifty Years" (E), 1520
- "Past Time," by Tygiel, 1420
- Pátek, Jaroslav, Alice Teichova, and Herbert Matis, editors, "Economic Change and the National Question in Twentieth-Century Europe" (E), 1519
- "Pathways of Memory and Power," by Abercrombie, 1428
- "Pays ou circoncriptions," by Zink, 1465
- Peard, Julian G., "Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine," 1429
- Pearson, M. N. (R), 1338
- "Peirese's Europe," by Miller, 1464
- Pennington, Kenneth (R), 1435
- "Pensamiento y política económica en la Época Moderna," edited by Ribot García and De Rosa (E), 1519
- "The People's Lobby," by Clemens, 1382
- Pérez, Emma, "The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History," 1319
- "Permanent Waves," by Willett, 1389
- Phayer, Michael, "The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965," 1449
- Phelan, Craig, "Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor," 1376
- Phillips, Carla Rahn, and William Phillips, "Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century," 1461
- Phillips, Mark Salber, "Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820," 1318
- Phillips, Paul T. (R), 1325
- Phillips, William, and Carla Rahn Phillips, "Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century," 1461
- "Picture Windows," by Baxandall and Ewen, 1411
- "Ploughing Sand," by Shepherd, 1504
- Polan, Dana (R), 1391
- "Politics and Theater," by Kroen, 1470
- "The Politics of Retribution in Europe," edited by Deák, Gross, and Judt, 1450
- "The Politics of Slave Trade Suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48," by Kielstra, 1445
- "The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran," by Matthee, 1504
- Polonsky, Antony (R), 1449
- "Posing a Threat," by Latham, 1389
- Potter, Claire B. (R), 1407
- Powell, Lawrence N., "Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana," 1423
- Prell, Riv-Ellen (R), 1378
- Pritchard, Gareth, "The Making of the GDR 1945-53: From Antifascism to Stalinism," 1488
- Pritchard, James A. (R), 1392
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- Pugliese, Stanislaw, "Carlo Rosselli: Socialist Heretic and Anti-Fascist Exile," 1497
- Purchase, Eric, "Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains," 1353
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- "Rational Mothers and Infidel Gentlemen," by Kirkley, 1379
- Reagan, Patrick D., "Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning, 1890-1943," 1386
- Rebillard, Éric, Susanne Elm, and Antonella Romano, editors, "Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire/Orthodoxy, Christianity, History" (E), 1517
- "Recinti," by Zarri, 1493
- Reddin, Paul (R), 1366
- Reed, Christopher Robert, "All the World is Here! The Black Presence at White City," 1365
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 Ringrose, David R. (R), 1461  
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 Roberts, Jon H., and James Turner, "The Sacred and the Secular University," 1415  
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 Roediger, David (R), 1358  
 Romano, Antonella, Susanne Elm, and Éric Rebillard, editors, "Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire/Orthodoxy, Christianity, History" (E), 1517  
 Ronda, Bruce A. (R), 1351  
 Ropp, Paul S. (R), 1332  
 Rosenfeld, Jean E., "The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand," 1341  
 Rosenwein, Barbara H., "Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe," 1435  
 Rosenzweig, Roy (R), 1411  
 Ross, Charles K., "Outside the Lines: African Americans and the Integration of the National Football League," 1419  
 "The Royal Navy and Nazi Germany, 1933–39," by Maiolo, 1458  
 Rozbicki, Michal J. (R), 1455  
 Rubin, Anne S., and Edward L. Ayers, "Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War," 1319  
 Rubin, Joan Shelley (R), 1390  
 Rubin, Mark R., S. Victor Papacostas, and Sean Kay, editors, "NATO after Fifty Years" (E), 1520  
 "Rude Republic," by Altschuler and Blumin, 1355  
 Ruggiero, Guido, *The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini: "Male," Signs, and the Everyday World of Pre-modern Medicine*, 1141–58  
 Ruggiero, Guido (R), 1441  
 Ruiz Martín, Felipe, and Ángel García Sanz, editors, "Mesta, transhumancia y lana en la España modern," 1461  
 Rummel, Erika (R), 1464
- Sabato, Hilda, *On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, 1290–1315  
 Sabetti, Filippo, "The Search for Good Government: Understanding the Paradox of Italian Democracy," 1498  
 "The Sacred and the Secular University," by Roberts and Turner, 1415  
 Sadashige, Jacqui (R), 1513  
 Salomon, Frank, and Stuart B. Schwartz, editors, "The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," 1424  
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 Sander, Kathleen Waters (R), 1368  
 Saneh, Lamin, "Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa," 1508  
 Saperstein, Marc (R), 1434  
 Satter, Beryl (R), 1379  
 Saul, Nigel, editor, "Fourteenth Century England" (E), 1518  
 Scanlon, Jennifer (R), 1370, 1394  
 "Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore," by Edwards, 1360  
 Scheck, Raffael, "Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914–1930," 1485  
 Schissler, Hanna, editor, "The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968" (E), 1520  
 Schluchter, Wolfgang, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Björn Wittrock, editors, "Public Spheres and Collective Identities" (E), 1516  
 Schnabel, Julian, 1512  
 Schwartz, Barry, "Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory," 1361  
 Schwartz, Stuart B., and Frank Salomon, editors, "The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas," 1424  
 Scott, Jonathan, "England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context," 1453  
 "The Search for Good Government," by Sabetti, 1498  
 Sedlar, Jean W. (R), 1439  
 "Sex and the Gender Revolution," by Trumbach, 1456  
 "Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness," by Goldberg, 1479  
 Shaffer, Robert (C), 1535  
 Shankman, Kimberly C. (R), 1351  
 Shannon, Christopher (R), 1387  
 Shepherd, Naomi, "Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine 1917–1948," 1504  
 Shultz, Edward J., "Generals and Scholars: Military Rule in Medieval Korea," 1337  
 Silber, Nina (R), 1360  
 Sinor, Denis (C), 1537  
 Siracusa, Joseph M. (R), 1330  
 Siraisi, Nancy, and Anthony Grafton, "Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe," 1441  
 "The Slave Power," by Richards, 1357  
 Smith, Erin A., "Hard-Boiled: Working-Class Readers and Pulp Magazines," 1391  
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 Smith, Woodruff D. (R), 1481  
 Smyser, W. R. (C), 1538  
 "Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England," by Whyman, 1454  
 "Socializing Security," by Moss, 1385  
 "Society and Sentiment," by Phillips, 1318  
 Soliday, Gerald L. (R), 1478  
 "Something New under the Sun," by McNeill, 1331  
*Something She Called a Fever*, by Steedman, 1159–80  
 "Soul by Soul," by Johnson, 1359  
 "Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State," by Alston and Ferrie, 1394  
 "Southern Rights," by Neely, 1362  
 "Southern Workers and the Search for Community," by Waldrep, 1397  
 "The Soviet Elite From Lenin to Gorbachev," by Mawdsley and White, 1503

- Sowell, David (R), 1429  
 "Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des 'Hauses,'" by Meyer, 1432  
 "Spain's Golden Fleece," by Phillips and Phillips, 1461  
 Spence, Mark (R), 1367  
 Sperber, Jonathan (R), 1446  
 "The Spirit of 1914," by Verhey, 1484  
 "A Spiritual Home," by Cashdollar, 1325  
 Stearns, Peter N. (R), 1389  
 Steedman, Carolyn, *Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust*, 1159-80  
 Stefanidis, Ioannis D., "Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism, and the Making of the Cyprus Problem," 1505  
 Stertz, Stephen A. (R), 1432  
 Stewart, Alan (R), 1451  
 Stites, Richard (R), 1501  
 Stock-Morton, Phyllis (R), 1471  
 Stoler, Mark A., "Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance and U.S. Strategy in World War II," 1403  
 Stoll, Mark (R), 1353  
 Stoll, Steven (R), 1374  
 Storrs, Landon R. Y., "Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era," 1394  
*The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini*, by Ruggiero, 1141-58  
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 Stricklin, David, "A Genealogy of Dissent: Southern Baptist Protest in the Twentieth Century," 1415  
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 Sumner, Gregory D. (R), 1381  
 "The Suppression of *Salt of the Earth*," by Lorence, 1407
- Tadman, Michael (C), 1534  
 Talbot, Ian (R), 1340  
 Talha, Naureen, "Economic Factors in the Making of Pakistan (1921-1947)," 1341  
 Tawa, Nicholas E., "High-Minded and Low-Down: Music in the Lives of Americans 1800-1861," 1352  
 Taylor, Joseph E. III, "Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis," 1373  
 Teaford, Jon C. (R), 1411  
 Teichova, Alice, Herbert Matis, and Jaroslav Pátek, editors, "Economic Change and the National Question in Twentieth-Century Europe" (E), 1519  
 Temperly, Howard, editor, "After Slavery: Emancipation and Its Discontents" (E), 1515  
 Terpstra, Nicholas (R), 1316  
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 Thatcher, Ian D., "Leon Trotsky and World War One: August 1914-February 1917," 1500
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 Thomas, Richard W. (R), 1400  
 Thurner, Mark (R), 1428  
 Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland (R), 1332  
 "To Place Our Deeds," by Moore, 1401  
 "To Rebuild the Empire," by Chiu-Duke, 1332  
*To What Can Late Eighteenth-Century French, British, and American Anxieties Be Compared? Comment on Three Papers*, by Anderson, 1281-89  
 Toplin, Robert Brent (R), 1406  
 Townshend, Charles (R), 1460  
 "Trade Ideology and Urbanization," by Champakalakshmi, 1338  
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 Travers, Tim (R), 1326  
 "Treasure in the Medieval West," edited by Tyler (E), 1518  
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 Trumbach, Randolph, "Sex and the Gender Revolution," 1456  
 Tubbs, J. W., "The Common Law Mind: Medieval and Early Modern Conceptions," 1433  
 Turner, James, and Jon H. Roberts, "The Sacred and the Secular University," 1415  
 Tygiel, Jules, "Past Time: Baseball as History," 1420  
 Tyler, Elizabeth M., editor, "Treasure in the Medieval West" (E), 1518
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 Uldricks, Teddy J. (R), 1502  
*The Unbearable Lightness of Being French*, by Bell, 1215-35  
 Underhill, Frances A., "For Her Good Estate: The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh," 1437  
 Unger, Nancy C., "Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer," 1381  
 "The Urbanization of Opera," by Gerhard, 1472
- "Valley of the Shadow," by Ayers and Rubin, 1319  
 Van Deburg, William L. (R), 1364  
 Vaughn, Stephen (R), 1422  
 Vaught, David, "Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920," 1374  
 Venard, Marc, Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, and Henk van Nierop, editors, "Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585," 1443  
 Verhey, Jeffrey, "The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany," 1484  
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 "The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953," by Krugler, 1405  
 von Wobeser, Gisela, "Vida eternal y preocupaciones

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- Wahrman, Dror, *The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution*, 1236–62
- Waldrep, Christopher (R), 1398
- Waldrep, G. C. III, "Southern Workers and the Search for Community: Spartanburg County, South Carolina," 1397
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- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry (R), 1440
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- Willis, John C., "Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War," 1362
- Wilson, Lisa (R), 1346
- Winkle, Kenneth J. (R), 1510
- Winston, Diane (R), 1413
- Winton, Harold R., and David R. Mets, editors, "The Challenge of Change: Military Institutions and New Realities, 1918–1941," 1326
- Wittrock, Björn, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Wolfgang Schluchter, editors, "Public Spheres and Collective Identities" (E), 1516
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- "Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe," edited by Meek, 1440
- Wong, Kar-wai, 1513
- Wong, R. Bin (R), 1322
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- Wright, Conrad Edick, and Charles Capper, editors, "Transient and Permanent: The Transcendentalist Movement and Its Context," 1351
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- Young, Michael B., "King James and the History of Homosexuality," 1451
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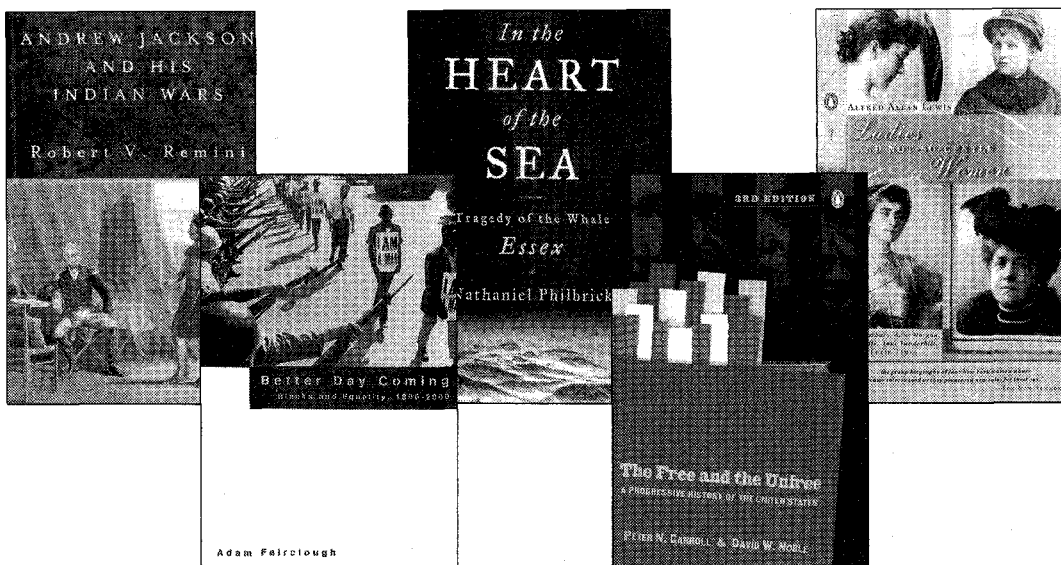
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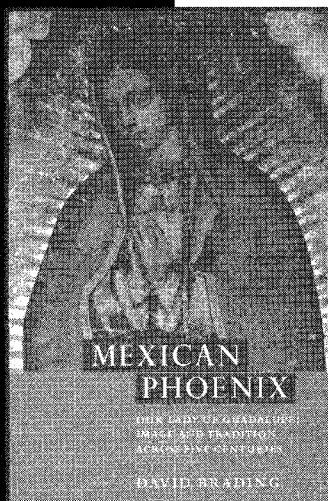


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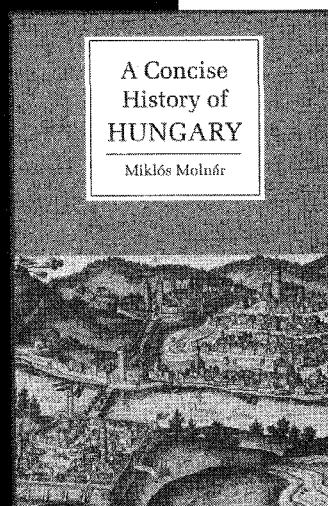
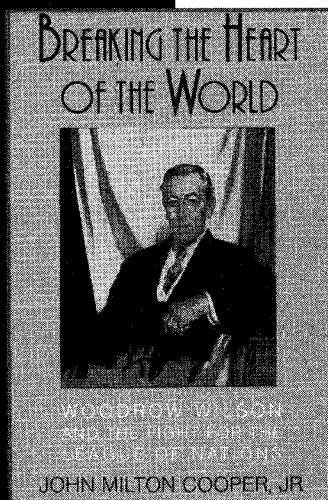
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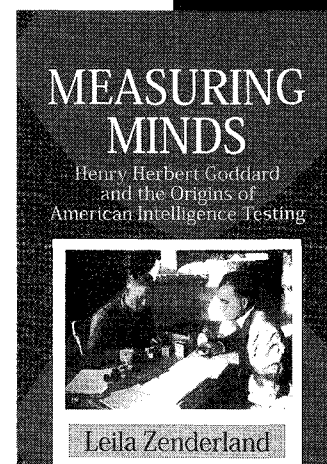
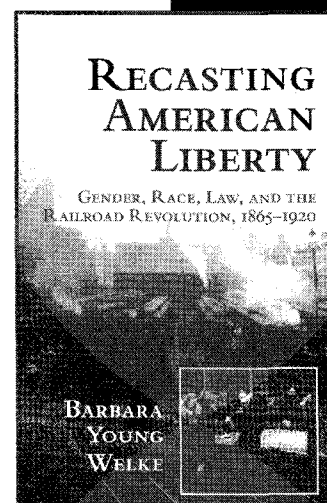
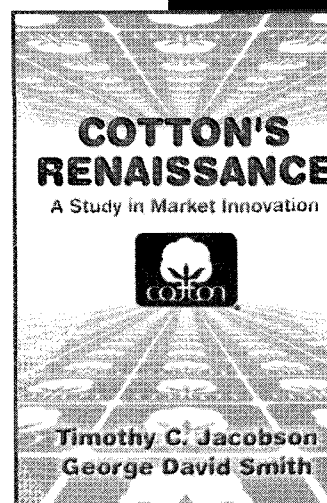
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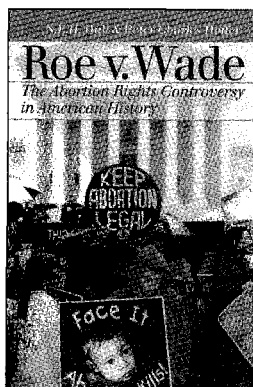


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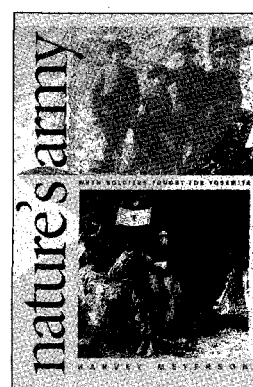
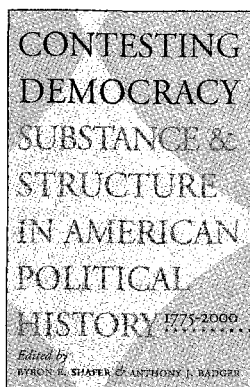
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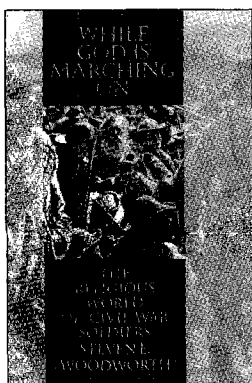
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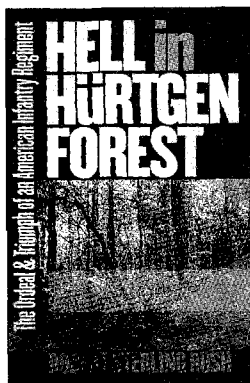
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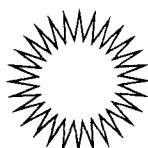
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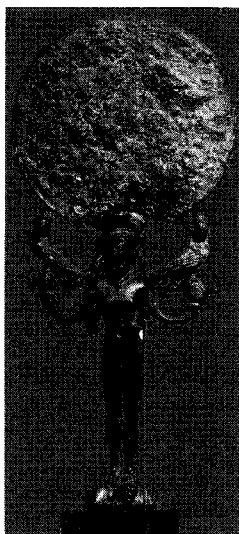
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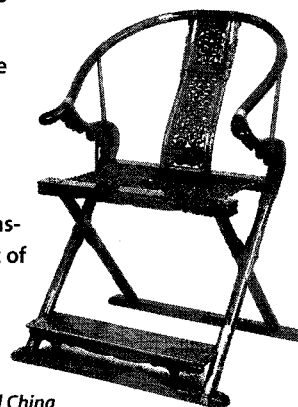
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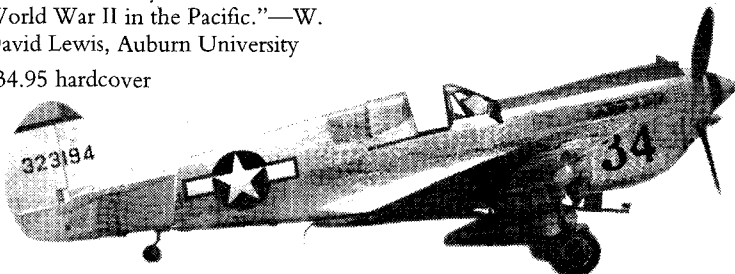
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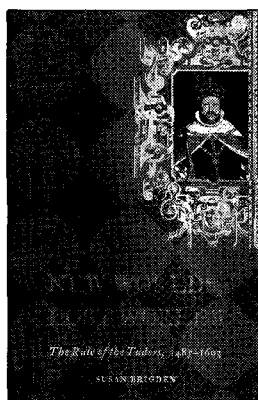
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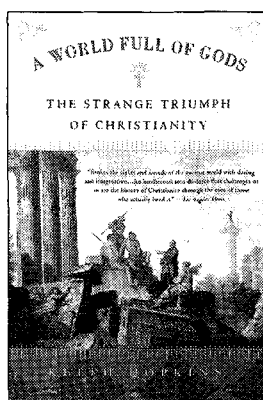
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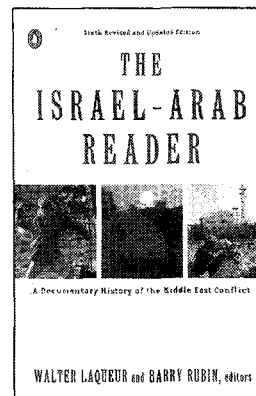
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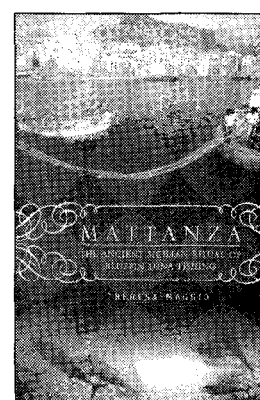
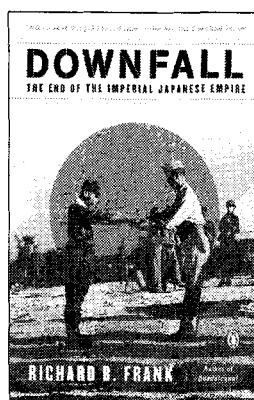
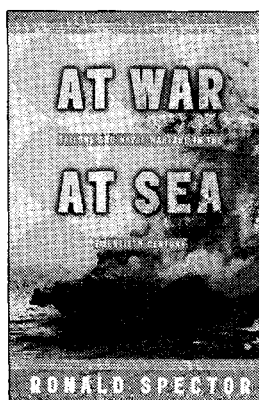
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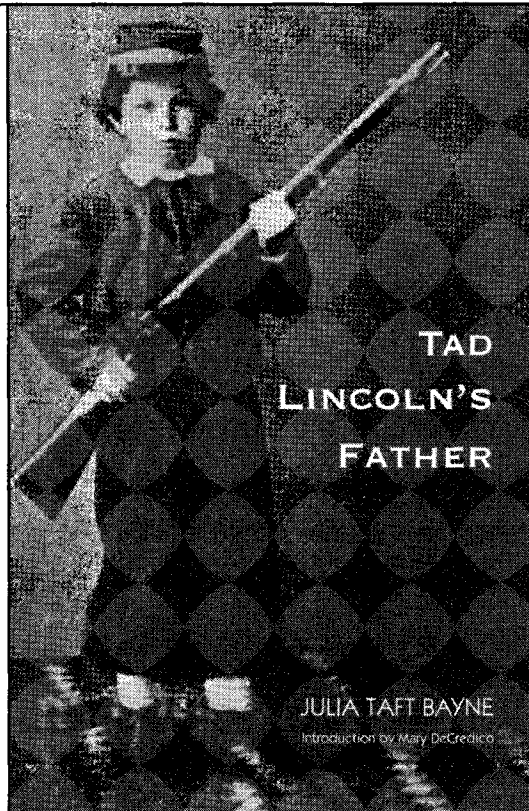
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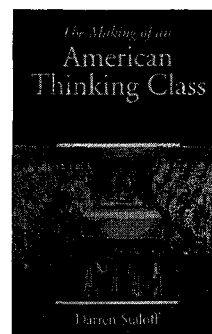
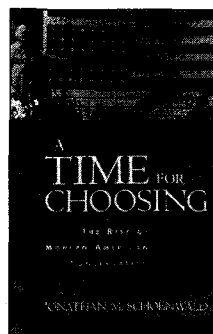
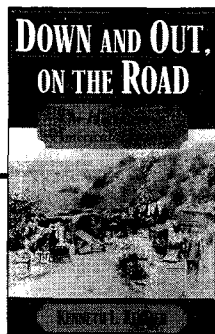
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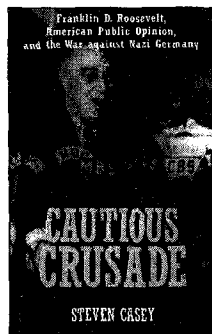
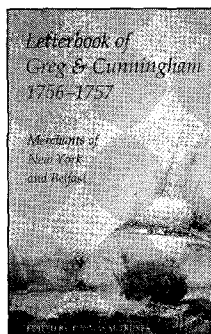
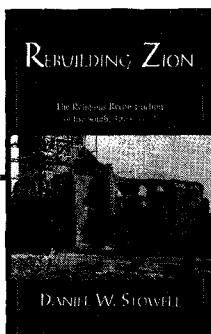
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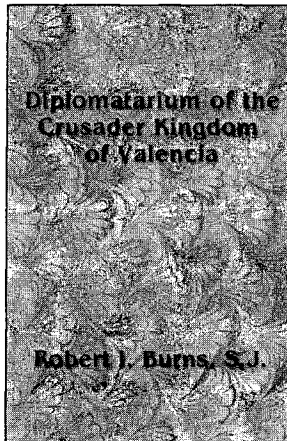
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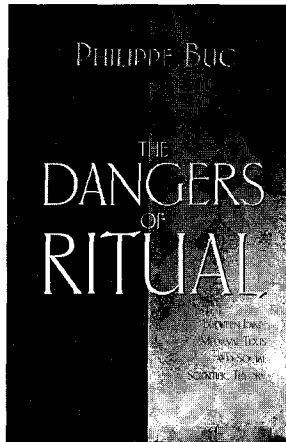
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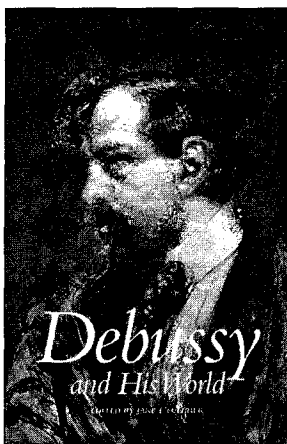
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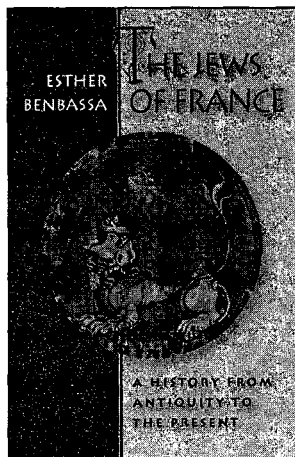
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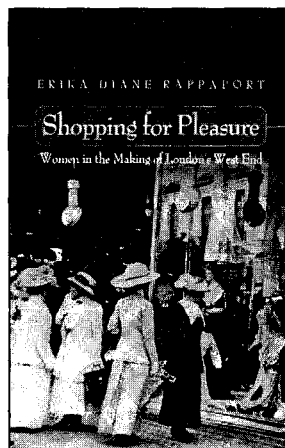
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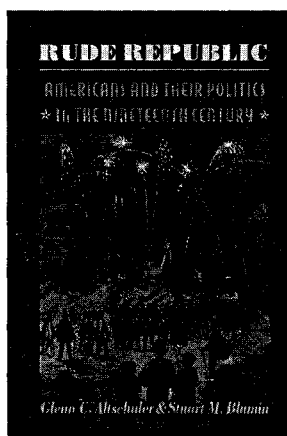
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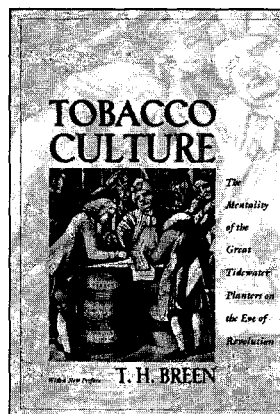
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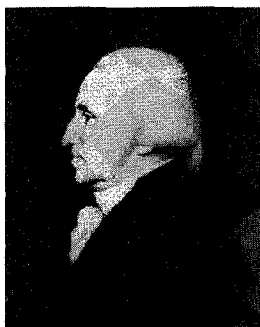
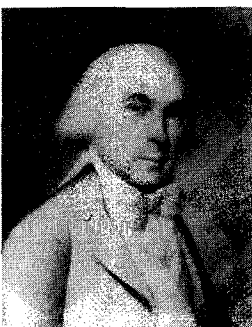
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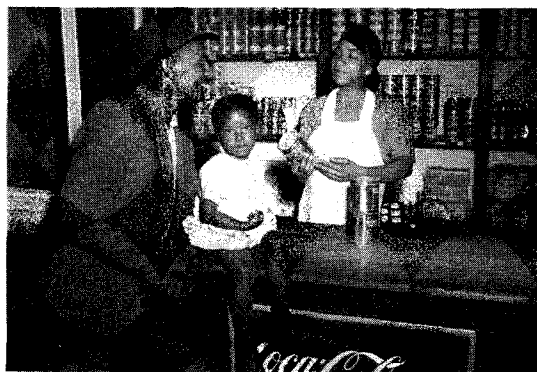
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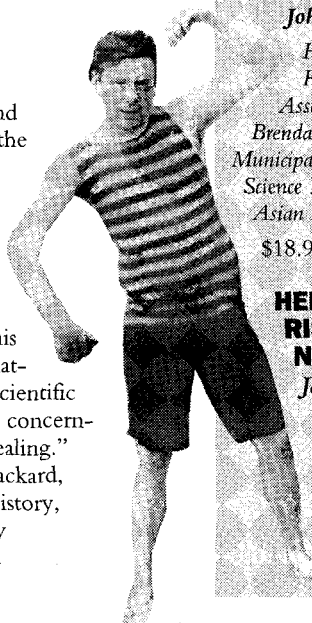
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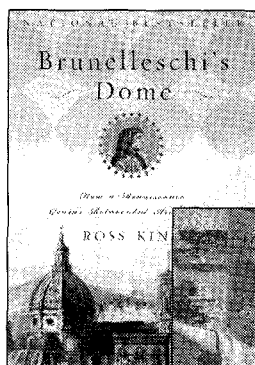
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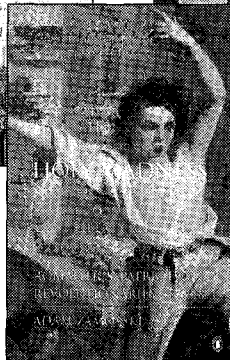
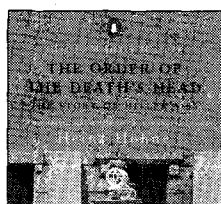
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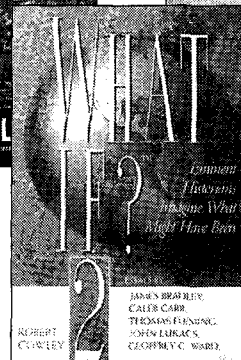
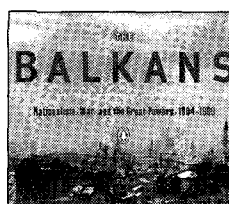
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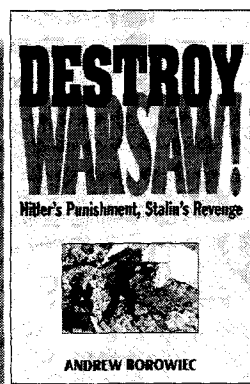
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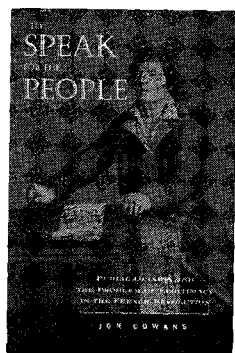
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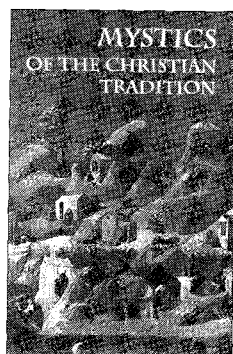
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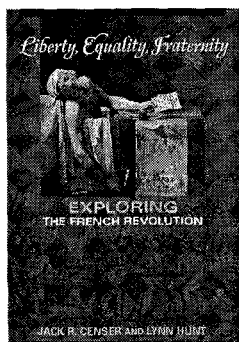
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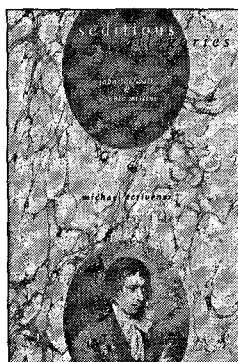
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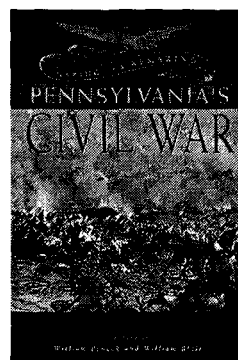
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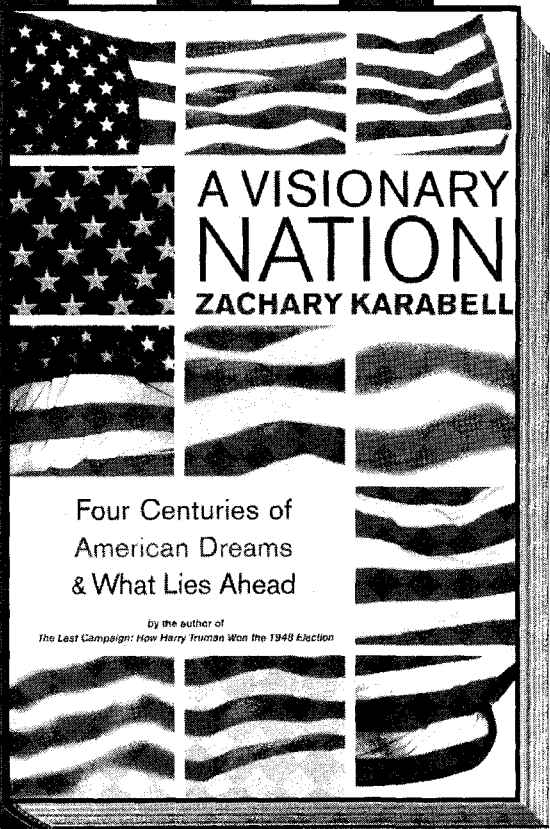
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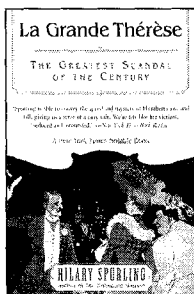
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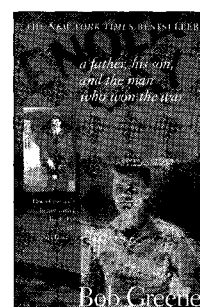
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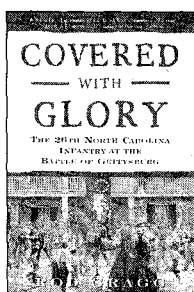
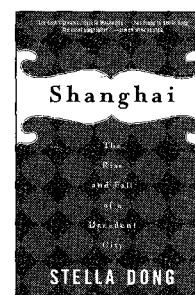
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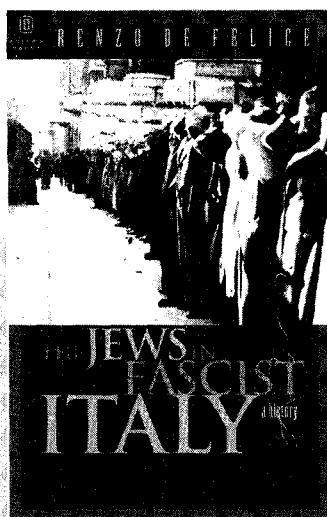
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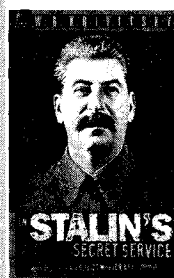
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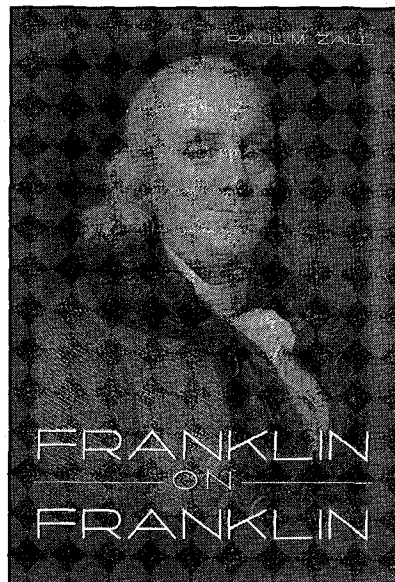
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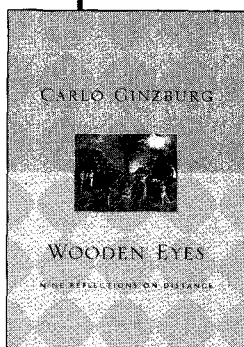
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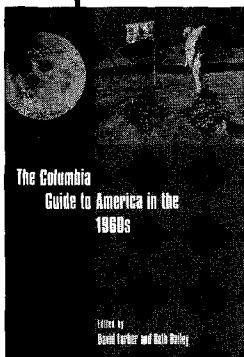
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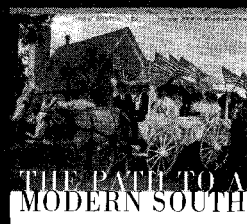
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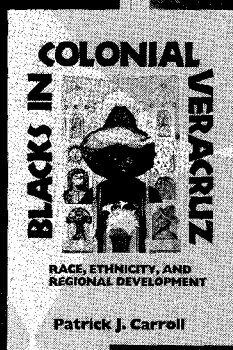
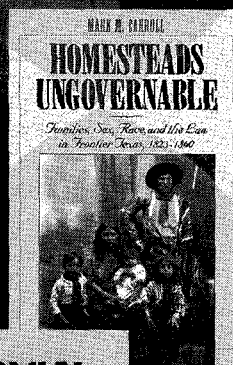
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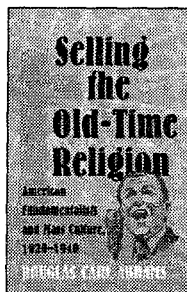
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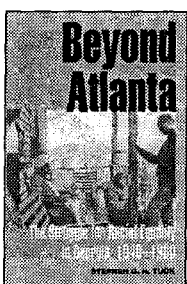
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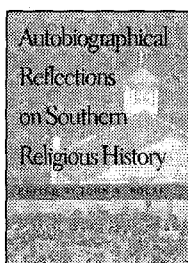
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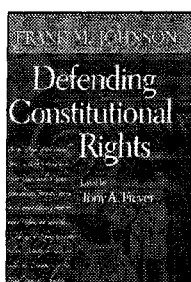
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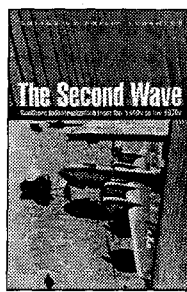
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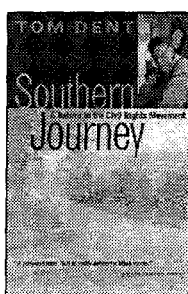
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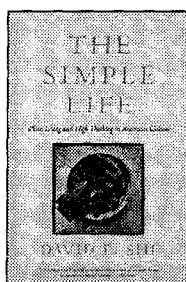
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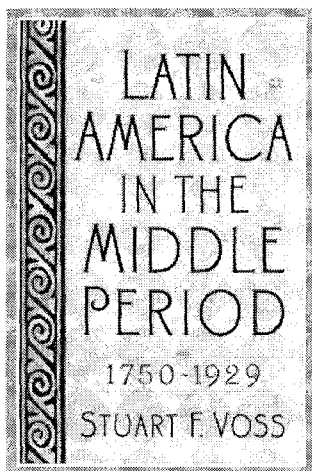
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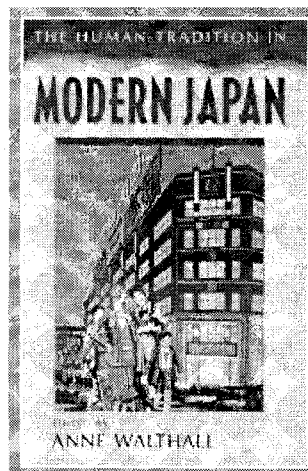
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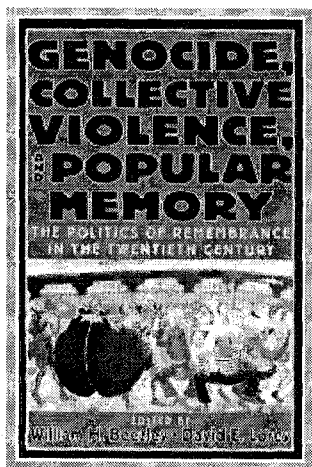
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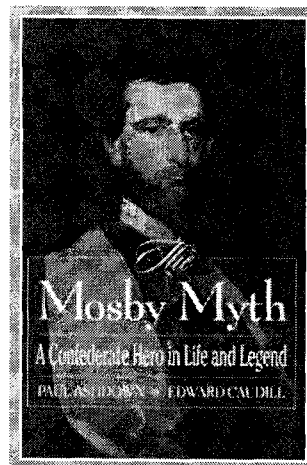
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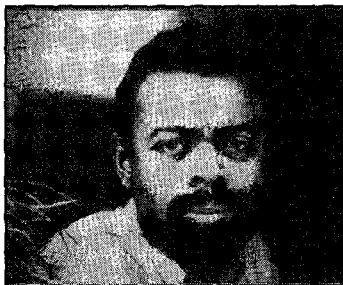
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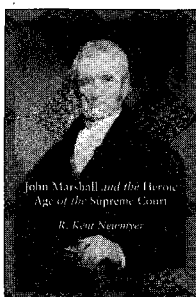
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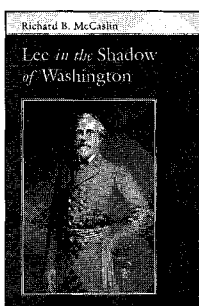
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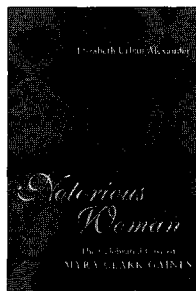
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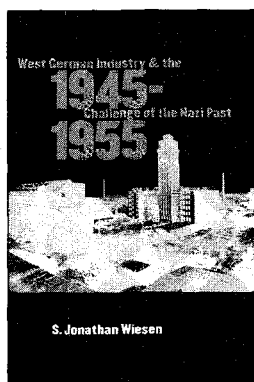
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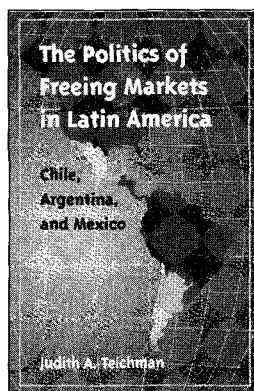


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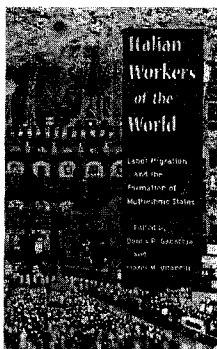
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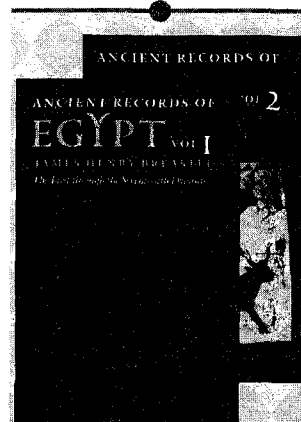
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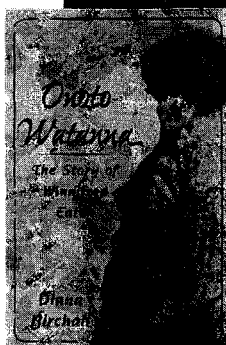
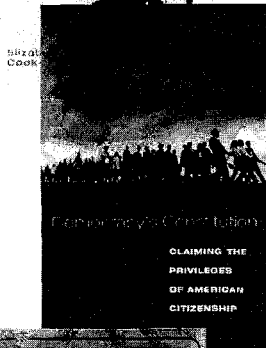
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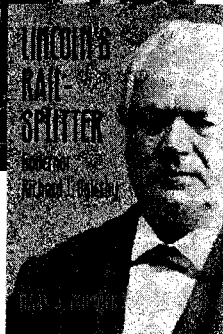
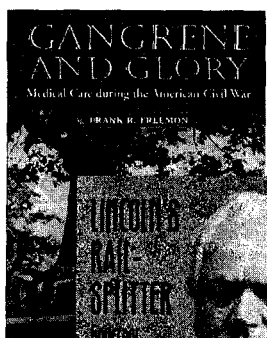
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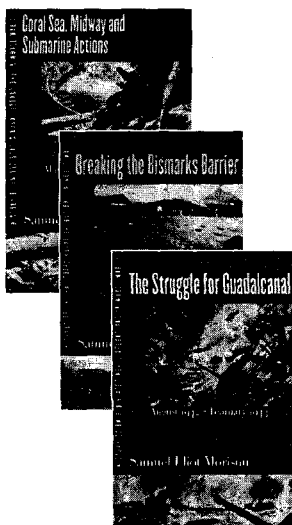
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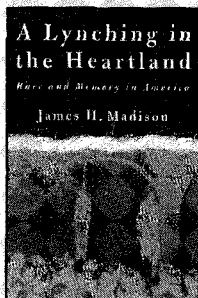
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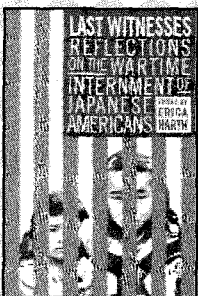
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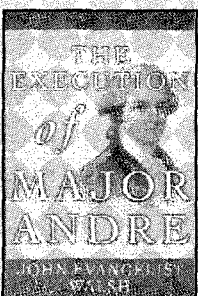
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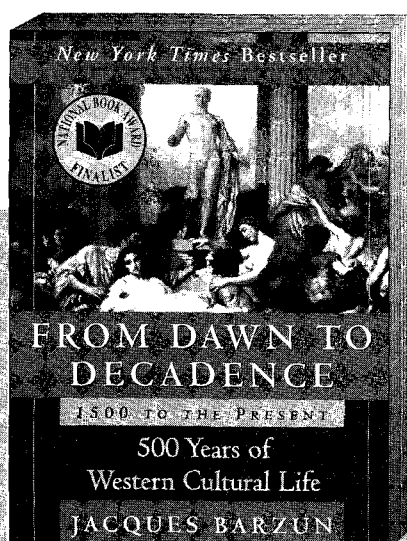
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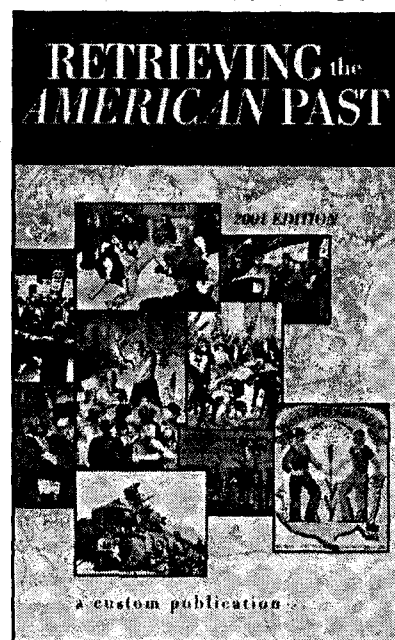
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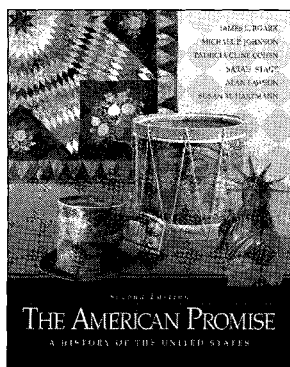
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## Index of Advertisers

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American Historical Association	49-50, 51	Princeton University Press	16-17, Cover 4
Bedford Books/ St. Martin's	Covers 2 and 3	Routledge	24
Cambridge University Press	4-5	Scholarly Resources	35
Cambridge University Press (Journals)	40	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture	41
Columbia University Press	32	University of California Press	8-9
Enigma Books	29	University of Georgia Press	34
Gale Group	31	University of Illinois Press	42-45
Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.	21	University of Nebraska Press	12-13
Johns Hopkins University Press	10, 19	University of New Mexico Press	25
HarperCollins	26-27, 47	University of North Carolina Press	39
Henry Holt	37	University of Pennsylvania Press	22
Louisiana State University Press	38	University of Texas Press	33
NYU Press	36	University Press of Kansas	6-7
Oxford University Press (Academic)	14-15	University Press of Kentucky	30
Oxford University Press (Journals)	23	University Press of Virginia	18
Palgrave	46	XanEdu	28
Pearson Custom Publishing	48	Zone Books	36
Penguin USA	3, 11, 20		
Penn State University Press	25		

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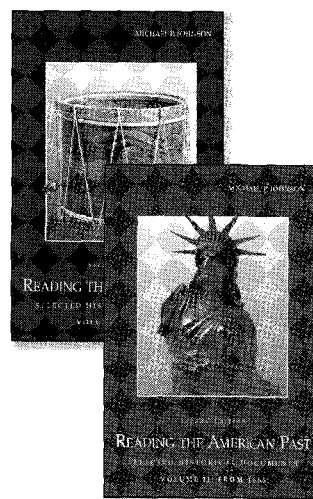
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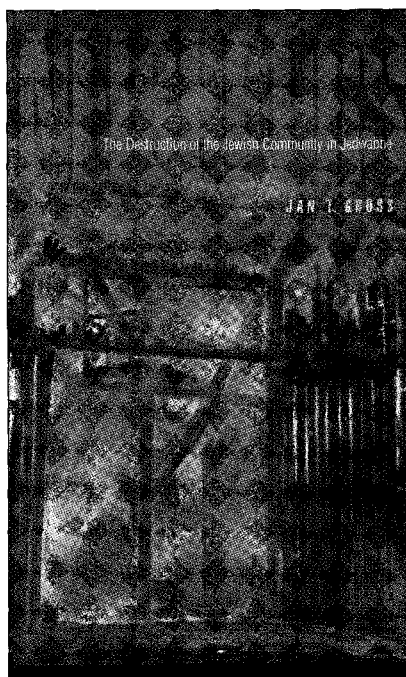
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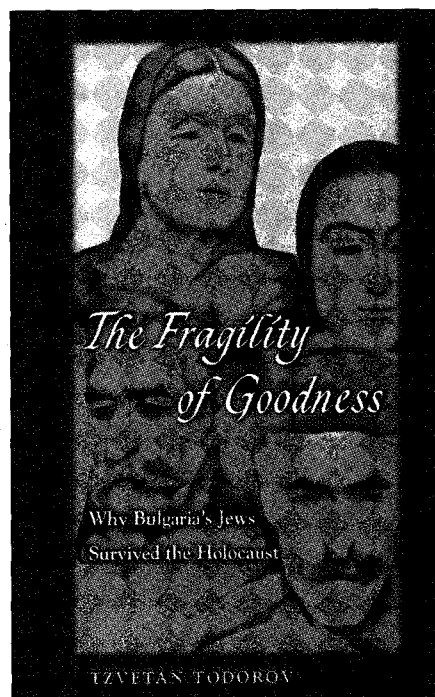
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